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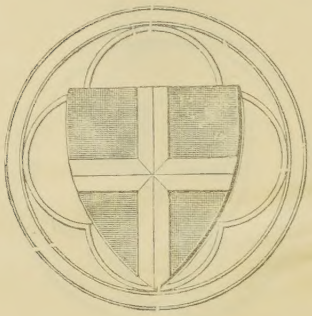

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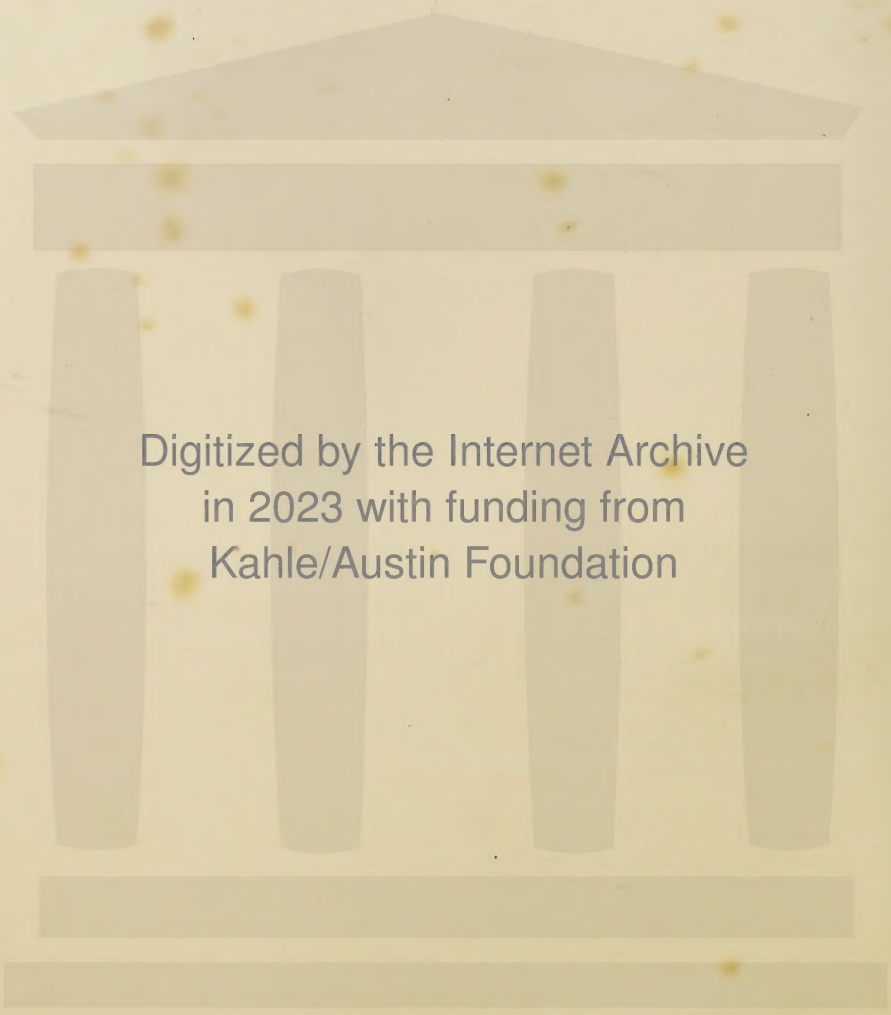

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

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INDEPENDENT CONGREGATIONS. See MISCELLANEOUS RELIGIOUS BODIES.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations in common use or self-evident are not included here. For additional information concerning the works listed, see vol. i., pp. viii.–xx., and the appropriate articles in the body of the work.

ADB	*Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, Leipsic, 1875 sqq., vol. 53, 1907
Adv	*adversus*, "against"
AJP	*American Journal of Philology*, Baltimore, 1880 sqq.
AJT	*American Journal of Theology*, Chicago, 1897 sqq.
AKR	*Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht*, Innsbruck, 1857–61, Mainz, 1872 sqq.
ALKG	*Archiv für Litteratur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, Freiburg, 1885 sqq.
Am	American
AMA	*Abhandlungen der Münchener Akademie*, Munich, 1763 sqq.
ANF	*Ante-Nicene Fathers*, American edition by A. Cleveland Coxe, 8 vols. and index, Buffalo, 1887; vol. ix., ed. Allan Menzies, New York, 1897
Apoc	Apocrypha, apocryphal
Apol	*Apologia, Apology*
Arab	Arabic
Aram	Aramaic
art	article
Art. Schmal	Schmalkald Articles
ASB	*Acta sanctorum*, ed. J. Bolland and others, Antwerp, 1643 sqq.
ASM	*Acta sanctorum ordinis S. Benedicti*, ed. J. Mabillon, 9 vols., Paris, 1668–1701
Assyr	Assyrian
A. T.	*Altes Testament*, "Old Testament"
Augs. Con	Augsburg Confession
A. V	Authorized Version (of the English Bible)
AZ	*Allgemeine Zeitung*, Augsburg, Tübingen, Stuttgart, and Tübingen, 1798 sqq.
Baldwin, *Dictionary*	J. M. Baldwin, *Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology*, 3 vols. in 4, New York, 1901–05
Benzinger, *Archäologie*	I. Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie*, 2d ed., Freiburg, 1907
Bertholdt, *Einleitung*	L. Bertholdt, *Historisch-Kritische Einleitung . . . des Alten und Neuen Testaments*, 6 vols., Erlangen, 1812–19
BFBS	British and Foreign Bible Society
Bingham, *Origines*	J. Bingham, *Origines ecclesiasticæ*, 10 vols., London, 1708–22; new ed., Oxford, 1855
Bouquet, *Recueil*	M. Bouquet, *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, continued by various hands, 23 vols., Paris, 1738–76
Bower, *Popes*	Archibald Bower, *History of the Popes . . . to 1758, continued by S. H. Cox*, 3 vols., Philadelphia, 1845–47
BQR	*Baptist Quarterly Review*, Philadelphia, 1867 sqq.
BRG	See Jaffé
Cant	Canticles, Song of Solomon
cap	*caput*, "chapter"
Ceillier, *Auteurs sacrés*	R. Ceillier, *Histoire des auteurs sacrés et ecclésiastiques*, 16 vols. in 17, Paris, 1858–69
Chron	*Chronicon*, "Chronicle"
I Chron	I Chronicles
II Chron	II Chronicles
CIG	*Corpus inscriptionum Græcarum*, Berlin, 1825 sqq.
CIL	*Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin, 1863 sqq.
CIS	*Corpus inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Paris, 1881 sqq.
cod	codex
cod. D	*codex Bezæ*
cod. Theod	*codex Theodosianus*
Col	Epistle to the Colossians
col., cols	column, columns
Conf	*Confessiones*, "Confessions"
I Cor	First Epistle to the Corinthians
II Cor	Second Epistle to the Corinthians
COT	See Schrader
CQR	*The Church Quarterly Review*, London, 1875 sqq.
CR	*Corpus reformatorum*, begun at Halle, 1834, vol. lxxxix., Berlin and Leipsic, 1905 sqq.
Creighton, *Papacy*	M. Creighton, *A History of the Papacy from the Great Schism to the Sack of Rome*, new ed., 6 vols., New York and London, 1897
CSEL	*Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, Vienna, 1867 sqq.
CSHB	*Corpus scriptorum historiæ Byzantinæ*, 49 vols., Bonn, 1828–78
Currier, *Religious Orders*	C. W. Currier, *History of Religious Orders*, New York, 1896
D	Deuteronomist
DACL	F. Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, Paris, 1903 sqq.
Dan	Daniel
DB	J. Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, 4 vols. and extra vol., Edinburgh and New York, 1898–1904
DCA	W. Smith and S. Cheetham, *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, 2 vols., London, 1875–80
DCB	W. Smith and H. Wace, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, 4 vols., Boston, 1877–87
DCG	J. Hastings, J. A. Selbie, and J. C. Lambert, *A Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, 2 vols., Edinburgh and New York, 1906–1908.
Deut	Deuteronomy
De vir. ill	*De viris illustribus*
DGQ	See Wattenbach
DNB	L. Stephen and S. Lee, *Dictionary of National Biography*, 63 vols. and supplement 3 vols., London, 1885–1901
Driver, *Introduction*	S. R. Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, 5th ed., New York, 1894
E	Elohist
EB	T. K. Cheyne and J. S. Black, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, 4 vols., London and New York, 1899–1903
Eccl	*Ecclesia*, "Church"; *ecclesiasticus*, "ecclesiastical"
Eccles	Ecclesiastes
Ecclus	Ecclesiasticus
ed	edition; *edidit*, "edited by"
Eph	Epistle to the Ephesians
Epist	*Epistola, Epistolæ*, "Epistle," "Epistles"
Ersch and Gruber, *Encyklopädie*	J. S. Ersch and J. G. Gruber, *Allgemeine Encyklopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*, Leipsic, 1818 sqq.
E. V	English versions (of the Bible)
Ex	Exodus
Ezek	Ezekiel
fasc	*fasciculus*
Fr	French
Friedrich, *KD*	J. Friedrich, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, 2 vols., Bamberg, 1867–69
Fritzsche, *Exegetisches Handbuch*	O. F. Fritzsche and C. L. W. Grimm, *Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apocryphen des Alten Testaments*, 6 parts, Leipsic, 1851–60
Gal	Epistle to the Galatians
Gams, *Series episcoporum*	P. B. Gams, *Series episcoporum ecclesiæ Catholicæ*, Regensburg, 1873, and supplement, 1886
Gee and Hardy, *Documents*	H. Gee and W. J. Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, London, 1896
Gen	Genesis
Germ	German
GGA	*Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, Göttingen, 1824 sqq.
Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*	E. Gibbon, *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. J. B. Bury, 7 vols., London, 1896–1900
Gk	Greek, Grecized
Gross, *Sources*	C. Gross, *The Sources and Literature of English History . . . to 1485*, London, 1900

Hab.	Habakkuk
Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*	A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, 3 vols., Oxford, 1869–78
Hær	Refers to patristic works on heresies or heretics, Tertullian's *De præscriptione*, the *Pros haireseis* of Irenæus, the *Panarion* of Epiphanius, etc.
Hag.	Haggai
Harduin, *Concilia*	J. Harduin, *Conciliorum collectio regia maxima*, 12 vols., Paris, 1715
Harnack, *Dogma*	A. Harnack, *History of Dogma . . . from the 3d German edition*, 7 vols., Boston, 1895–1900
Harnack, *Litteratur*	A. Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius*, 2 vols. in 3, Leipsic, 1893–1904
Hauck, *KD*	A. Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, vol. i., Leipsic, 1904; vol. ii., 1900; vol. iii., 1906; vol. iv., 1903
Hauck-Herzog, *RE*	*Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, founded by J. J. Herzog, 3d ed. by A. Hauck, Leipsic, 1896–1909
Heb.	Epistle to the Hebrews
Hebr.	Hebrew
Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*	C. J. von Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, continued by J. Hergenröther, vols. i.–vi., viii.–ix., Freiburg, 1883–93
Heimbucher, *Orden und Kongregationen*	M. Heimbucher, *Die Orden und Kongregationen der katholischen Kirche*, 2d ed. 3 vols., Paderborn, 1907
Helyot, *Ordres monastiques*	P. Helyot, *Histoire des ordres monastiques, religieux et militaires*, 8 vols., Paris, 1714–19; new ed., 1839–42
Henderson, *Documents*	E. F. Henderson, *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*, London, 1892
Hist.	History, *histoire, historia*
Hist. eccl.	*Historia ecclesiastica, ecclesiæ*, "Church History"
Hom.	*Homilia, homiliai*, "homily, homilies"
Hos.	Hosea
Isa.	Isaiah
Ital.	Italian
J.	Jahvist (Yahwist)
JA	*Journal Asiatique*, Paris, 1822 sqq.
Jaffé, *BRG*	P. Jaffé, *Bibliotheca rerum Germanicarum*, 6 vols., Berlin, 1864–73
Jaffé, *Regesta*	P. Jaffé, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum . . . ad annum 1198*, Berlin, 1851; 2d ed., Leipsic, 1881–88
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, New Haven, 1849 sqq.
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature and Exegesis*, first appeared as *Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis*, Middletown, 1882–88, then Boston, 1890 sqq.
JE	*The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 12 vols., New York, 1901–06
JE	The combined narrative of the Jahvist (Yahwist) and Elohist
Jer.	Jeremiah
Josephus, *Ant.*	Flavius Josephus, "Antiquities of the Jews"
Josephus, *Apion*	Flavius Josephus, "Against Apion"
Josephus, *Life*	Life of Flavius Josephus
Josephus, *War*	Flavius Josephus, "The Jewish War"
Josh.	Joshua
JPT	*Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*, Leipsic, 1875 sqq.
JQR	*The Jewish Quarterly Review*, London, 1888 sqq.
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London, 1834 sqq.
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*, London, 1899 sqq.
Julian, *Hymnology*	J. Julian, *A Dictionary of Hymnology*, revised edition, London, 1907.
JWT	*Jaarboeken voor Wetenschappelijke Theologie*, Utrecht, 1845 sqq.
KAT	See Schrader
KB	See Schrader
KD	See Friedrich, Hauck, Rettberg
KL	*Wetzer und Welte's Kirchenlexikon*, 2d ed., by J. Hergenröther and F. Kaulen, 12 vols., Freiburg, 1882–1903
Krüger, *History*	G. Krüger, *History of Early Christian Literature in the First Three Centuries*, New York, 1897
Krumbacher, *Geschichte*	K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, 2d ed., Munich, 1897
Labbe, *Concilia*	P. Labbe, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 31 vols., Florence and Venice, 1759–98
Lam.	Lamentations
Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist.*	J. Lanigan, *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland to the 13th Century*, 4 vols., Dublin, 1829
Lat.	Latin, Latinized
Leg.	*Leges, Legum*
Lev.	Leviticus
Lichtenberger, *ESR*	F. Lichtenberger, *Encyclopédie des sciences religieuses*, 13 vols., Paris, 1877–1882
Lorenz, *DGQ*	O. Lorenz, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter*, 3d ed., Berlin, 1887
LXX	The Septuagint
I Macc.	I Maccabees
II Macc.	II Maccabees
Mai, *Nova collectio*	A. Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio*, 10 vols., Rome, 1825–38
Mal.	Malachi
Mann, *Popes*	R. C. Mann, *Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages*, London, 1902 sqq.
Mansi, *Concilia*	G. D. Mansi, *Sanctorum conciliorum collectio nova*, 31 vols., Florence and Venice, 1728
Matt.	Matthew
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniæ historica*, ed. G. H. Pertz and others, Hanover and Berlin, 1826 sqq. The following abbreviations are used for the sections and subsections of this work: *Ant., Antiquitates*, "Antiquities"; *Auct. ant., Auctores antiquissimi*, "Oldest Writers"; *Chron. min., Chronica minora*, "Lesser Chronicles"; *Dip., Diplomata*, "Diplomas, Documents"; *Epist., Epistolæ*, "Letters"; *Gest. pont. Rom., Gesta pontificum Romanorum*, "Deeds of the Popes of Rome"; *Leg., Leges*, "Laws"; *Lib. de lite, Libelli de lite inter regnum et sacerdotium sæculorum xi. et xii. conscripti*, "Books concerning the Strife between the Civil and Ecclesiastical Authorities in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries"; *Nec., Necrologia Germaniæ*, "Necrology of Germany"; *Poet. Lat. ævi Car., Poetæ Latini ævi Carolini*, "Latin Poets of the Caroline Time"; *Poet. Lat. med. ævi. Poetæ Latini medii ævi*, "Latin Poets of the Middle Ages"; *Script., Scriptores*, "Writers"; *Script. rer. Germ., Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, "Writers on German Subjects"; *Script. rer. Langob., Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum*, "Writers on Lombard and Italian Subjects"; *Script. rer. Merov., Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*, "Writers on Merovingian Subjects"
Mic.	Micah
Milman, *Latin Christianity*	H. H. Milman, *History of Latin Christianity, Including that of the Popes to . . . Nicholas V.*, 8 vols., London, 1860–61
Mirbt, *Quellen*	C. Mirbt, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsttums und des römischen Katholicismus*, Tübingen, 1901
MPG	J. P. Migne, *Patrologiæ cursus completus, series Græca*, 162 vols., Paris, 1857–66
MPL	J. P. Migne, *Patrologiæ cursus completus, series Latina*, 221 vols., Paris, 1844–64
MS., MSS.	Manuscript, Manuscripts
Muratori, *Scriptores*	L. A. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum scriptores*, 28 vols., 1723–51
NA	*Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, Hanover, 1876 sqq.
Nah.	Nahum
n.d.	no date of publication
Neander, *Christian Church*	A. Neander, *General History of the Christian Religion and Church*, 6 vols., and index, Boston, 1872–81
Neh.	Nehemiah
Niceron, *Mémoires*	R. P. Niceron, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres . . .*, 43 vols., Paris, 1729–45
NKZ	*Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, Leipsic, 1890 sqq.
Nowack, *Archäologie*	W. Nowack, *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Archäologie*, 2 vols., Freiburg, 1894
n.p.	no place of publication
NPNF	*The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 1st series, 14 vols., New York, 1887–92; 2d series, 14 vols., New York, 1890–1900
N. T.	New Testament, *Novum Testamentum, Nouveau Testament, Neues Testament*
Num.	Numbers
Ob.	Obadiah

O. S. B.	*Ordo sancti Benedicti*, "Order of St. Benedict"
O. T.	Old Testament
OTJC	See Smith
P.	Priestly document
Pastor, *Popes*	L. Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, 8 vols., London, 1891–1908
PEA	*Patres ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, ed. J. A. Giles, 34 vols., London, 1838–46
PEF	Palestine Exploration Fund
I Pet.	First Epistle of Peter
II Pet.	Second Epistle of Peter
Platina, *Popes*	B. Platina, *Lives of the Popes from . . . Gregory VII. to . . . Paul II.*, 2 vols., London, n.d.
Pliny, *Hist. nat.*	Pliny, *Historia naturalis*
Potthast, *Wegweiser*	A. Potthast, *Bibliotheca historica medii ævi. Wegweiser durch die Geschichtswerke*, Berlin, 1896
Prov.	Proverbs
Ps.	Psalms
PSBA	*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archeology*, London, 1880 sqq.
q.v., qq.v.	quod (quæ) vide, "which see"
R.	Redactor
Ranke, *Popes*	L. von Ranke, *History of the Popes*, 3 vols., London, 1906
RDM	*Revue des deux mondes*, Paris, 1831 sqq.
RE	See Hauck-Herzog
Reich, *Documents*	E. Reich, *Select Documents Illustrating Mediæval and Modern History*, London, 1905
REJ	*Revue des études Juives*, Paris, 1880 sqq.
Rettberg, *KD*	F. W. Rettberg, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, 2 vols., Göttingen, 1846–48
Rev.	Book of Revelation
RHR	*Revue de l'histoire des religions*, Paris, 1880 sqq.
Richardson, *Encyclopaedia*	E. C. Richardson, *Alphabetical Subject Index and Index Encyclopœdia to Periodical Articles on Religion, 1890–99*, New York, 1907.
Richter, *Kirchenrecht*	A. L. Richter, *Lehrbuch des katholischen und evangelischen Kirchenrechts*, 8th ed. by W. Kahl, Leipsic, 1886
Robinson, *Researches*, and *Later Researches*	E. Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, Boston, 1841, and *Later Biblical Researches in Palestine*, 3d ed. of the whole, 3 vols., 1867
Robinson, *European History*	J. H. Robinson, *Readings in European History*, 2 vols., Boston, 1904–06
Robinson and Beard, *Modern Europe*	J. H. Robinson and C. A. Beard, *Development of Modern Europe*, 2 vols., Boston, 1907
Rom.	Epistle to the Romans
RSE	*Revue des sciences ecclésiastiques*, Arras, 1860–74, Amiens, 1875 sqq.
RTP	*Revue de théologie et de philosophie*, Lausanne, 1873
R. V.	Revised Version (of the English Bible)
sæc.	*sæculum*, "century"
I Sam.	I Samuel
II Sam.	II Samuel
SBA	*Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, Berlin, 1882 sqq.
SBE	F. Max Müller and others, *The Sacred Books of the East*, Oxford, 1879 sqq., vol. xlviii., 1904
SBOT	*Sacred Books of the Old Testament* ("Rainbow Bible"), Leipsic, London, and Baltimore, 1894 sqq.
Schaff, *Christian Church*	P. Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, vols. i.–iv., vi., vii., New York, 1882–92, vol. v., part 1, by D. S. Schaff, 1907
Schaff, *Creeds*	P. Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom*, 3 vols. New York, 1877–84
Schrader, *COT*	E. Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, 2 vols., London, 1885–88
Schrader, *KAT*	E. Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1902–03
Schrader, *KB*	E. Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, 6 vols., Berlin, 1889–1901
Schürer, *Geschichte*	E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, 4th ed., 3 vols., Leipsic, 1902 sqq.; Eng. transl., 5 vols., New York, 1891
Script.	*Scriptores*, "writers"
Scrivener, *Introduction*	F. H. A. Scrivener, *Introduction to New Testament Criticism*, 4th ed., London, 1894
Sent.	*Sententiæ*, "Sentences"
S. J.	*Societas Jesu*, "Society of Jesus"
SMA	*Sitzungsberichte der Münchener Akademie*, Munich, 1860 sqq.
Smith, *Kinship*	W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, London, 1903
Smith, *OTJC*	W. R. Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, London, 1892
Smith, *Prophets*	W. R. Smith, *Prophets of Israel . . . to the Eighth Century*, London, 1895
Smith, *Rel. of Sem.*	W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, London, 1894
S. P. C. K.	Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge
S. P. G.	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts
sq., sqq.	and following
Strom.	*Stromata*, "Miscellanies"
s.v.	sub voce, or sub verbo
Swete, *Introduction*	H. B. Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, London, 1900
Syr.	Syriac
TBS	Trinitarian Bible Society
Thatcher and McNeal, *Source Book*	O. J. Thatcher and E. H. McNeal, *A Source Book for Mediæval History*, New York, 1905
I Thess.	First Epistle to the Thessalonians
II Thess.	Second Epistle to the Thessalonians
ThT	*Theologische Tijdschrift*, Amsterdam and Leyden, 1867 sqq.
Tillemont, *Mémoires*	L. S. le Nain de Tillemont, *Mémoires . . . ecclésiastiques des six premiers siècles*, 16 vols., Paris, 1693–1712
I Tim.	First Epistle to Timothy
II Tim.	Second Epistle to Timothy
TJB	*Theologischer Jahresbericht*, Leipsic, 1882–1887, Freiburg, 1888, Brunswick, 1889–1897, Berlin, 1898 sqq.
TLB	*Theologisches Litteraturblatt*, Bonn, 1866 sqq.
TLZ	*Theologische Litteraturzeitung*, Leipsic, 1876 sqq.
Tob.	Tobit
TQ	*Theologische Quartalschrift*, Tübingen, 1819 sqq.
TS	J. A. Robinson, *Texts and Studies*, Cambridge, 1891 sqq.
TSBA	*Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, London, 1872 sqq.
TSK	*Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, Hamburg, 1826 sqq.
TU	*Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur*, ed. O. von Gebhardt and A. Harnack, Leipsic, 1882 sqq.
TZT	*Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie*, Tübingen, 1838–40
Ugolini, *Thesaurus*	B. Ugolinus, *Thesaurus antiquitatum sacrarum*, 34 vols., Venice, 1744–69
V. T.	*Vetus Testamentum*, *Vieux Testament*, "Old Testament"
Wattenbach, *DGQ*	W. Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, 5th ed., 2 vols., Berlin, 1885; 6th ed., 1893–94
Wellhausen, *Heidentum*	J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, Berlin, 1887
Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*	J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, 6th ed., Berlin, 1905, Eng. transl., Edinburgh, 1885
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Leipsic, 1886–88, Berlin, 1889 sqq.
Zahn, *Einleitung*	T. Zahn, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 3d ed., Leipsic, 1907
Zahn, *Kanon*	T. Zahn, *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, 2 vols., Leipsic, 1888–92
ZATW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Giessen, 1881 sqq.
ZDAL	*Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum und deutsche Literatur*, Berlin, 1876 sqq.
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Leipsic, 1847 sqq.
ZDP	*Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, Halle, 1869 sqq.
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, Leipsic, 1878 sqq.
Zech.	Zechariah
Zeph.	Zephaniah
ZHT	*Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie*, published successively at Leipsic, Hamburg, and Gotha, 1832–75
ZKG	*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Gotha, 1876 sqq.
ZKR	*Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht*, Berlin, Tübingen, Freiburg, 1861 sqq.
ZKT	*Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, Innsbruck, 1877 sqq.
ZKW	*Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft und kirchliches Leben*, Leipsic, 1880–89
ZNTW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Giessen, 1900 sqq.
ZPK	*Zeitschrift für Protestantismus und Kirche*, Erlangen, 1838–76
ZWT	*Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, Jena, 1858–60, Halle, 1861–67, Leipsic, 1868 sqq.

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

The following system of transliteration has been used for Hebrew:

א = ' or omitted at the beginning of a word.	ז = z	ע = ‘
	ח = ḥ	פּ = p
בּ = b	ט = ṭ	פ = ph or p
ב = bh or b	י = y	צ = ẓ
גּ = g	כּ = k	ק = ḳ
ג = gh or g	כ = kh or k	ר = r
דּ = d	ל = l	שׂ = s
ד = dh or d	מ = m	שׁ = sh
ה = h	נ = n	תּ = t
ו = w	ס = s	ת = th or t

The vowels are transcribed by a, e, i, o, u, without attempt to indicate quantity or quality. Arabic and other Semitic languages are transliterated according to the same system as Hebrew. Greek is written with Roman characters, the common equivalents being used.

KEY TO PRONUNCIATION

When the pronunciation is self-evident the titles are not respelled; when by mere division and accentuation it can be shown sufficiently clearly the titles have been divided into syllables, and the accented syllables indicated.

a as in sof*a*	ɐ as in n*o*t	iu as in d*u*ration
ā " " *a*rm	ō " " n*o*r	c = k " " *c*at
a " " *a*t	u " " f*u*ll[2]	ch " " *ch*urch
ā " " f*a*re	ū " " r*u*le	cw = qu as in *qu*een
e " " p*e*n[1]	ʊ " " b*u*t	dh (*th*) " " *th*e
ê " " f*a*te	ʊ̄ " " b*u*rn	f " " *f*ancy
i " " t*i*n	ai " " p*i*ne	g (hard) " " *g*o
î " " mach*i*ne	au " " *ou*t	н " " loc*h* (Scotch)
o " " *o*bey	ei " " *oi*l	hw (*wh*) " " *wh*y
ō " " n*o*	iū " " f*ew*	j " " *j*aw

[1] In accented syllables only; in unaccented syllables it approximates the sound of e in over. The letter n̨, with a dot beneath it, indicates the sound of n as in ink. Nasal n (as in French words) is rendered n.

[2] In German and French names ü approximates the sound of u in d*u*ne.

GOAR, SAINT: Reputed missionary on the Middle Rhine. According to his biography in the *Acta Sanctorum*, he came from Aquitaine to the Rhine in the reign of the Frankish King Childebert I. (511–558), and built a cell and a chapel on the site of the later town of St. Goar (on the left bank of the Rhine, 15 m. s. of Coblenz), where he passed his life in spiritual exercises and the entertainment of travelers, and converted not a few pagans. His very hospitality was made a ground of complaint by two clerics from Treves; but he defended himself so impressively before Rusticus, the bishop of that see, that King Sigebert (561–576) desired to make him bishop instead of Rusticus. Goar declined, returned to his cell, and died there seven years later. The legend, which goes back only to the ninth century, has not the slightest historical value. According to a document of Louis the Pious, dated 820, Pepin and his queen Bertha built a cell over the saint's grave, and Pepin is said to have assigned it to the jurisdiction of Abbot Asuer of Prüm, while Charlemagne, in 788, assigned the cell as a residence for Tassilo of Bavaria. In the eleventh century it was changed into a house of canons, and it continued so till the Reformation.

(A. Hauck.)

Bibliography: The early anonymous life, with commentary, a second life and *Miracula* are in *ASB*, July, ii. 327–346; the later life and *Miracula* are also in *MGH, Script.*, xv (1887), 361–373. Consult: A. Grebel, *Geschichte der Stadt St. Goar*, St. Goar, 1848; P. Heber, *Die vorkarolingischen christlichen Glaubenshelden am Rhein*, pp. 130–140; Rettberg, *KD*, i. 465, 481; Friedrich, *KD*, ii. 175; *DCB*, ii. 687–688.

GOATS. See Pastoral Life, Hebrew.

GOBAT, gō″bā′, SAMUEL: Second Anglican-German bishop in Jerusalem; b. at Crémine (23 m. s.s.w. of Basel), Switzerland, Jan. 26, 1799; d. at Jerusalem May 11, 1879. Desiring to become a missionary, he went to the *Missionshaus* at Basel (1821), where he received his theological training, after which he studied in Paris. After having been ordained in the state church of Baden, he was sent to England to seek employment from the Church Missionary Society. He was destined for Abyssinia, but was compelled to wait three years in Egypt before he was admitted. In 1829, with his companion Christian Kugler, he entered the country. King Saba Gadis received them with kindness, and a time of zealous and successful work followed. After three years Saba Gadis was killed in war and Gobat had to flee from the country. When peace was restored he went back, but sickness of himself and wife made a return to Europe necessary.

In 1846 King Frederick William IV. of Prussia appointed him to the bishopric of Jerusalem (see Jerusalem, Anglican-German Bishopric in). Despite the peculiar and difficult conditions, and notwithstanding the opposition of the Oriental bishops and the mistrust of many Anglicans, Gobat labored faithfully until his death. His *Journal of a Three Years' Residence in Abyssinia* was published in London, 1834. (Theodor Schäfer.)

Bibliography: Mme. L. Roehrich, *Samuel Gobat . . . évêque anglican de Jerusalem*, Paris, 1880, Germ. transl., Basel, 1884; Eng. transl. (from the Germ.) with preface by the Earl of Shaftesbury, London, 1884; T. Schoelly, *S. Gobat, Evangelischer Bischof in Jerusalem*, Basel, 1900.

GOBELINUS PERSONA. See Persona.

GOCH, gōh, JOHANN VON (Johann Pupper or Capupper): One of the "Reformers before the Reformation"; b. at Goch (43 m. n.w. of Düsseldorf) early in the fifteenth century; d. near Mechlin Mar. 28, 1475, or later. He probably received his first education in a school of the Brethren of the Common Life, perhaps in Zwolle. He studied at the University of Cologne, and possibly also in Paris. In 1459 he founded the priory of Thabor for canonesses of St. Augustine, and governed it till his death.

Goch stood on the threshold of the Reformation in so far as he minimized the traditions of the Church and acknowledged as the only authorities the Bible and the Fathers. But in the central point of reformatory dogmatics, in the doctrine of justification, he still stood on the ground of the Middle Ages. He attacked monasticism on the ground that it could not be justified from the Bible, and that it lowered the value of grace, since the monastic vow was considered to lead to true Christian perfection. Against the doctrine of a twofold morality Goch argued that the so-called "counsels" belong to Evangelical law as well as the "precepts," and are to be observed by both the clergy and the laity. By giving due regard to the secular professions, he rose above the one-sided asceticism of the Middle Ages. As an extreme nominalist, Goch rejected all speculation in the sphere of religion, and strongly emphasized the authority of the Church. As a mystic he aimed at a closer and more intimate union with God through love of him and our fellow men. His importance

for the history of dogma lies in the fact that he belonged to the Augustinian reaction at the end of the Middle Ages which, by a revival of the Augustinian monism of grace, tried to combat the Semi-Pelagianism and Pelagianism of the time and justification by works. His literary works remained long unknown. His chief work, *De libertate Christiana*, which was written in 1473, appeared in print only in 1521. The work which gives his most mature thought is *Dialogus de quattuor erroribus circa legem evangelicam exortis*, which was printed probably in 1523. (Otto Clemen.)

Bibliography: O. Clemen, *Johann Pupper von Goch*, Leipsic, 1896; a very complete treatment will be found in C. Ullmann, *Reformers before the Reformation*, i. 17–157, where the earlier literature is fully given.

GOD.

I. Name and General Conception.
II. The God of Scripture.
Old Testament: Ethical Conception (§ 1).
New Testament: Fatherhood of God (§ 2).
Attributes of God (§ 3).
III. The Doctrine of God in Christian Theology.
Dependence upon Pre-Christian Thought (§ 1).
Platonism (§ 2).
Alexandrian Judaism (§ 3).
Gnosticism (§ 4).
Post-Apostolic Theologians (§ 5).
Augustine (§ 6).
Scotus Erigena (§ 7).
The Scholastic Philosophers (§ 8).
The Mystics (§ 9).
The Reformers (§ 10).
Leibnitz and Wolff (§ 11).
Kant and Fichte (§ 12).
Hegel (§ 13).
Post-Hegelian Philosophers (§ 14).
Schleiermacher (§ 15).
Modern Tendencies (§ 16).
IV. In English and American Theology.
The Deistic Period in England (§ 1).
The Same Period in America (§ 2).
Nineteenth-Century Developments (§ 3).
Theistic Arguments (§ 4).
Immanence (§ 5).
Fatherhood of God (§ 6).

I. Name and General Conception: Though the reality of God's existence is the most certain of all truths to the Christian, it follows from the nature of the case that a thoroughly satisfactory definition of the idea of God can never be reached. A logical definition requires the use of genus and differentia, which are, of course, absent in the case of God; nor can he be subsumed in the same genus with other things. Nevertheless, the religions of the world have succeeded in reaching quite distinct conceptions of one or more gods without strict definitions. All of them, even the lowest, include in their idea of God that he is a being endowed with power over men and nature. A certain spiritual character is attributed to him by the fact of his invisibility; but the religious conception of God includes especially the idea of a will by which he acts on men. The more developed religions conceive this will as almighty, and refer the original being of all things to its operation. The most important element, however, according to Christian revelation, is the ethical nature of that will as the absolute good, determining the development of the world toward good ends.

II. The God of Scripture: The Old Testament revelation is peculiar for its conception of God as wholly and from the beginning standing in an ethical relation to humanity, and especially to his people Israel. It does not begin with theoretical speculations as to his existence and nature, but with his moral claims, his promises, and the proclamation to his people of his acts. The fear of him is based upon his absolute ethical exaltation, which repels and condemns all that is morally unclean. The proper name of the covenant God is Yahweh (q.v.). The exposition of the name in Ex. iii. 14 expresses not merely the general and abstract being of God, but the immutability of that being, and in its independence of anything beyond itself God's character as a spirit comes out clearly—a personal spirit, as distinguished from a force of nature. This spirit appears as the creative and motive principle of all life in the world, figured as a breath or wind (Ps. civ. 29, 30), especially of human life, originally breathed into man by God (Gen. ii. 7; Job xxxiii. 4; Eccl. xii. 7). The infinite fulness of power and majesty comprised in God and displayed in the revelation of his will and power is expressed by the plural form Elohim, used as it is in connection with the strictest monotheistic views. With the belief in the divine holiness is associated from the beginning the thought of a revelation of divine grace and love. God chooses Israel to be his people, redeems them from bondage, and on this ground requires from them obedience to his law. In virtue of the relation in which he thus stands to the people, and especially to the theocratically chosen king (II Sam. vii.; Ps. ii.), to which a filial obedience and confidence are supposed to correspond on their side, he deigns to be called their Father (Ex. iv. 22; Deut. xxxii. 6; Hos. xi. 1; Isa. lxiii. 16). The idea of the unity of God receives a practical application from the first; Yahweh alone is to be recognized and worshiped as God, and loved with the whole heart (Ex. xx. 2 sqq.; Deut. vi. 4, 5); and the universal dominion of the One God is everywhere proclaimed as a fundamental truth. It is, then, this ethical-religious view of God and his relation to Israel and to humanity in general, together with the doctrine of the kingdom which he founds, and not any abstract conception of the unity of God, that forms the essential characteristic of the Old Testament revelation.

1. Old Testament: Ethical Conception.

The New Testament revelation is characterized by the fact that God now reveals himself in the highest and fullest sense as a father to all those who share in his salvation or are members of his kingdom, and in the most absolute and perfect way as the father of Jesus Christ. On this relation of sonship is based the free, confident access to God and enjoyment of his love and all the blessings connected with it; and the children are required to resemble their father in character (Matt. v. 9, 16, 44). While in the Old Testament Israel taken as a whole sometimes appears as a son, here God's relation is to the individual; although this fact does not interfere with

2. New Testament: Fatherhood of God.

the other thought that the children of the One Father form a community, a kingdom of God, and that they can enjoy their union with God only when they are thus united with each other. According to Paul, the Spirit of God dwells in the Church as the motive power and principle of an entire new inner life in the sons of God—who have also attained to their faith in Christ and their sonship only through the same Spirit (I Cor. xii. 3). The internal change effected from above is set forth as a new birth (see Regeneration). John contrasts this birth from God with the ordinary human, physical birth (John i. 12; I John iii. 9, v. 4). It is especially John and Paul who conceive God's relation to man under these aspects of self-revelation, foundation of a community, and self-communication; but I Peter also contains the idea of our being born again of incorruptible seed (i. 23), and James of our being begotten of God with the word of truth (i. 18). The effect of this fatherhood is finally to be the filling of the children with all the fulness of God (Eph. iii. 19, iv. 6).

This whole relation of God to the faithful is brought about through Christ. He is called the Son absolutely, the only-begotten, just as he calls God his father with a distinction ("my father and your father," John xx. 17, not "our father"). This he is by virtue of his primary origin, not through a regeneration. It is through him that all the others become children of God; the spirit of their adoption is his Spirit (Gal. iv. 6; II Cor. iii. 17; cf. John xiv.–xvi.). The fulness of God is communicated to the Church and to the individual as it is comprehended and revealed in him (Col. ii. 10; Eph. iv. 13, ii. 22). And of him who, as the historic Christ and Son, is the partaker of the divine life and the head of the kingdom, and shall see all things put under him, it is asserted by Paul, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Johannine writings (including the Apocalypse) that in like manner all things were created by him and through him, that in him they have their life and being, and that all divine revelation is his revelation—the revelation of the Logos. Thus the New Testament idea of God includes the doctrine that from the very beginning the Word was with God and of divine character and essence. With this relation of God to the Logos the elements appear which are treated at greater length in the article Trinity.

But this relation of God to his children must be clearly distinguished from God's relation to the universal natural life of personal spirits and to nature in general. The expression "the Father of spirits" in Heb. xii. 9 (cf. "the God of the spirits of all flesh," Num. xvi. 22, xxvii. 16) refers not to the regenerate as such, and not to birth from God, but to creation by him, in which (cf. Gen. i. 2) he has imparted his image by the breathing of his Spirit. With the same reference the saying of the pagan poet "We are also his offspring" is quoted in Acts xvii. 28. In this same passage Paul expresses the general relation of God to man, which subsists even in those who have rejected him, by the words "In him we live, and move, and have our being." At the same time, it is said of the glorified Christ, who fills the Church, that he fills all things (Eph. i. 23, iv. 10), and this can only mean the whole world, over which he presides, his divine powers first penetrating humanity, and then through it bringing all things into harmony with his purposes. Thus, as all things proceed from God and exist in him, so he, and especially he as revealed in Christ, with his plan of salvation and his kingdom, is the final goal of all things (cf. Rom. xi. 36).

Both in Christian revelation and in the idea of the fatherhood of God, love is a fundamental element. It is most forcibly expressed in the assertion that "God is love" (I John iv. 8, 16)—not love in the abstract merely, still less a loving God. This is, in fact, the determining element in God's nature. From it follows that the perfect, almighty One, who needs nothing (Acts xvii. 25), communicates himself to his creatures and brings them into union with him, in order to make them perfect and so eternally happy. Its highest expression is found in the fact that he gave his Son for us while we were yet sinners, and desired to make us his sons (I John iv. 10, iii. 1, 2; Rom. v. 8, viii. 32). But God is not only love; he is also light (I John i. 5). By this may be understood his perfect purity, which repels and excludes all that is unclean; his function as the source of pure moral and religious truth; and his glorious majesty. That the supreme, holy, and loving God, the Father of spirits, is himself a spirit is taken for granted all through the New Testament. In John iv. 24, where this is brought up to enforce the lesson that he is to be worshiped in spirit, without narrow confinement to a special place or to outward forms, it is spoken of as not a new truth but one which Jews and Samaritans were supposed already to know, and for whose consequences they should be prepared. The Yahweh-name of Ex. iii. 14 is further developed, in Rev. i. 4, 8, xxi. 6, xxii. 13, into "Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, which is, and which was, and which is to come." The eternity of God is thus placed in its relation to the development of the world and to its ultimate conclusion in the completed revelation of God and of his kingdom. See Heathenism, § 4.

3. Attributes of God.

III. The Doctrine of God in Christian Theology: The Christian revelation and its teachings about God supplied a distinct moral and religious need; but even after it had accomplished the foundation of a community based upon these ideas, there was still room for a clear definition of its different elements and an investigation of their relations to other departments of the intellectual life—in a word, for a Christian science of theology. But Christian theology in its earliest stages made use of the results of pre-Christian, especially Greek, thought—the methods and forms of philosophical reasoning, general logical and metaphysical categories, and philosophic views of the Godhead and its relation to the world, which, although they had originated on pagan soil and were in no way permeated by the spirit of Scriptural revelation, were yet considered as elevated far above the common polytheism of the heathen world, and even as borrowed in part from

1. Dependence upon Pre-Christian Thought.

the Old Testament. These elements had a distinct influence upon Christian theology; and it is also indisputable that, compared with the spirit known in the New Testament writings, the inner life of the succeeding generations showed a marked falling off in energy and depth, and gave room for reactions of a non-Christian tendency, sometimes mainly pagan, sometimes more Jewish, but always based upon the natural disposition of sinful humanity.

In regard to philosophy, it is necessary to bear in mind the more or less direct influence of Platonism, which viewed as the highest of all things the good that was above all being and all knowledge, identified it with the divine *nous*, and attempted to raise the human spirit into the realm of ideas, into a likeness with the Godhead; which taught men to rise to the highest by a process of abstraction disregarding particulars and grasping at universals, and conceived the good of which it spoke not in a strictly ethical sense, but as, after all, the most utterly abstract and undefinable, entirely eluding all attempts at positive description. Neoplatonism (q.v.) went the furthest in this conception of the divine transcendence; God, the absolute One, was, according to Plotinus, elevated not only above all being, but also above all reason and rational activity. He did not, however, attempt to attain to this abstract highest good by reasoning or logical abstraction, but by an immediate contact between God and the soul in a state of ecstasy.

2. Platonism.

This tendency was shared by a school of thought within Judaism itself, whose influence upon Christian theology was considerable. The more Jewish speculation, as was the case especially at Alexandria, rose above an anthropomorphic idea of God to a spiritual conception, the more abstract the latter became. In this connection Platonism was the principal one of the Greek philosophical systems toward which this Jewish theology maintained a receptive attitude. According to Philo, God is *to on*, "that which is" *par excellence*, and this being is rather the most universal of all than the supreme good with which Plato identified the divine; all that can be said is that God is, without defining the nature of his being. Between God and the world a middle place is attributed by Philo to the Logos (in the sense of *ratio*, not at all in the Johannine sense), as the principle of diversity and the summary of the ideas and powers operating in the world.

3. Alexandrian Judaism.

When the Gnostics attempted to construct a great system of higher knowledge from a Christian standpoint, through assimilating various Greek and Oriental elements, and worked the facts of the Christian revelation into their fantastic speculation on general metaphysical and cosmic problems (see Gnosticism), this abstract Godhead became an obscure background for their system; according to the Valentinian doctrine, it was the primal beginning of all things, with eternal silence (*sigē*) for a companion.

4. Gnosticism.

In the development of the Church's doctrine with Justin and the succeeding apologists, and still more with the Alexandrian school, the transcendental nature of God was emphasized, while the Scriptures and the religious conscience of Christendom still permitted the contemplation of him as a personal and loving Spirit. Theology did not at first proceed to a systematic and logical explanation of the idea of God with reference to these different aspects. Where philosophical and strictly scientific thought was active, as with the Alexandrians, the element of negation and abstraction got the upper hand. God is, especially with Origen, the simple Being with attributes, exalted above *nous* and *ousia*, and at the same time the Father, eternally begetting the Logos and touching the world through the Logos. In opposition to this developed a Judaistic and popular conception of God which leaned to the anthropomorphic, and also a view like Tertullian's, which, under the influence of Stoic philosophy, felt obliged to connect with all realities, and thus also with God, the idea of a tangible substance. In this direction Dionysius the Areopagite (q.v.) finally proceeded to a really Neoplatonist theology, with an inexpressible God who is above all categories, both positive and negative, and thus is neither Being nor Not-being; who permits that which is to emanate from himself in a descending scale coming down to things perceived by the senses, but is unable to reveal his eternal truth in this emanation. With this doctrine is connected, after the Neoplatonist model, an inner union with God, an ecstatic elevation of the soul which resigns itself to the process into the obscure depth of the Godhead. The ethical conception of God and redemption thus gives place to a physical one, just as the emanation of all things from God was described as a physical process; and as soon as speculation attempts to descend from the hidden God to finite and personal life, this physical view connects itself with the abstract metaphysical.

5. Post-Apostolic Theologians.

In the West there was long a lack of scientific and speculative discussion of the idea of God. Augustine, the most significant name in Western theology, sets forth the conception of God as a self-conscious personal being which fitted in with his doctrine of the Trinity; but as his own development had led him through Platonism, the influence of that philosophy is found in the idea of God which he developed systematically and handed down. He conceives God as the unity of ideas, of abstract perfections, of the normal types of being, thinking, and acting; as simple *essentia*, in which will, knowledge, and being are one and the same. The fundamentally determinant factor in the conception of God by the Augustinian theology is thus pure being in general.

6. Augustine.

Scotus Erigena (q.v.), who gave Dionysius the Areopagite to Western theology, though Augustine was not without influence upon him, fully accepted the notion of God as the absolute Inconceivable, above all affirmation and all negation, distinguishing from him a world to which divine ideas and primal forms belong. He emphasizes the other side of this view—that true existence belongs to God

7. Scotus Erigena.

alone, so that, in so far as anything exists in the universe, God is the essence of it; a practical pantheism, in spite of his attempting to enforce a creative activity on the part of God. The influence of this pantheistic view on medieval theology was a limited one; Amalric of Bena (q.v.), with his proposition that God was all things, was its main disciple.

8. The Scholastic Philosophers.

In accordance with its fundamental character, scholasticism attempted to reduce the idea of God into the categories which related to the laws of thought, to being in general, and to the world. It began by adapting the Aristotelian terms to its own purposes. God, or absolute being, was to Aristotle the *primum mobile*, regarded thus from the standpoint of causation and not of mere being, and also a thinking subject. The ideas and prototypes of the finite are accordingly to be found in God, who is the final Cause. God, in Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas, is not the essential being of things, but he is their *esse effective et exemplariter*, their *primum movens*, and their *causa finalis*. Aristotelian, again, is the definition of God's own nature, that he is, as a thinking subject, *actus purus*—pure, absolute energy, without the distinction found in finite beings between potentiality and actuality. In opposition to Thomas, Duns Scotus emphasized in his conception of God the *primum ens* and *primum movens*, the element of will and free causation. The arbitrary nature of the will of God, taught by him, was raised by Occam to the most important element of his teaching about God. Upon this abstract conception of the will of God as arbitrary and unconditioned depend the questions (so characteristic of scholasticism from Abelard down) as to whether all things are possible to God.

9. The Mystics.

About the end of the thirteenth century, by the side of the logical reasonings of scholasticism, there arose the mystical theology of Eckhart, which attempted to bring the Absolute near to the hearts of men as the object of an immediate intuition dependent upon complete self-surrender. The transcendental Neoplatonic conception of the Absolute is here pushed to its extreme, and Dionysius has more influence than Thomas Aquinas. The view of God's relation to the world is almost pantheistic, unless it may be rather called acosmistic, regarding the finite as naught. This is Eckhart's teaching, although at the same time he speaks of a creation of the world and of a Son in whom God expresses himself and creates. This God is regarded as goodness and love, communicating himself in a way, but not to separate and independent images of his own being; rather, he possesses and loves himself in all things, and the surrender to him is passivity and self-annihilation. The ruling ideas of this view were moderated by the practical German mystics and found in this form a wide currency. On the other hand, pantheistic heretics, such as the Brethren of the Free Spirit combined antinomian principles with the doctrine that God was all things and that the Christian united with God was perfect as God.

10. The Reformers.

In partial contrast to the speculative theology which has been considered above, the practical popular view of the Middle Ages tended to represent God as a strict autocrat and judge, and to multiply intermediate advocates with him, of whom Mary was chief. Luther went back to the God of Scripture, regarded primarily in his ethical relation to man, pronouncing curses, indeed, against the impenitent, but really aiming at man's salvation. As the love of God has an ethical, personal character, so it requires from its human objects not self-annihilation, but an entrance with all the power of personality into communion with this love and enjoyment of the filial relation. The Christian, though free from bondage to the world, is to realize that it was made by God to serve his purposes. Melanchthon and Calvin, in like manner, avoiding scholastic subtleties, laid stress upon these practical relations. The dogmatic differences, however, between the Lutheran and Reformed confessions point to a fundamental difference in the way of regarding God. The former emphasizes his loving condescension to man's weakness, and teaches a deification of humanity in the person of Christ and a union of the divine operations and presence with means of grace having a created and symbolic side, which the latter, with its insistence upon the supreme exaltation of God, can not admit; and it rejects a theory of an eternal decree of reprobation against a part of humanity which the latter defends by appealing to God's rights over sinners and his absolute sovereignty. The next generation of dogmatic theologians was accustomed to define God as *essentia spiritualis infinita*, and, in the description of his attributes, to pass from general metaphysical terms to his ethical attributes and those relating to his knowledge. The older rationalistic and supranaturalistic theologians showed an increasing tendency to return for their definitions and expositions to the Scriptures. Nor did they accomplish much in the way of solving the real problems or investigating the relation between the content of revelation and the knowledge or conception of the divine to be found elsewhere.

11. Leibnitz and Wolff.

The independent metaphysical systems of the philosophers, which embraced God and the world, did not at first make any profound impression on the thought of theologians. Spinoza's pantheism was by its very nature excluded from consideration; but the philosophy of Leibnitz and Wolff, with its conception of God as a supremely perfect, personal Being, in whom all possible realities were embraced in their highest form, and with its demonstration of God's existence, offered itself as a friend to Christian doctrine, and was widely influential. In so far, however, as the theologians adopted any of its conclusions, it was with little clearness of insight or independent thought as to the relation of these metaphysical concepts to the Christian faith or as to their own validity.

A new epoch in German philosophy, with which theology had and still has to reckon, came in with Kant. Confidence in the arguments by which God's existence had been proved and defined was at

least shaken by his criticism, which, however, energetically asserted the firm foundation of moral consciousness, and so led up to God by a new way, in postulating the existence of a deity for the establishment of the harmony required by

12. Kant and Fichte.

the moral consciousness between the moral dignity of the subjects and their happiness based upon the adaptation of nature to their ends. Fichte was led from this standpoint to a God who is not personal, but represents the moral order of the universe, believing in which we are to act as duty requires, without question as to the results.

But for a time the most successful and apparently the most dangerous to Christian theology was a pantheistic philosophical conception of God which took for its foundation the idea of an Absolute raised above subject and object, above thinking and being; which explained and claimed to deduce all truth as the necessary self-development of this idea. With Schelling this pantheism is still in embryo, and finally comes back (in his "philosophy of revelation") to the recognition of the divine personality, with an attempt to construct it speculatively. In a great piece of constructive work the philosophy of Hegel undertook to show how this Absolute is first pure being, identical with not-being; how then, in the form of externalization or becoming other, it comes to be nature

13. Hegel.

or descends to nature; and finally, in the finite spirit, resumes itself into itself, comes to itself, becomes self-conscious, and thus now for the first time takes on the form of personality. For Christian theology the special importance of this teaching was its claim to have taken what Christian doctrine had comprehended only in a limited way of God, the divine Personality, the Incarnation, etc., and to have expressed it according to its real content and to the laws of thought.

The conservative Hegelians still maintained that God, in himself and apart from the creation of the world and the origin of human personality, was to be considered as a self-conscious spirit or personality, and thus offered positive support to the Christian doctrine of God and his revelation of himself. But the Hegelian principles were more logically carried out by the opposite wing of the party, especially by David Friedrich Strauss (in his *Christliche Glaubenslehre*, Tübingen, 1840) in the strongest antithesis to the Christian doctrine of a personal God, of Christ as the only Son of God and the God-Man, and of a personal ethical relation between God and man. Some other philosophers, however, who may be classed in general under the head of the modern speculative idealism, have, in their speculations on the Absolute as actually present in the universe, retained a belief in the personality of God.

The realist philosopher Herbart, who recognized a personal God not through speculations on the Absolute and the finite, but on the basis of moral consciousness and teleology, yet defined little about him, and what he has to say on this subject never attracted much attention among theologians. The Hegelian pantheistic "absolute idealism," once widely prevalent, did not long retain its domination. Its place was taken first in many quarters, as with Strauss, by an atheistic materialism; Hegel had made the universal abstract into

14. Post-Hegelian Philosophers.

God, and when men abandoned their belief in this and in its power to produce results, they gave up their belief in God with it. Among the post-Hegelian philosophers the most important for the present subject is Lotze, with his defense and confirmation of the idea of a personal God, going back in the most independent way both to Herbart and to idealism, both to Spinoza and to Leibnitz. Christian theology can, of course, only protest against the peculiar pantheism of Schopenhauer, which is really much older than he, but never before attained wide currency, and against that of Von Hartmann. The significance for the doctrine of God of the newer philosophical undertakings which are characterized by an empiricist-realist tendency, and based on epistemology and criticism is found not so much in their definite expressions about God—they do not as a rule consider him an object of scientific expression, even when they allow him to be a necessary object of faith—as in the impulse which they give to critical investigation of religious belief and perception in general.

Theology, at least German theology, before Schleiermacher showed but little understanding of and interest in the problems regarding a proper conception and confirmation of the doctrine of God which had been laid before it in this development of philosophy beginning with Kant. This is especially true of its attitude toward Kant himself—and not only of the supranaturalists who were suspicious of any exaltation of the natural reason, but also of the rationalists, who still had a superficial devotion to the Enlightenment and to Wolffian philosophy. In Schleiermacher's teaching about God, however, the results of a devout and immediate consciousness were combined with philosophical postulates. In his mind the place of all the so-called proofs of the existence of God is completely supplied by the recognition that the feeling of absolute dependence involved in the devout

15. Schleiermacher.

Christian consciousness is a universal element of life; in this consciousness he finds the explanation of the source of this feeling of dependence, i.e., of God, as being love, by which the divine nature communicates itself. For his reasoned philosophical speculation, however, on the human spirit and universal being, the idea of God is nothing but the idea of the absolute unity of the ideal and the real, which in the world exist as opposites. (Compare Schelling's philosophy of identity, unlike which, however, Schleiermacher acknowledges the impossibility of a speculative deduction of opposites from an original identity; and the teaching of Spinoza, whose conception of God, however, as the one substance he does not share.) Thus God and the universe are to him correlatives, but not identical—God is unity without plurality, the universe plurality without unity; and this God is apprehended by man's feeling, just as man's feeling apprehends the unity of ideal and real.

Marheineke believed it possible as a dogmatic

theologian to set forth the content of the Christian faith from the standpoint of Hegelian philosophy without accepting (or even recognizing as Hegelian) the impersonal, pantheistic idea of the Absolute, and indeed without going deeply into the train of thought leading up to that idea. Other theologians who more or less followed Schleiermacher, while they agreed with his statements about the devout consciousness, feeling, inner experience, and the like, yet avoided his philosophical definition of God. Others, again, holding to the same point of departure, have striven with zealous confidence to use the main elements of the idea of God thus attained in connection with conceptual speculation and construction in the interests of an objective knowledge of God. Among these may be classed Rothe, Martensen, Dorner, and especially Frank. The point particularly aimed at by these men is the vindication of the personality of God, in opposition to the pantheistic philosophy noticed above. A tendency has also appeared to recognize the very being of this God in the world of being created by him, thus giving a theistic conception of God in opposition not only to the pantheistic but also to the deistic. This tendency has, on the one hand, done justice to so much truth as lies in the pantheistic conception, and, on the other, by its adherence to Scriptural forms of expression, it has led to a more vivid realization of the divine nature in its relation to the world than prevailed among the old rationalists and supranaturalists.

16. Modern Tendencies.

The question has also arisen among theologians of the strict positive school, in consequence of the doctrine of Christ as the God-Man, whether, and if so how far, it is consistent with the divine nature, as found in the Logos or the second Person of the Trinity, to speak of a *Kenosis* (q.v.) or self-emptying, such as was supposed to have taken place in the incarnation of the Logos, bringing with it a suspension of his eternal consciousness. This is in direct opposition to the old orthodox teaching, according to which Christ laid aside in his humiliation not what affected his Godhead, but what affected his humanity, endowed with divine qualities by the *Communicatio idiomatum* (q.v.).

Biedermann, a dogmatic theologian influenced by Hegelian speculation, treats the notion of the personality of God as one to be rejected from the standpoint of scientific philosophy. It is true that he designates personality as " the adequate form of presentation for the theistic conception of God "; but he goes on to say that a theism of this kind can never attain to pure thought, and is only an unscientific conception of the content of the religious idea, adopted in a polemical spirit against those who think this out logically. As against pantheistic notions of God, however, he is willing to admit the " substantial " validity of the theistic position. He himself describes God as absolute spirit, absolute being in and by himself, and the fundamental essence of all being outside himself. Quite a different tendency of philosophic thought on the matter is met with in Lipsius. He traces the belief in God back to a practical necessity felt by the personal human spirit, and reaches the conception of God as a purpose-determining intelligence and a lawgiving will, and thus as a self-conscious and self-determining personality. He finds our knowledge of God always inadequate as soon as we attempt to go on to transcendental knowledge of his inner nature, because we are forced to speak of this in metaphors borrowed from our human relations, and to carry over our notions of space and time to where space and time are not. He declares also that the metaphysical speculations which attempt to replace these inadequate notions by a real knowledge of God are themselves unable to do this, since they can not get beyond the boundary of an eternal and ever-present existence underlying all existence in space and time, and are unable to define this existence in distinction from spatial and temporal existence except by purely formal logical definitions which really add nothing to our knowledge. It is really Kantian criticism which appears here, more forcibly than in previous dogmatic theology, as it reappears also in the later post-Hegelian philosophy.

Ritschl, again, is reminiscent of Kant in his opposition to all " metaphysical " statements about God, and in the way in which he places God for our knowledge in relation to our personal ethical spirit, as well as the powers which he attributes to this latter in relation to nature (cf. Kant's so-called moral proof or God as the postulate of the practical reason). Through the revelation in Christ, God becomes to him to a certain extent an objective reality, and, rejecting the conception of God as the Absolute, he prefers to define him simply as love. Against this not only dogmatic theologians like Frank and Nitzsch, but Kaftan also objects that love is found also in the finite sphere, and thus can not sufficiently express the essential nature of God, which differentiates him from the finite. Ritschl himself says, moreover, that the love which God is has the attribute of omnipotence, and that God is the creator of the universe, as will determining both himself and all things, while these definitions can in no way be deduced from the simple conception of love. Kaftan begins by the statement that God is the Absolute; and this signifies to him not only that God has absolute power over all that is, but also and even more that he is the absolute goal of all human endeavor. Nitzsch employs the term " supramundane " to include the domination of the universe and to express at the same time not only the thought that he who conditions all things is himself unconditioned, but also the moral and intellectual exaltation of God.

The whole body, therefore, of these modern theologians hold fast to an objective doctrine of God with a strict scientific comprehension of terms; and they agree in displaying a characteristic which differentiates them from earlier schools of thought, though varying in degree and in logical sequence—the consciousness that the Christian doctrine of God is based not upon the operations of reason but upon the revelation of God in Christ, of which the witness is in our hearts and that it must grasp as the fundamentally essential in God and his relation to us the ethical element in him—must conceive him, in a word, primarily as the sacred Love.

(J. Köstlin†.)

IV. In English and American Theology: In Great Britain and America the idea of God has undergone many vicissitudes. In the period of

1. The Deistic Period in England.

Deism (q.v.), 1650–1800, the doctrine of God was profoundly affected by certain modern questions which were already emerging: the scientific view of nature as a unity, the denial of the principle of external authority, the right and sufficiency of reason, and the ethical as compared with the religious value of life. The deists yielded to none of their contemporaries in affirming that God was personal, the cause of the fixed providential order of the world, and of the moral order with its rewards and punishments both here and hereafter. The cosmological was the only theistic argument. God's wisdom and power were expressed neither in supernatural revelation nor in miracle. His nature was perfectly apprehensible to man's reason. He was, however, absolutely transcendent, i.e., not merely distinct from but removed from the world, an absentee God. This process of thought reached its negative skeptical result in David Hume; the being of God could be proved neither by rational considerations nor by the prevailing sensationalist theory of knowledge. Outside of the deists, the demonstration of the being and attributes of God by Samuel Clarke (q.v.) was thoroughly representative of the time. Something must have existed from eternity, of an independent, unchangeable nature, self-existent, absolutely inconceivable by us, necessarily everlasting, infinite, omnipotent, one and unique, intelligent and free, infinitely powerful, wise, good, and just, possessing the moral attributes required for governing the world. Bishop Butler (*Analogy of Religion*) held as firmly as the deists the transcendence of God, and if he made less of the cosmic, ethical, and mysterious than of the redemptive side of the divine nature, this is to be referred not to his underestimate of the redemptive purpose of God, but to the immediate aim of his apologetic. Accepting the fundamental tenet of Matthew Tindal (q.v.), i.e., the identity of natural and revealed religion, he shows that the mysteries of revealed religion are not more inexplicable than the facts of universal human experience. Thus he seeks to open a door for God's activity in revelation—prophecy, miracles, and redemption A new tendency in the idea of God appears in William Paley (q.v.). The proof of the existence and attributes of the deity is teleological. Nature is a contrivance of which God is the immediate creator. The celebrated Bridgewater Treatises (q.v.) follow in the same path, proving the wisdom, power, and goodness of God from geology, chemistry, astronomy, the animal world, the human body, and the inner world of consciousness. Chalmers sharply distinguishes between natural and revealed theology, as offering two sources for the knowledge of God. In this entire great movement of thought, therefore, God is conceived as transcendent. God and the world are presented in a thoroughly dualistic fashion. God is the immediate and instantaneous creator of the world as a mechanism. The principal divine attributes are wisdom and power; goodness is affirmed, but appears to be secondary: its hour has not yet come.

In America during the same period Jonathan Edwards (q.v.) is the chief representative of the idea of God. His doctrine centers in

2. The Same Period in America.

that of absolute sovereignty. God is a personal being, glorious, transcendent. The world has in him its absolute source, and proceeds from him as an emanation, or by continuous creation, or by perpetual energizing thought. As motive for the creation, he added to the common view—the declarative glory of God—that of the happiness of the creature. On the basis of causative predestination he maintains divine foreknowledge of human choice—a theory pushed to extreme limits by later writers, Samuel Hopkins and Nathanael Emmons (qq.v.; also see New England Theology). His doctrine of the divine transcendence was qualified by a thorough-going mysticism, a Christian experience characterized by a profound consciousness of the immediate presence, goodness, and glory of God. His conception of the ethical nature of God contained an antinomy which he never resolved; the Being who showed surpassing grace to the elect and bestowed unnumbered common favors on the non-elect in this life, would, the instant after death, withdraw from the latter every vestige of good and henceforth pour out upon them the infinite and eternal fury of his wrath. Edwards' doctrine of God and its implications later underwent, however, serious modifications. In the circle which recognized him as leader, his son reports that no less than ten improvements had been made, some of which, e.g., concerning the atonement, directly affected the idea of God. Predestination was affirmed, but, instead of proceeding from an inscrutable will, following Leibnitz, rested on divine foreknowledge of all possible worlds and included the purpose to realize this, the best of all possible worlds (A. A. Hodge, *Outlines of Theology*, New York, 1900; S. Harris, *God, the Creator and Lord of All*, ib., 1896). The atonement was conceived as sufficient but not efficient for all (C. Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, Philadelphia, 1865), or, on the other hand, as expressing the sincere purpose of God to redeem all sinners (A. E. Park, *The Atonement;* Introductory Essay, Boston, 1859). Divine sovereignty was roundly affirmed; for some it contained the secret of a double decree, for others it offered a convincing basis for the larger hope.

During the nineteenth century a new movement appeared in English thought. Sir William Hamilton

3. Nineteenth-Century Developments.

held that God was the absolute, the unconditioned, the cause of all (*Philosophy of the Unconditioned*, in *Edinburgh Review*, Oct. 1829). But since all thinking is to condition, and to condition the unconditioned is self-contradictory, God is both unknown and unknowable. Following in the same path H. L. Mansel (*Limits of Religious Thought*, London, 1867) found here the secret by which to maintain the mysteries of the faith of the church in the Trinity, the incarnation, the atonement, and other beliefs. Revelation was therefore required to supplement men's ignorance and to communicate what human intelligence was unable to discover. Hence the

dogmas concerning God which had been found repugnant or opaque to reason were philosophically reinstated and became once more authoritative for faith. In his *System of Synthetic Philosophy* Herbert Spencer (*First Principles*, London, 1860–62) maintains on the one hand an ultimate reality which is the postulate of theism, the absolute datum of consciousness, and on the other hand by reason of the limitations of knowledge a total human incapacity to assign any attributes to this utterly inscrutable power. In accordance with his doctrine of evolution he holds that this ultimate reality is an infinite and eternal energy from which all things proceed, the same which wells up in the human consciousness. He is neither materialistic nor atheistic. This reality is not personal according to the human type, but may be super-personal. Religion is the feeling of awe in relation to this inscrutable and mysterious power. With an aim not unlike that of Herbert Spencer, Matthew Arnold sought to reconcile the conflicting claims of religion, agnosticism, evolution, and history, by substituting for the traditional personal God the "Power not ourselves that makes for righteousness." Side by side with this movement appeared another led by Samuel Taylor Coleridge, based upon a spiritual philosophy, which found in the moral nature a revelation of God (*Aids to Reflexion*, London, 1825). This has borne fruit in many directions: in the great poets, Wordsworth, Tennyson, Browning; in preachers like Cardinal Newman, Dean Stanley, John Tulloch, Frederick William Robertson, and Charles Kingsley; in philosophical writers, as John Frederic Denison Maurice and James Martineau (qq.v.). The idea of God is taken out of dogma and the category of the schools and set in relation to life, the quickening source of ideals and of all individual and social advance. Religious thought in America has fully shared in these later tendencies in Great Britain, as may be seen by reference to John Fiske, *Idea of God* (Boston, 1886), unfolding the implications of Spencer's thought, and, reflecting the spirit of Coleridge, William Ellery Channing, *Works* (6 vols., Boston, 1848), W. G. T. Stead, "Introductory Essay" to Coleridge's *Works* (New York, 1884), and Horace Bushnell, *Nature and the Supernatural*, and *Sermons* (in Centenary edition of his *Works*, New York, 1903). An idea of God based on idealism, represented in Great Britain by John Caird, *Philosophy of Religion* (London, 1881), Edward Caird, *The Evolution of Religion* (ib. 1893), in Canada by John Watson, *God's Message to the Human Soul* (New York, 1907), has received impressive statement by Josiah Royce, *The Conception of God* (ib., 1897), and *The World and the Individual* (2 vols., 1899–1901). God is a being who possesses all logical possible knowledge, insight, wisdom. This includes omnipotence, self-consciousness, self-possession, goodness, perfection, peace. Thus this being possesses absolute thought and absolute experience, both completely organized. The absolute experience is related to human experience as an organic whole to its integral fragments. This idea of God which centers in omniscience does not intend to obscure either the ethical qualities or the proper personality of the absolute.

Turning from the historical survey to specific aspects of the idea of God which have in more recent times engrossed attention, there come into view the theistic arguments, the immanence, the personality, the Fatherhood of God, and the Trinity.

4. Theistic Arguments.

Those writers who have not acknowledged the force of Kant's well-known criticism of the theistic arguments maintain the full validity of these proofs (cf. R. Flint, *Theism*, new ed., New York, 1890; J. L. Diman, *The Theistic Argument*, Boston, 1882). Others, as John Caird (ut sup.), conceive of the cosmological and teleological arguments as stages through which the human spirit rises to the knowledge of God which attains fulfilment in the ontological, the alone sufficient proof; yet Caird accords a real validity to the teleological argument interpreted from the point of view of evolution. Still others would restate the first and second arguments so that the cosmological argument would run as follows: The world of experience is manifold and yet unified in a law of universal and concomitant variation among phenomena caused by some one being in them which is their true self and of which they are in some sense phases. As self-sufficient, this reality is absolute; as not subject to restrictions from without, it is infinite; as explanation of the world, it is the world-ground. The teleological argument would first inquire if there is in the world of experience activity toward ends, and secondly, when found, refer this to intelligence. Other forms of the theistic argument are drawn from the fact of finite intelligence, from epistemology (in reply to agnosticism), from metaphysical considerations in which purposeful thought is shown to be the essential nature of reality, and from the moral order which involves freedom and obligation to a personal source and ideal (cf. E. Caird, *Critical Philosophy of Kant*, 2 vols., Glasgow, 1889; T. H. Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, 4th ed., London, 1899).

5. Immanence.

The idea of divine immanence is variously presented. Its true meaning is that God is the inner and essential reality of all phenomena, but this is susceptible of two very different interpretations. On the one hand, a pantheistic or metaphysical immanence, in which the One is identified with the many. This, however, destroys the relative independence of the human consciousness, eliminates the ethical value of conduct, and breaks down the very idea of God (cf. for criticism of metaphysical immanence, J. Caird, ut sup.; J. Royce, *The World and the Individual*, vol. ii.). Other notions of immanence are: First, God is present by his creative omniscience, so that the creation is in his image, and with a degree of independence, proceeds of itself and realizes the divine ideals (G. H. Howison, in Royce's *Conception of God*, New York, 1897). Secondly, the immanence of God is made picturesque by the analogy of the outside physical phenomena of the brain and the inner psychical phenomena of consciousness in which the true self appears. In like manner the veil of nature hides a person, complete, infinite, self-existent (J. LeConte, also in Royce, ut sup.). Thirdly, God is personally present as energy in all things and particularly in all per-

sons—a doctrine which is not new in the Church, as witness the "spermatic Word" of Greek theology, and the Spirit of God in his cosmic and redemptive agency. The influence of the modern emphasis upon the divine immanence is evident in several directions. (1) Through the immanent teleology disclosed in the evolutionary process the teleological argument is reinstated in an unimpeachable form. (2) The distinction between the natural and the supernatural is not obliterated, but the natural is fully conceived only in relation to its supernatural cause: the natural is the constant method of the divine purpose, and the supernatural discloses itself in and by means of the natural. Special providence and even miracles are referred to the same divine causality. An ordinary event is as divine as a miracle (B. P. Bowne, *Theism*, New York, 1902). (3) Since the nature of man is grounded in God, life in union with God is not something alien or grafted on to his nature, but is the realization of what is essential and indissoluble in God's purpose for him (D. W. Simon, *Redemption of Man*, Edinburgh, 1889; A. H. Strong, *Christ in Creation and Ethical Monism*, Philadelphia, 1899). (4) In the light of the immanence of God a restatement of doctrine has been necessitated concerning revelation, the Trinity, creation, providence, sin, incarnation, atonement, and the Christian life (A. H. Strong, *Systematic Theology*, passim, Philadelphia, 1907). The doctrine of immanence does not detract from the truth of transcendence involved in ethical monism, since transcendence signifies that the fulness of the divine life is not exhausted in any finite expression of it, but, distinct from the world, is itself free intelligence and power (J. R. Illingworth, *The Divine Immanence*, London, 1898; B. P. Bowne, *Immanence of God*, ib. 1905). Neither English nor American thought has added anything essential to Lotze's presentation of the divine personality (J. R. Illingworth, *Personality, Human and Divine*, London, 1894; H. Rashdall, *Doctrine and Development*, pp. 268 sqq., ib. 1898; *Mikrokosmus*, Leipsic, 1856–58; Eng. transl., *Microcosmus*, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1885).

6. Fatherhood of God.

The Fatherhood of God is the well-nigh universal term to describe the relation of God to men. This position has been reached (1) by a return to the point of view of Jesus' teaching and his own personal attitude toward God, (2) by an increasing ethical interpretation of the divine nature —in this particular respect led by Universalists and Unitarians (qq.v.), and (3) by a juster appreciation of the worth of the individual life. Fatherhood has indeed been restricted to God's relation to the regenerate, on the ground that man's natural relation to God was legal and servile, and that sonship and adoption resulted from redemption and regeneration (R. S. Candlish, *The Fatherhood of God*, Edinburgh, 1865). This, however, ignores the fact that man's essential nature was constituted for the filial relation. Since man was made in the image of God, and Christ not only has revealed the true meaning of sonship, but is himself the way to its realization, Fatherhood exhausts all the natural and redemptive relation of God to men (W. N. Clarke, *Can I Believe in God the Father?* New York, 1899; T. S. Lidgett, *The Fatherhood of God*, Edinburgh, 1902; J. Orr, *Progress of Dogma*, London, 1903). If, finally, all the divine attributes and activities are crowned in Fatherhood, even sovereignty, omnipotence, justice, election, and grace are interpreted by it (A. M. Fairbairn, *Place of Christ in Modern Theology*, New York, 1893; cf. W. Sanday, *DB*, ii. 205–215).

For English and American conceptions of the Trinity as affecting the idea of God, see Trinity.

C. A. Beckwith.

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For modern treatment consult: J.-B. Bossuet, *Traité de la connaissance de Dieu et de soi-même*, Paris, 1722; S. Charnock, *Discourses upon the Existence and Attributes of God*, often printed, e.g., 2 vols., New York, 1874 (a classic); R. S. Candlish, *Fatherhood of God*, London, 1870; A. Gratry, *De la connaissance de Dieu*, 2 vols., Paris, 1873, Eng. transl., *Guide to the Knowledge of God*, Boston, 1892; J. Sengler, *Die Idee Gottes*, 2 vols., Heidelberg, 1845–52 (vol. i. historical, vol. ii. dogmatic); H. Ulrici, *Gott und die Natur*, Leipsic, 1875; E. Mulford, *Republic of God*, chaps. i.–ii., Boston, 1881; S. Harris, *Self-Revelation of God*, New York, 1887; J. S. Candlish, *Christian Doctrine of God*, New York, 1891; P. H. Steenstra, *The Being of God as Unity and Trinity*, New York, 1891; J. A. Beet, *Through Christ to God*, London, 1892; E. M. Caro, *L'Idée de Dieu et ses nouveaux critiques*, Paris, 1894; A. M. Fairbairn, *The Place of Christ in Modern Theology*, London, 1896; G. d'Alviella, *Origin and Growth of the Conception of God*, ib. 1897; J. Royce, *The Conception of God*, New York, 1897; R. Rocholl, *Der christliche Gottesbegriff*, Göttingen, 1900; J. A. Leighton, *Typical Modern Conceptions of God*, London, 1901; E. A. Reed, *Idea of God in Relation to Theology*, Chicago, 1902; B. P. Bowne, *The Immanence of God*, Boston, 1905; S. Chadwick, *Humanity and God*, New York, 1905; W. H. Gillespie, *The Argument a priori for the Being and Attributes of the Lord God*, Edinburgh, 1906; F. Ballard, *Theomonism True; God and the Universe in Modern Light*, London, 1906; W. R. Inge, *Personal Idealism and Mysticism*, lecture i., New York, 1907; P. Lobstein, *Études sur la doctrine chrétienne de Dieu*, Paris, 1907. Consult also the systems of theology in the works of Buel, Clark, Dabney, Dorner, Gerhart, Hodge, Jacob, Miley, Shedd, Smith, Strong, etc.; H. W. Gevatken, *The Knowledge of God*, Edinburgh, 1906.

GODEAU, gō″dō′, ANTOINE: Bishop of Grasse, and then of Vence; b. at Dreux (45 m. w. of Paris), in the diocese of Chartres, 1605; d. at Vence (14 m. n.e. of Grasse) Apr. 21, 1672. He devoted himself first to poetry, but later entered the clergy and became bishop of Grasse in 1636 and afterward of Vence. At the conventions of the clergy in 1645 and 1655 he attacked the Jesuit system of ethics. He wrote *Histoire de l'Église depuis le commencement du monde jusqu'à la fin du neuvième siècle* (5 vols., Paris, 1653–78), *Version expliquée du Nouveau Testament* (2 vols., 1668), *Les Psaumes de David, traduits en vers français* (1649), biographies of Paul, Augustine, Carlo Borromeo, *Fastes de l'église*, a poem of 15,000 verses, and other works.

(C. Pfender.)

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GODEHARD, SAINT. See Gotthard, Saint.

GODET, gō″dê′, FRÉDÉRIC LOUIS: Swiss Reformed; b. at Neuchâtel Oct. 25, 1812; d. there Oct. 29, 1900. He was educated in his native city and at the universities of Bonn and Berlin. After his ordination in 1836, he was assistant pastor at Valangin, near Neuchâtel, for a year, and was then tutor to Crown Prince Frederick William of Prussia (1838–44). He was a supply for churches in the Val-de-Ruy (1844–51), and pastor at Neuchâtel (1851–66). In 1850–73 he was also professor of exegetical and critical theology in the theological school of the established church of the canton, but withdrew from that body in 1873 and became a professor in the theological academy of the Free Church of the canton of Neuchâtel. He held this position until 1887, when he retired from active life. He wrote *Histoire de la Réformation et du refuge dans le pays de Neuchâtel* (Neuchâtel, 1859); *Commentaire sur l'évangile de saint Jean* (2 vols., Paris, 1864–65; Eng. transl. by F. Crombie and M. D. Cusin, 3 vols., Edinburgh, 1877); *Conférences apologétiques* (Neuchâtel, 1870; Eng. transl. by W. H. Lyttleton under the title *Lectures; in Defence of the Christian Faith*, Edinburgh, 1881); *Commentaire sur l'évangile de saint Luc* (1871; Eng. transl. by E. W. Shalders and M. D. Cusin, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1875); *Études bibliques* (2 vols., Neuchâtel, 1873–74; Eng. transl. by W. H. Lyttleton under the title *Old Testament Studies* and *New Testament Studies*, 2 vols., London, 1875–76); *Commentaire sur l'épître aux Romains* (2 vols., 1879–80; Eng. transl. by A. Cusin, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1880–81); *Commentaire sur la première épître aux Corinthiens* (2 vols., 1886; Eng. transl. by A. Cusin, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1886–87); and *Introduction au Nouveau Testament* (2 vols., Paris, 1893–98; Eng. transl. by W. Affleck, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1894–99).

GODLINESS: The most usual translation in the English New Testament of the Greek *eusebeia*. This word and its adjective (*eusebēs*), like the equivalent *theosebeia* and *theosebēs*, are found a few times in the Old Testament Apocrypha (Wisd. of Sol. x. 12; Baruch v. 4), and in the New Testament first in the historical books with reference to pre-Christian piety (John ix. 31; Acts x. 2, 7) and then in the later epistles mainly of Christian piety (I Tim. ii. 2, 10, iii. 16, iv. 7, 8, vi. 3, 5, 6, 11; II Tim. iii. 5, 12; Tit. i. 1, ii. 12; II Pet. i. 6, 7, iii. 11). The reason for this infrequency of occurrence is evidently that the notion *eusebeia*, derived from the heathen religion and morals, denotes piety in its complete generality comprising all forms of religion, whereas in the Biblical writings the uniqueness of the Old Testament and Christian knowledge and worship of God is placed foremost in opposition to all other religious ideas. When once this uniqueness of Christian piety was firmly established, the general designation could be applied in the latest New Testament writings without running the risk of misunderstanding. The result was that this generic term actually received the more special meaning of Christian piety as the root of all Christian morality. To show godliness is to lead a Christian-moral life (I Tim. ii. 10, vi. 11; II Pet. i. 7); in this sense it is profitable unto all things (I Tim. iv. 8). See Piety.

F. Sieffert.

In the modern acceptation of the word, godliness is the religious bearing of man, his disposition and his actions, in relation to God; or religiousness. Its forms are as varied as the differences in religions, yet heathen (Acts xvii. 22–23), Jewish (Luke xxiii. 50; Acts x. 2), Mohammedan, and Christian godliness are revelations of the same fundamental disposition of man toward the deity. It manifests itself by the same means with all: viz., by prayer and sacrifice; the first denoting reverence and reliance, the other the expression partly of gratitude, partly of the sense of guilt. Godliness, even where not inspired by Christianity, must not be underrated. It often supplies the want of right knowledge by warmth of feeling, by zealous deed, or by superior work. As long as, for an individual or a nation, the period of ignorance lasts, its devotion is agreeable (Gk. *dektos*) to the deity. Only when it is retained in conscious opposition to the proclaimed divine truth and the change of mind (Gk. *metanoia*) is refused does it lose its religious value.

Christian godliness is founded on the pure knowledge of God. But this knowledge, if merely theoretical, can exist combined with actual ungodliness (James ii. 19). Therefore, as a second point, there must be the feeling of entire dependence on God, the holy fear of him, which, wherever it is not in the spirit of bondage, but of adoption (Rom. viii. 15), marks a sensation of bliss, of delight in God. Godliness is perfect if man retains the pure knowledge of God and the filial awe of him, with conscious will, as his most precious good and relies entirely on God; if he becomes a man of God (I Tim. vi. 11), if his heart is firmly established in its innermost direction toward God (Heb. xiii. 9). This godliness is the soul of personal religion, the root of all true virtue, the vigor of true morality. Its immediate expression is the offering incumbent upon the true Christian; unrestrained self-sacrifice to God (Rom. xii. 1), prayer and confession (Heb. xiii. 15), and brotherly love (Heb. xiii. 16). It must exercise a notable influence on all the doings of a Christian. The godly man walks before God (Gen. xvii. 1), follows him with all his heart (I Kings xiv. 8), walks in his truth (Ps. lxxxvi. 11), in the spirit (Gal. v. 25), in Jesus Christ (Col. ii. 6), in the light (I John i. 7); he lives unto God (Gal. ii. 19), and unto Christ (Phil. i. 21).

Individually godliness expresses itself in many a way; it develops by degrees, in conformity with age, sex and temper. Mary and Martha show two types (Luke x. 38–42). The model of a child's devotion and godliness is Jesus in the temple when he was twelve years old; the godliness of old age is displayed in Simeon and Anna. Peter, John, Paul are godly men, yet very different from each other. Sound godliness exists where knowledge, feeling, and will are well balanced. But as the normal natural man is realized in one person only, so is the normal

godly man; all others, at the best, are merely on the way of approximation to him. Truth and sincerity are the criteria of godliness; where they are wanting, it becomes cant and hypocrisy, a mere semblance (II Tim. iii. 5) or gain-seeking (I Tim. vi. 5). CARL BURGERT†.

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GOD-PARENTS. See BAPTISM, III., 7.

GODWIN, FRANCIS: Bishop of Hereford; b. at Hannington (7 m. n.e. of Northampton), Northamptonshire, 1562; d. at Whitbourne (16 m. n.e. of Hereford) Apr., 1633. He was the son of Thomas Godwin, Bishop of Bath and Wells, and studied at Christ Church, Oxford (B.A., 1581; M.A., 1584; B.D., 1594; D.D., 1596). After having held various preferments, including the subdeanery of Exeter, he was elevated to the see of Llandaff in 1601, and translated to the see of Hereford in 1617. His principal works are: *Catalogus episcoporum Bathoniensium et Wellensium*, a manuscript in Trinity College, published in part by Thomas Hearn in his edition of John Whethamstede's chronicle (Oxford, 1732); *A Catalogue of the Bishops of England since the First Planting of the Christian Religion on this Island* (London, 1601; Lat. transl., 1616); *Rerum Anglicarum Henrico VIII., Edwardo VI. et Maria regnantibus, Annales* (1616; Eng. transl., *Annales of England; Containing the Reignes of Henry the Eighth, Edward the Sixt, Queene Mary*, 1630); and the posthumous *The Man in the Moon* (1638; French transl., Paris, 1647), which suggested to Cyrano de Bergerac the theme for his famous "Voyage to the Moon."

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GOEBEL, gō'bel, SIEGFRIED ABRAHAM: German Reformed; b. at Winningen (4 m. s.w. of Coblenz) Mar. 24, 1844. He was educated at the universities of Erlangen (1863–64), Halle (1864–65), and Berlin (1865–67), and was deacon at St. Peter's, Posen (1868–74), court preacher at Halberstadt (1874–89), and consistorial councilor at Münster (1889–95). Since 1895 he has been professor of theology at the University of Bonn. In theology he represents Biblical Christianity, and has written *Die Parabeln Jesu* (2 vols., Gotha, 1879–80; Eng. transl. by J. S. Banks, Edinburgh, 1883); *Neutestamentliche Schriften, griechisch, mit kurzer Erklärung* 2 vols., Gotha, 1887–93); *Das Christentum Christi und das kirchliche Christentum* (Gütersloh, 1896); and *Die Reden unsers Herrn nach Johannes im Grundtext ausgelegt*, i (1906).

GOEPFERT, gōp''fārt', FRANZ ADAM: German Roman Catholic; b. at Würzburg Jan. 31, 1849. He was educated at the university of his native city (1867–71) and, after being chaplain in Kitzingen (1871–73) and subdirector of a school for boys in Würzburg (1873–79), was in 1879 appointed associate professor of moral and pastoral theology in the university of the same city. Since 1884 he has been full professor of the same subjects at Würzburg, where he was also university preacher from 1882 to 1892 In addition to editing J. B. Renninger's *Pastoraltheologie* (Freiburg, 1893), he has written *Die Katholizität der Kirche* (Würzburg, 1876); *Der Eid* (Mainz, 1882); *Moraltheologie* (3 vols., Paderborn, 1897–98); and *St. Kilianusbüchlein* (Würzburg, 1902).

GOERRES, gūr-rês', JOHANN JOSEF VON: German Roman Catholic; b. in Coblenz Jan. 25, 1776; d. in Munich Jan. 27, 1848. As a youth he welcomed with great enthusiasm the revolutionary movement when it began to invade Germany from France, and advocated the same by word and pen. But when in Paris at the close of 1799 he found opportunity to observe the republic at close hand, he was sobered and turned his back on political life. The years 1800–06 he spent quietly as a teacher at Coblenz, occupied with studies in physical science, after which he spent two years at Heidelberg, where he became interested in Old German literature, and published, as first fruits of his Germanic studies, *Die deutschen Volksbücher* (Heidelberg, 1807). The last fruit of his Germanic studies was the *Altdeutsche Volks- und Meisterlieder aus den Handschriften der Heidelberger Bibliothek* (1813). By these achievements Görres' name is honorably connected with the beginnings of Germanic specialization. His *Mythengeschichte der asiatischen Welt* (2 vols., Heidelberg, 1810) was a product of the effort of Romanticism to unite religion and poetry.

Early Life. Political Activity.

The wars of liberation led Görres back into political life. He created an organ for himself in his journal, the *Rheinischer Merkur*, and wielded a potent influence by reason of his vigorous language, the keenness of his political judgment, and his patriotic attitude against Napoleon. But when, after Napoleon's defeat, he also directed his criticism against the home government and courageously opposed the incipient reaction, he became objectionable; on the publication of his *Deutschland und die Revolution* (Coblenz, 1820; Eng. transl., *Germany and the Revolution*, London, 1820), a warrant of arrest was even issued against him, but he fled to Strasburg. He still issued political writings (1821 and 1822). But the center of gravity of his interests became shifted; he entertained a different philosophy in regard to affiliation with the Roman Catholic Church, and the political writer became a church writer. This transition found practical expression when he joined the staff of the review *Der Katholik*.

In 1827 Görres was called by King Louis I. of Bavaria to the University of Munich, and there at last he found the environment in which his individuality could fully unfold itself. An imposing group of notable personalities flourished in harmony at that time in Munich (Döllinger, Lasaulx, Ringseis, Möhler, Phillips and others), connected with the review *Eos*. Besides his successful activity as teacher, Görres found time for thoroughgoing scientific works, the chief of which, *Die christliche Mystik*, appeared in four volumes, from 1836 to 1842,

Professor in Munich.

and fortunately escaped being placed on the Index; for at that time the Cologne controversy broke out (see DROSTE-VISCHERING), which straightway called Görres into the arena, and incited him to what was perhaps his most important, at any rate his most effectual, piece of writing, his *Athanasius* (Regensburg, 1837), wherein he brilliantly championed the archbishop of Cologne. As the Roman Catholic Church in Prussia emerged victorious from this conflict, Görres prompted the establishment of the still current *Historisch-politische Blätter*. When Bishop Arnoldi of Treves aroused no small sensation by display of the seamless robe of Christ (see HOLY COAT), and was sharply attacked in the matter, it was Görres, again, who undertook the literary vindication of that procedure. He was ennobled in 1829.

Görres proved himself a decided personality in very different situations, and made a name for himself through his versatile literary activity. He exhibited his principal talent as a political writer; for strictly scientific research was not his province, and he was wanting in critical perception. It is significant in relation to his ecclesiastical position that both the later Ultramontane cause and the Old Catholic party appealed to his support, and could make that appeal consistently; since in his case there were points of contact with both these tendencies. He was neither an Ultramontane nor an Old Catholic, but an exponent of that moderate Catholicism which in conjunction with the after-effects of the rationalistic period had blunted the edge of earlier acerbities. Nor was it until after the Cologne dispute that the distinctively Roman phases of Görres manifested themselves the more conspicuously. CARL MIRBT.

In honor of Görres, the *Görres-Gesellschaft* ("Görres Society") was founded on the centennial anniversary of his birth, 1876, to promote scholarship in Roman Catholic Germany. It has issued an annual *Historisches Jahrbuch* since 1880 and *Philosophisches Jahrbuch* since 1888, *Quellen und Forschungen aus dem Gebiet der Geschichte* (11 vols., 1892–1906), and a *Staatslexicon* (2d ed., 5 vols., 1900–04), besides occasional publications. Prizes are offered to encourage investigation. The headquarters are in Bonn. Consult H. Cardanus, *Die Görres-Gesellschaft, 1876–1901* (Cologne, 1901).

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GOESCHEL, gō'shel, **KARL FRIEDRICH:** German jurist and philosopher; b. at Langensalza (25 m. n.w. of Erfurt), Thuringia, Oct. 7, 1784; d. at Naumburg (22 m. s.s.w. of Halle) Sept. 22, 1861. He received his first education at Gotha, and in 1803 began the study of jurisprudence at the University of Leipsic, where he remained until 1806, when he was appointed a magistrate in his native town. There he remained for twelve years, and during that period gathered material from the town archives for a *Chronik der Stadt Langensalza in Thüringen* (4 vols., Langensalza, 1818–44). After the acquisition of Saxony, the Prussian government required officials acquainted with the law and administration of the new province, and Göschel was accordingly called to Naumburg in 1819 as a justice of the Superior Court, holding this office until 1834. From 1834 to 1845 he officiated as a secretary in the ministry of justice in Berlin, where he was occupied chiefly with ecclesiastical affairs; while in 1845 he was appointed a member of the council of state, and president of the consistory of the province of Saxony, with residence in Magdeburg, until the revolution of 1848 forced him to take refuge in flight.

The main endeavor of Göschel's life was the reconciliation of Christianity with modern culture, of which Hegel was the philosophical, and Goethe the poetical, representative. Among his numerous works may be mentioned: *Ueber Goethes Faust und dessen Fortsetzung, nebst einem Anhange vom ewigen Juden* (Leipsic, 1824); *Cäcilius und Octavius, oder Gespräche über die vornehmsten Einwendungen gegen die christliche Wahrheit* (Berlin, 1828); *Von den Beweisen für die Unsterblichkeit der menschlichen Seele im Lichte der spekulativen Philosophie* (1835); *Beiträge zur spekulativen Philosophie von Gott und dem Menschen und dem Gott-Menschen* (1838), and *Unterhaltungen zur Schilderung Goethescher Dicht- und Denkweise* (3 vols., Schleusingen, 1834–38). He also published a collection of essays entitled *Zerstreute Blätter aus den Hand- und Hülfs-Acten eines Juristen* (3 vols., Erfurt, 1832–42), and likewise wrote a noteworthy treatise on *Die Konkordienformel nach ihrer Geschichte, Lehre und kirchlichen Bedeutung* (Leipsic, 1858).

GOETTLER, gōt'ler, **JOSEF:** German Roman Catholic; b. at Dachau (25 m. s.e. of Augsburg) Mar. 9, 1874. He was educated at Scheyern, Freising, and Munich (1885–98), and since 1904 has been privat-docent for dogmatic theology at the University of Munich, as well as *vicar* of St. Cajetan's. He has edited G. Gundlach's *Exerzitien-Vorträge* (2 vols., Munich, 1904), and has written *St. Thomas von Aquino und die vortridentinischen Thomisten über die Wirkung des Bussakramentes* (Freiburg, 1904); and *Der Münchener katechetische Kurs* (Kempten, 1906).

GOETTSBERGER, gōtz'ber-ger, **JOHANN:** German Roman Catholic; b. at Kobl, Lower Bavaria, Dec. 31, 1868. He was educated at Freising (1889–1890) and Munich (1890–93), and after a year as curate (1894) was prefect at the archiepiscopal school for boys at Freising (1895–97) and instructor in theology in the archiepiscopal school in the same city (1898–1900). In 1900 he was appointed associate professor of Old Testament exegesis at the royal lyceum of Freising, and since 1903 has been full professor of the same subject at the University of Munich. He has written *Barhebräus und seine Scholien zur heiligen Schrift* (Freiburg, 1900).

GOETZ, gōtz, **LEOPOLD KARL:** German Old Catholic; b. at Carlsruhe Oct. 7, 1868. After the

completion of his studies, he became, in 1891, pastor of the Old Catholic Church at Passau, since 1900 professor at the Old Catholic theological seminary in Bonn, and since 1902 has also been associate professor of philosophy at the university of the same city. He has written *Die Busslehre Cyprians* (Königsberg, 1895); *Die geschichtliche Stellung und Aufgabe des deutschen Altkatholizismus* (Leipsic, 1896); *Geschichte der Slawenapostel Konstantinus (Cyrillus) und Methodius* (Gotha, 1897); *Lazaristen und Jesuiten* (1898); *Redemptoristen und Protestanten* (Giessen, 1899); *Leo XIII, seine Weltanschauung und seine Wirksamkeit quellenmässig dargestellt* (Gotha, 1899); *Jesuiten und Jesuitinnen* (1900); *Franz Heinrich Reusch* (1901); *Das Kiever Höhlenkloster als Kulturzentrum des vormongolischen Russlands* (Passau, 1904); *Der Ultramontanismus als Weltanschauung, auf Grund des Syllabus quellenmässig dargestellt* (Bonn, 1905); *Kirchenrechtliche und kulturgeschichtliche Denkmäler Altrusslands* (Stuttgart, 1905); *Ein Wort zum konfessionellen Frieden* (Bonn, 1906); and *Klerikalismus und Laizismus, das Laienelement im Ultramontanismus* (Frankfort, 1906).

GOEZE, gū'tse, **JOHAN MELCHIOR:** German theologian and controversialist; b. at Halberstadt (31 m. s.w. of Brunswick) Oct., 1717; d. at Hamburg May 19, 1786. He studied theology at Jena and Halle; in 1741 he became assistant minister at Aschersleben, whither his father had moved; and in 1744 *diaconus*. Six years later he accepted a call to the Church of the Holy Spirit in Magdeburg; and in 1755 went as chief pastor to the Church of St. Catherine in Hamburg, where he remained until his death. It was as a defender of the orthodox Lutheranism and as an opponent of the Enlightenment (q.v.) that Goeze is best known, and in the course of the long continued conflict many hard blows and violent epithets were exchanged. The lapse of time has led those who review the controversy to admit Goeze's sincerity and to grant his claims to real scholarship. In his polemics his appeal was to Scripture and the symbolical books of Lutheranism; and when these seemed to be assailed, his conceptions of his duty to himself and his office and the earnestness with which he threw himself into the defense led him often into a violence which is regrettable. As a consequence he was the object of severe attack, especially in the *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*. In 1765 against Semler he defended the Complutensian Polyglot (see Bibles, Polyglot, I.). Later he justly assailed the German translation of the German Bible by Karl Friedrich Bahrdt (q.v.). Other polemics were directed against matters which are now wholly of the past. His principal attack was made upon Lessing after the publication of the Wolfenbüttel Fragments (q.v.); and the fact that Lessing chose Goeze as his opponent and made him the almost exclusive object of his replies indicates that Lessing saw in him the most dangerous of his critics. In a single year (1778) Lessing issued fifteen writings against Goeze, eleven of them named *Anti-Goeze* (all in Hempel's ed. of Lessing, vol. xvi.). Goeze's attacks upon Lessing were printed in *Freywillige Beyträge zu den hamburgischen Nachrichten aus dem Reiche der Gelehrsamkeit*, parts 55–56, 61–63, 75. The conflict centered about the importance of the historical element for faith, Goeze maintaining that Christian faith must fall if the essential content of Biblical history, especially that of the New Testament, were denied. Lessing's replies were rather irritable than sound, while Goeze's attack was directed by his conscience.

Carl Bertheau.

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GOG AND MAGOG: A people usually identified with the Scythians. In Gen. x. 2 the second son of Japhet, named Magog, stands between Gomer and Madai. This sets him forth as the representative of a great people, if not of an entire group of nations north of Palestine. Since Togarmah (Armenia) is mentioned as the last branch of Gomer (the ancient Kimmerians, *Odyssey*, xi. 14; Herodotus, iv. 11 sqq.), a stricter geographical location would place Magog's dwelling between Armenia and Media, perhaps on the shores of the Araxes. But the people seem to have extended farther north across the Caucasus, filling there the extreme northern horizon of the Hebrews (Ezek. xxxviii. 15, xxxix. 2). This is the way Meshech and Tubal are often mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions (*Mushku* and *Tabal*, Gk. *Moschoi* and *Tibarēnoi*). Some derive the name Gog in Ezekiel from the name of the country Magog; others see in Gog a historical personage for whom the prophet invented the name of a country, and find in him the famous king of the Lydians named Gyges (*Gugu* in the Assyrian inscriptions), who reigned about 660 B.C. (so E. Meyer, and Sayce, *Higher Criticism*, London, 1893, pp. 125–126), or *Gagi*, ruler of the country of *Sahi* (F. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* Leipsic, 1881, pp. 246–247), which G. Smith identified with that of the Scythians. Ezekiel announces a coming inroad by this Gog which according to the whole description recalls the inroad of the Scythians into anterior Asia (about 630 B.C.; Herodotus i. 103 sqq.; cf. Jer. vi. 1 sqq., especially verses 22–23). According to the general testimony of classical writers (Herodotus, Æschylus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Ovid, Arrian) the Scythians were northern barbarians full of avarice and fond of war, had immense troops of cavalry, wore very efficient armor, and distinguished themselves as archers, just as is narrated of Magog. These characteristics induced Ezekiel to conceive of Magog as in close connection with the Scythians. Josephus also so identifies them (*Ant.* I., vi. 1), and after him Jerome and later writers. The name "Scythians" was among the ancients an elastic appellation, and so was the Hebrew *Magog*. The inroad of the hordes of Gog as described by Ezekiel is to fall in the period when Israel has long returned from exile and is quietly enjoying in its own country the salvation its God had granted. This Gog appears as the leader of the last hostile attack of the world-powers upon the kingdom of God, of which the prophets of Israel had spoken (Ezek. xxxviii. 17;

particularly Joel iii. 9 sqq.; cf. Micah iv. 11 sqq.; Zech. xii. 2 sqq. and xiv.). Ezekiel describes it more fully. The attack of the enemy brings about the world-judgment before the walls of Jerusalem. Then all the world shall know the Lord, all captives of Israel among the nations shall be brought back, and the state of blessing and grace of the people of God shall be completed. The Apocalypse (xx. 7 sqq.) mentions Gog and Magog whom Satan, unbound for the last time, brings together after the millennium from the four corners of the earth to fight against God's sanctuary and his Church. Their destruction through fire from heaven precedes the new creation of heaven and earth. In like manner both nations stand side by side in Jewish theology (Jerusalem Targum on Num. xi. 27), and among the Mohammedans (Koran xviii. 93, xxi. 96). C. von Orelli.

The name Gog, who is defined in Ezek. xxxviii. 2, 3, and xxxix. 1, as "prince of Rosh, Meshech and Tubal," occurs seven times in the Bible, and Magog five times. In Ezek. xxxix. 6 Magog is a mistake for Gog, which appears in the Septuagint and is demanded by the preceding context. In xxxviii. 2 the phrase "the land of Magog" is attached ungrammatically to Gog, and is shown by the phrase as repeated in verse 3 to be a gloss. The only other passages in the Old Testament in which Magog occurs are Gen. x. 2; I Chron. i. 5. It has been plausibly suggested that Magog is here miswritten for Gog, as in Ezek. xxxix. 6, the copyist having at first overlooked the right word and after beginning the next one (Madai) rectified his error without erasing the first letter. Hence the existence of Magog, which can not be explained or illustrated from any source, is perhaps more than doubtful. Cf. B. Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii. 61–62, Berlin, 1885. J. F. McCurdy.

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GOLDEN CALF. See Calf, the Golden.

GOLDEN LEGEND. See Jacob (James) of Varazze.

GOLDEN NUMBER: A number (I.–XIX.) indicating the place of a year in the Metonic cycle, according to which the new moon of any particular month occurs on the same day every twentieth year. The name is said to be due to the fact that when the Metonic cycle came into general use about 432 B.C. inscriptions in letters of gold were set up in Athens and other cities indicating the number of the year in the cycle. The numbers were also written in gold or red letters in the old calendars. In the year 1 B.C. the new moon fell on Jan. 1. Hence to find the golden number of any year, add one to the year A.D. and divide by nineteen; the remainder, if any, is the golden number of the year; if there be no remainder, the golden number is nineteen. The golden number is used in finding the date of Easter. See Calendar, the Christian, § 4; and Easter, I., 3.

GOLDEN ROSE: An ornament blessed by the pope every year on the fourth Sunday in Lent (called Lætare Sunday from the opening words of the introit of the mass for the day) and usually sent afterward as a mark of special favor to some Catholic sovereign, male or female, or to some Catholic personage distinguished either as a church member or in the civil community. The rose is also occasionally bestowed on noted churches or sanctuaries, or even on illustrious Catholic cities or commonwealths.

Originally the ornament consisted of a single flower of wrought gold colored red; later the golden petals were decked with rubies and other precious stones; and finally the form adopted was that of a thorny branch bearing several flowers and leaves with one principal flower at the top, all of pure gold. The ceremonies at present employed in the blessing of the golden rose are quite elaborate, symbolizing, according to the liturgists, Christ and his grace. The origin of the custom is uncertain. An allusion to it is certainly found in the Chronicle of William of Newburgh (1197) and mention of the golden rose as such is found as early as the eleventh century. Urban V. who sent a golden rose to Joanna of Naples in 1366, is said to be the first to determine that the blessing should take place annually. Doubtless the practise was but the development of a much earlier custom on the part of the popes of sending presents to princes who had deserved well of the Church.

Among the great number of instances of the conferring of the golden rose recorded in Morone's *Dizionario ecclesiastico*, a few of the more noteworthy are the following: Henry VIII. of England received the rose from three popes, the last time from Clement VII. in 1524. His daughter, Queen Mary, received the same favor from Julius III. in 1555. Pius IV. honored the republic of Lucca with it in 1564, and the same pontiff in 1564 bestowed the favor on the Lateran basilica. The shrine of Loreto received it from Gregory XIII. in 1584. Similarly the cathedral of Capua was favored by Benedict XIII. in 1726, and in 1833 the same distinction was bestowed by Gregory XVI. on the basilica of St. Mark in Venice. The queen of France, Maria Theresa, received it from Clement IX. in 1668; and the queen of Poland, Maria Casimir, from Innocent XI. in 1684, in recognition of the recent deliverance of Vienna by her valiant husband, John Sobieski. If in any particular year no one is deemed worthy to receive this distinction, the rose is laid up in the treasures of the Vatican.

James F. Driscoll.

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GOLDZIHER, gōld'zî-her, IGNATIUS: Hungarian Jewish Orientalist; b. at Stuhlweissenburg (35 m. s.w. of Budapest), Hungary, June 22, 1850. He was educated at the universities of Budapest, Berlin, Leipsic (Ph.D., 1870), and Leyden. He was privat-docent at Budapest in 1871–72, and in

1873–84 traveled in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. He was secretary of the Jewish community at Budapest from 1876 to 1905 and in 1894 was appointed professor of Semitic philology in the University of Budapest, while since 1900 he has been lecturer on the philosophy of religion in the Jewish Theological Seminary of the same city. He served as one of the members of the foreign board of consulting editors of the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, to which he also contributed (1901–05). He is particularly known for his researches in Mohammedanism. In theology he adheres to the critical method in all problems. He has written *Studien über Tanchum Jeruschalmi* (Leipsic, 1870); *Der Mythos bei den Hebräern und seine geschichtliche Entwicklung* (1876; Eng. transl., *Hebrew Mythology*, by R. Martineau, London, 1877); *Az Iszlám* (Budapest, 1881); *Die Zâhiriten, ihr Lehrsystem und ihre Geschichte* (Leipsic, 1884); *Muhammedanische Studien* (2 vols., Halle, 1889-1890); *Der Diwân des Garwal ben Aus Al-Ḥuṭej'a* (Leipsic, 1893); *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie* (2 vols., Leyden, 1896–99); *Le Livre de Mohammed ibn Toumert, Mahdi des Almohades* (Algiers, 1903); and *A Buddismus hatása az Iszlámra* (Budapest, 1903); and has edited *Kitab ma ani al-nafs* (Göttingen, 1907).

GOLGOTHA. See Holy Sepulcher.

GOLTZ, EDUARD, FREIHERR VON DER: German Protestant; b. at Langenbruck (16 m. s.e. of Basel), Switzerland, July 31, 1870. He was educated at the universities of Berlin, Halle, and Bonn (lic. theol., Berlin, 1893), was vicar at Fehrbellin (1895–96), and pastor at Deyelsdorf, Pommerania (1898–1902). In 1902 he became privat-docent for practical theology at the University of Berlin, where he still remains. He has written *Das Gebet in der ältesten Christenheit* (Leipsic, 1901); *Reisebilder aus dem griechisch-türkischen Orient* (Halle, 1902); and *Der Dienst der Frau in der christlichen Kirche* (Potsdam, 1905); *Athanasius de Virginitate* (Leipsic, 1905); and *Tischgebete und Abendmahlgebete in der altchristlichen und griechischen Kirche* (1905).

GOLTZ, HERMANN, FREIHERR VON DER: German Protestant; b. at Düsseldorf May 17, 1835; d. in Berlin July 23, 1906. He was educated at the universities of Erlangen, Berlin, Tübingen, and Bonn (1853–58), and after being chaplain to the Prussian embassy in Rome from 1861 to 1865, was appointed associate professor of theology at Basel, becoming full professor there in 1870. In 1873 he went to Bonn in a similar capacity, but after 1876 resided in Berlin as honorary professor, councilor of the supreme consistory, member of the supreme Evangelical church council, and provost of St. Peter's. He wrote *Die reformierte Kirche Genf's im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (Basel, 1862; *Gottes Offenbarung durch heilige Geschichte, nach ihrem Wesen beleuchtet* (1868); *Die christlichen Grundwahrheiten, oder die allgemeinen Principien der christlichen Dogmatik* (Gotha, 1873); and *Tempelbilder aus dem Leben des Herrn Jesu* (sermons; Berlin, 1877). He also collaborated with A. Wach in editing *Synodalfragan zur Orientirung über die bevorstehende General-Synode* (Bielefeld, 1874–75).

GOMARUS (GOMAR), FRANCISCUS: Leader of the strict Calvinistic party in Holland in the Arminian controversy; b. at Bruges, in Flanders, Jan. 30, 1563; d. at Groningen Jan. 11, 1641. He devoted himself to humanistic studies under Johann Sturm at Strasburg, and, beginning in 1580, studied theology at Neustadt under Ursinus, Zanchius, and Tossanus, then successively at Oxford, Cambridge, and Heidelberg. From 1587 he was pastor of the Netherlandish congregation in Frankfort-on-the-Main. In 1594 he became professor of theology in Leyden. His strict Calvinism involved him in severe controversies with Arminius when he became his colleague in 1603. The chief point of dispute was the doctrine of predestination. The controversy soon became general. Colloquies arranged for the purpose of reconciling the opponents were without success. When Arminius died in 1609, Konrad Vorst (q.v.), a man of still more heterodox tendencies, became his successor, and Gomarus resigned in 1611 and became preacher of the Reformed congregation in Middelburg, where he also lectured on theology and Hebrew. In 1614 he went to Saumur as professor of theology, and four years later to Groningen. He took a prominent part in the Synod of Dort (1618–19), and was one of the chief opponents of Arminianism in that assembly. Thenceforth he lived a lonely life at Groningen. In 1633 he took part in the revision of the translation of the Bible at Leyden. He was of a polemical nature, but faithful and conscientious in the discharge of duty. His collected works, mostly polemical, appeared in one volume folio, Amsterdam, 1645. See Arminius, Jacobus, Arminianism; Dort, Synod of; Remonstrants.

(S. D. van Veen.)

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GOMER. See Table of Nations.

GONESIUS (GONIADZKI, CONYZA), PETRUS: Polish antitrinitarian; b. at Goniadz (32 m. n.w. of Bielostok) c. 1525; place and date of death unknown. By his opposition to the anti-Catholic teachings of Francesco Stancaro at Cracow he attracted the attention of the bishop and clergy of Samogitia, who sent him abroad to complete his education. During the following years he resided in Germany (especially at Wittenberg), Switzerland (including Geneva), and probably Italy. His association with Italian antitrinitarians in Switzerland and his study of the writings of Servetus seem to have inspired him with heretical doctrines concerning the Trinity, while from the Moravian Anabaptists he received the teaching that the Christian can neither accept office nor engage in war, and took a hostile attitude toward infant baptism. At a synod held at Secymin Jan. 22–23, 1556, Gonesius boldly polemized against the doctrine of the Trinity, accepting the Apostles' Creed, but rejecting the Nicene and Athanasian Symbols. The Father alone

is God; the Logos is not the Son, but the seed of the Son; and the doctrine of consubstantiality is rejected. The man Christ was transformed into God, and God or the Word into man, so that the Son is at once subject to the Father, and at the same time the two are identical. Refusing to retract, Gonesius was sent to Wittenberg in the hope that Melanchthon might convince him of error. The treatise which he there prepared, *De communicatione idiomatum nec dialectica nec physica ideoque prorsus nulla*, was so filled with the heresy of Servetus that Melanchthon declined to have any further dealings with him, and dismissed him. Gonesius's reception in Poland, however, was most unfavorable, and at a synod held in the same year at Pinczow his doctrines were condemned as Arian. Two years later at the Synod of Brzesk in Lithuania, he repeated his assertions, and found a strong defender in the starost of Samogitia, Jan Kiszka, who appointed him preacher at Wengrow and placed a press at his disposal for the promulgation of his views. He now won to his side many of the clergy and nobility of Podlachia and Lithuania, and in 1565 the Reformed openly divided into trinitarian and unitarian factions. The latter party soon far outstripped Gonesius, and he was forced to struggle in vain against the "Ebionite" and "Artemonite" heresies which denied the preexistence of Christ. Of the latter part of his life nothing is known. A. Hegler†. (K. Holl.)

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GOOD FRIDAY. See Holy Week.

GOOD, THE HIGHEST.

Conceptions of Plato and Aristotle (§ 1).
The Scriptural Conception (§ 2).
Augustine's Influence (§ 3).
Schleiermacher's View (§ 4).
The Sum of All True "Goods" (§ 5).

The term "Highest Good" (*summum bonum*) is an expression used in philosophic discussion to denote the chief end of man's existence. Cicero defines it (*De finibus*, I., xii. 42) as "that which is referred to no other thing, while all other things are referred to it." The corresponding Greek word *telos*, "end," is often used simply, without any qualifying words, for the highest good, with which Aristotle identifies it ("Nicomachean Ethics," 1094a, 18–22): "If anything is an end of our actions which we desire for itself, and other things on account of it . . . it is plain that this must be the Good and the Best." And that this is almost universally predicated of *eudaimonia*, "happiness," he states in another passage (1095a, 17 sqq.): "For we choose this for its own sake always, and never for the sake of anything else." He admits, however, that there is a controversy as to what constitutes it. The Christian Fathers, in estimating the opinions of the philosophers on this subject, give the preference to Plato, because in his system God is especially prominent as the "objective" Highest Good, in the modern phrase.

1. Conceptions of Plato and Aristotle.

Aristotle considers merely "the end of our actions," the "Good" which can be realized by human effort, while Plato brings ethics into close relation with metaphysics. He hypostatizes the "Good" of Socrates into the highest of his "ideas," identifying it with the *nous*, "mind," of Anaxagoras, the one thing that has real existence, the Godhead. In Plato the same term, "the Good," designates what is highest alike in the life of man and in the system of the universe. The Fathers also commend the way in which he speaks of the ethical "good," the attainable "end," the "happiness" of man, the Highest Good in a subjective sense, as "a likeness to God to the extent of our powers, which likeness consists in becoming just and holy by means of wisdom." The conception of the Highest Good in Christian ethics was largely influenced by the Platonic view, according to which the soul becomes like God only by ascetic flight from the world of sense into the world of ideas, by philosophic meditation on death, by ideal speculation and contemplation of the Godhead. This is intellectualism, to whose prevalence in the Church Aristotle also contributed by defining as the highest good the "contemplative activity" of the soul which is like that of God.

2. The Scriptural Conception.

The phrase "your good" of Romans xiv. 16 might be referred to the Highest Good and to the "kingdom of God" in the following verse; but *telos* nowhere in the New Testament denotes the Highest Good. Ps. xvi. is sometimes superscribed "God the Highest Good"; though the text of verse 2 is uncertain, throughout the psalm Yahweh is the "portion" of the righteous, from whom they derive all good things (cf. also Ps. lxxiii. 25, 26, 28). Schleiermacher remarks (*Werke*, III., ii. 456) that the designation of God as the Highest Good is an improper expression, and that it is more correctly defined as love for God. But we are in the habit of referring to persons (such as a wife or a child) as our good in the sense of a possession that makes us happy, without thinking it necessary to speak definitely of our love for them. God is thus Israel's Highest Good; he has given himself to this people as their lord and king. As such he is their lawgiver, their national good (Deut. iv. 8), more to be desired than gold (Ps. xix. 10), and provides all other good things for them. If "your good" in Rom. xiv. 16 is not directly to be referred to the kingdom of God, this kingdom is still, according to the words of Jesus (Matt. vi. 33; cf. xiii. 44, 46) that which is first to be sought. When God is perfectly recognized as king, he will as such bless his people with all good things and thus be the Highest Good of men. Even at present it is the good (best) part (Luke x. 42) to hear the words of Jesus, through which the kingdom of God is established within the soul (cf. also Matt. xiii. 16; John iv. 10). That he is our Highest Good is expressed most clearly in Phil. iii. 7–10, i. 21–23; II Cor. xii. 9; Heb. iii. 14. The "good things" of Matt. vii. 11 are summed up by Luke (xi. 13) in the Holy Spirit as the Highest Good, including all the others. It would, however, be unscriptural to confine the idea of the kingdom of God as the Highest

Good to these relations with him. His rule implies the blessing of his people with social and natural good things. But if any religion may be taken as having an eschatological conception of the Highest Good, it is the religion of the Bible, which understands the term of that which is really highest ("that which is perfect," I Cor. xiii. 10). Such passages as I Cor. viii. 6; Rom. xi. 36; Eph. iv. 6 imply that God, who directs all things toward himself, is the end of the world, or that the course of its history is to tend to his glory. The expressions of I Cor. xv. 28 and Rev. i. 8 have contributed to a metaphysical conception of God as the Highest Good in the sense of the ultimate end of all things. The maintenance of his glory in this sense is the devout purpose of those who desire his beneficent rule to prevail (Matt. v. 16; I Cor. x. 31; Eph. i. 12; Phil. i. 11, ii. 11; I Peter iv. 11).

3. Augustine's Influence.

In the Church of the second century also, the expected kingdom of God was looked upon as the Highest Good. It was a result of the Hellenization of Christianity when an increasing influence was exerted, from Clement of Rome (*Ad Corinthios*, xxxvi. 2) to Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.*, VI., xii.), by the formula "the most perfect good is knowledge, which is to be chosen for its own sake," without reference to anything else as in the quotation from Aristotle above. This knowledge (in the high sense given to the word *gnosis*, denoting a knowledge of the mysteries of God), since it has God for its highest object, in a sense deifies man, and makes him immortal. Augustine's influence was epoch-making for the development of the idea here discussed. He removed it a considerable distance from the moralism, intellectualism, naturalism of the ancients, and returned to the Scriptural paths. In union with Paul, he departs most widely from moralistic naturalism. The ancient morality was capable of the religious interpretation that the natural powers were gifts of God; but Christian ethics presupposes new, supernatural powers, derived from the new creation by God's grace. The ancient philosopher expected, for perfect happiness, to become what he already was by nature, through the energetic cultivation of the higher or spiritual part of his being, in itself good and making it dominate the lower or sensual part. Augustine taught that man can become something quite other than he is by nature, through correspondence to the divine purpose. The period of Augustine's influence extends practically down to Schleiermacher. Even Kant's conception of the Highest Good is not really a new one. In the *Kritik der praktischen Vernunft* (Riga, 1788), he treats of two different elements of the Highest Good—virtue conceived as an incessant progression toward perfect happiness, he calls the highest (*supremum*) good; but it is not yet the perfect and complete (*consummatum*) good, since to become this it requires a happiness proportioned to it, which is the second element of the Highest Good. The ultimate end of the universe is to be sought not in the happiness of rational beings, but in the Highest Good, which adds the condition of its accordance with the laws of virtue.

4. Schleiermacher's View.

After Augustine Schleiermacher's teaching marks the next stage in the development. In his two treatises *Ueber den Begriff des höchsten Guts* (1827, 1830), the term denotes the sum of the products of moral activity, in so far as this activity still includes them in itself and continues to develop them. The total result of the operations of reason in the world through the human organization is the Highest Good—a perfect and complete whole, expressed in the terms "golden age," "perpetual peace," "community of language," "kingdom of heaven." In this organism of results, virtue, their cause, is included as the powerful life of reason in the individuals. Schleiermacher's epoch-making character in regard to this question consists in his introduction into the concept of the Highest Good of two new elements, the dominion of man over the earth and the blessings of civilization.

The place where alone, if God is all in all, the absolute ultimate end exists is God's own personal spirit, that of his Son, and those of the angels and saints. The life of God and the "eternal life" of his perfect children is the highest reality which exists for its own sake and renders the question of a purpose absurd. But what is life? In the Scriptural conception of the life of God causation, activity, incessant energy predominates among its constituent factors. In the eternal life of spirits that are like him, causation of religious acts in relation to him and of social acts in relation to the world of blessed spirits is a similarly dominant factor. With this energy sensations of happiness are so inseparably connected that they can not be differentiated, as accidental consequences, from it as the end. To separate happiness as a subjective accident from the moral end is something only to be attempted by objectivism, which designates objective spiritual results, valuable in and for themselves, as the end. It calls them "good" because the object of life is their attainment, and disapproves of the ordinary meaning of the word "good," something which has the power to produce happiness in the individual consciousness. In opposition to this view, the Christian doctrine uses the term "Highest Good" in the old eudemonistic sense, and maintains that the happiness produced in the blessed spirits by their perfect acts of causation is necessarily included in the absolute ultimate end. Even when we call God himself the "objective Highest Good," we do so only in distinction from the subjective *eudaimonia* (happiness) which he causes. And God is not a "good" in the abstract, but the Highest Good to himself, to the Son, and to the world. So far Schleiermacher is correct when he says in his *Christliche Ethik*: "The assertion that God is the Highest Good is not altogether justifiable, for a thing is only classed among our 'goods' when we have or possess it; but if we say that the possession of God or union with God is the Highest Good, no objection can be raised." This possession is not an inactive possession. Schleiermacher insists that it is an essential property of what we call a "good" to arouse a living activity, and that an inactive condition, no matter how richly endowed, does not come under this head; and

the same is true also of "goods" not produced by human activity, of God and his dominion, in relation to the religious and social activities of the spirits, in which they are "blessed" (James i. 25). Now, the Christian faith knows of no capacity to produce these activities except through the Savior; and Schleiermacher says, "accordingly the redemption through Christ is itself the Highest Good," thus including in the term the element of the gift of grace. It is easy enough to avoid any identification of this with the real end.

5. The Sum of All True "Goods."

There is, however, a distinction drawn by Thomas Aquinas (*Summa*, iii. 13) between "an end which is constituted by the action of an agent" and "an end which is preexistent and to be acquired or obtained by action or motion." Under the latter head come God and his gifts, the Savior and salvation, and the Holy Ghost who ministers salvation. These gifts are accepted by an act of the will, with which man's part, the "action," begins, that which constitutes the "end" in the former sense, without losing sight of the "preexistent end." In the religious and social activities produced in him by the eternal "goods" the Christian must perfect himself by daily repentance. The degree of perfection which must be attained by each in this world is not known to us; but we have firm confidence in the grace of God, and hope for moral perfection in the other world, which shall perfect also our moral happiness. Physical happiness, too, will be bestowed upon us by God's love, though of what nature this will be no one knows. While Christians already possess "eternal life," a life which is supramundane and heavenly, this is only a feeble beginning compared with the blessed perfection to be attained in the likeness of God in the world to come. It may therefore be doubted whether it is to be included in the idea of the (subjective) Highest Good. God's gifts, when he shall be all in all, will of course not be the same as his present gifts—redemption, forgiveness of sins, sanctification. And since in this life the blessings of civilization may be numbered among his gifts, it is possible to include them also in the conception of the Highest Good, which thus becomes the sum, the organism, the system, the totality of all true "goods."

KARL THIEME.

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Consult: Palmer, in *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, v (1860), 436 sqq.; K. Werner, *Geschichte der apologetischen und polemischen Literatur der christlichen Theologie*, i. 489–499, Schaffhausen, 1861; Heman, in *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, xvii (1872), 442 sqq. (on Schleiermacher); Arnoldt, in *Altpreussische Monatsschrift*, xi (1874), 193 sqq. (on Kant); S. Huber, *Die Glückseligkeitslehre des Aristoteles und heiligen Thomas von Aquinas*, Freising, 1893; J. Kaftan, in *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, vii (1897), 13.

GOOD, JAMES ISAAC: German Reformed; b. at York, Pa., Dec. 31, 1850. He was educated at Lafayette College (B.A., 1872) and Union Theological Seminary (1872–75). He was pastor of Heidelberg Reformed Church, York, Pa. (1875–1877), Heidelberg Reformed Church, Philadelphia (1877–90); Calvary Reformed Church, Reading, Pa., (1890–05). He was connected with Ursinus College, Philadelphia, first as professor of church history from 1890 to 1893, and then as professor of dogmatics and pastoral theology and dean of the school of theology from 1893 to 1897. Since 1907 he has been professor of Reformed Church history in Central Theological Seminary, Tiffin, O. In theology his position is conservative and positive. He has written *Origin of the Reformed Church of Germany* (Reading, Pa., 1887); *Rambles around Reformed Lands* (1889); *History of the Reformed Church of Germany* (1894); *History of the Reformed Church in the United States* (1899); *Famous Women of the Reformed Church* (Philadelphia, 1902); and *Famous Missionaries of the Reformed Church* (1903).

GOOD TEMPLARS. See TOTAL ABSTINENCE.

GOOD WORKS.

Ethnic and Jewish Conception (§ 1).
The Teaching of Jesus (§ 2).
Pauline Teaching (§ 3).
Patristic and Roman Catholic Doctrine (§ 4).
In the Eastern Church (§ 5).
The Teaching of Luther and Melanchthon (§ 6).
Modern Lutheran Teaching (§ 7).
Roman Catholic Doctrine Criticized (§ 8).

1. Ethnic and Jewish Conception.

There are only faint traces among the Babylonians of the conception of a judgment of the dead, but Babylonian prayers contain petitions that the "table of good works" might be written upon and the "table of sins" destroyed. The former table is identical with the "table of life" upon which Nebo registers man's length of life. In the Egyptian religion Thoth corresponds to this writing god, the heart of the dead is weighed in a scale and Thoth notes the result. The dead man puts in a claim, for example, for charity, "I have given bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, clothes to the naked, and passage to those without ship." The Greek conception of the judgment of the dead was influenced by the Babylonians (cf. L. Ruhl, *De mortuorum judicio*, Giessen, 1903). In the Zoroastrian eschatology the conceptions, good thoughts, good words, good works, are important (see ZOROASTER, ZOROASTRIANISM). These accompany the soul in its flight to heaven. At the judgment of the dead good works are weighed against bad works. Here may be found the idea of a treasury of superfluous good works and that works of pity are decisive. These ideas probably had an influence upon the Jewish religion. Their influence upon Islam is well known. These parallel features are especially noteworthy: books of good and bad works, the weighing of them, and emphasis on works of pity. God accepts repentance. Faith and good works must follow in order to drive away former evil (J. B. Rüling, *Eschatologie des Islam*, pp. 18–25, Leipsic, 1895). In the Jewish religion *ma'asim ṭorim*, "good works," are frequently mentioned along with *miẓwoth*, "fulfilment of the law." *Ma'aseh* signifies the practical fulfilment of the law, and comes next to its study, and might include the conception of *miẓwoth*. It was not limited to the giving of alms and acts of kindness. It can not be

maintained that all good works of these two sorts were regarded as extralegal (cf. Deut. xv. 7 sqq.). But although they were commanded by the law, the measure and degree in which they were to be performed were left to individual initiative. The idea of "deeds of kindness" (*gemiluth ḥasadhim*) first appears in Ecclesiasticus and Tobit; these acts relate to the dead, mourners, the sick, strangers, and prisoners, and are dependent upon personal motive. They have justifying and atoning power. They are written down in books in heaven, and on the judgment day God opens the books and judges accordingly (*Jubilees*, xxx. 19 sqq.). Another conception is that of the garnering up of good works. On the judgment day they "awake" (IV Ezra vii. 35, 77). In *Pirke Aboth* iv. 11a, vi. 9b, good works are represented as companions of the departing soul and witnesses in his favor before the judgment seat. The idea sometimes appears of the superfluity of the good works of the Fathers being vicariously accredited to Israel (IV Ezra 8, 26 sqq.).

2. The Teaching of Jesus.

On the expression *kala* or *agatha erga*, which occurs in the New Testament first in Matt. v. 16, cf. H. Cremer, *Wörterbuch der neutestamentlichen Gräcität* (Gotha, 1902), and Zahn, *Das Evangelium des Matthäus*, p. 203 (Leipsic, 1905). The image of a "treasure in Heaven" is used also by Jesus (Matt. vi. 20), who retains the conceptions relating to the reward for good works. The image of bookkeeping with reference to good works appears in Rev. xx. 12; that of the companionship of good works in Rev. xiv. 13. Jesus' criticism of the righteousness of good works is aimed at the presumption of claiming credit with God, at the confusion of the distinction between moral and ritualistic works, at the increasing of the necessary number of good works to an intolerable degree, and at the pride and love of glory accompanying it. The Jews commonly associated almsgiving, prayer, and fasting as types of good works. Jesus approved of fasting as an expression of a sorrowful mood, but not as a means of purification. He emphasized the importance of words as indications of the character of the spirit (Matt. xii. 36–37), but he also praised the doing of the will of God in contrast to the mere utterance of words (Matt. vii. 21, xxi. 28 sqq.). He taught also that only those acts of love are good that arise from adequate motives (Matt. xxv. 37 sqq.). In Luke x. 20 he uses the old image of a book of life, meaning that his disciples had confessed God and been chosen to salvation.

3. Pauline Teaching.

Paul was not only a man of deep religious feeling, but an active character and an ethical genius. It is an exaggeration to assert that his denial of justification by works meant an alienation from works (A. Schlatter, *Der Glaube im N. T.*, pp. 327 sqq., 381 sqq., Stuttgart, 1905). Paul opposes the doctrine that man may demand recompense from God for doing that which God has bidden him do. It is impiety from the standpoint of the religion of salvation and faith in Christ. He opposes to the Jewish formula, "works and faith," the principle "out of faith alone." Faith is trust in the grace of God, which alone brings salvation and would no longer be grace if the principle "by works" were valid. The sole efficacy of predestined grace is lauded in Rom. xi. 6; its relation to works in Eph. ii. 9–10. Paul certainly valued highly the activity of Christians in works, which, religiously considered, is nothing less than God's "good works." The saving power of good works arises from the fact that at the judgment decision will be based upon them. This seems contradictory of the doctrine of justification by faith alone. It will not do to regard the former of these views as a mere survival in Paul of a Jewish mode of thought. Paul not only felt that Christ was producing all those heroic works which he, Paul, was able to do through love of Christ, but he also recognized in himself freedom, power, and responsibility. He was filled with the spirit of self-sacrifice and joy because he was able to do something for the love of Christ, for which he hoped to receive not "reward" from Christ, but favor and friendly recognition. Faith in Christ as judge because of his "meekness and gentleness" (II Cor. x. 1) made the idea of man's hoping in his littleness to deserve anything of God because of his works seem less presumptuous. The ethical conception that salvation must be dependent upon activity, responsibility, and duty was developed in Paul's mind by the idea of the atonement. The pastoral letters mention frequently the idea of good works, which then passed into church doctrine and terminology. While these letters do not contain the phrase "faith and works," they do contain the phrase "faith and love."

4. Patristic and Roman Catholic Doctrine.

For the evolution of the idea of justification by works see JUSTIFICATION. The best material bearing on the common postapostolic view of good work is presented in A. Titius, *Die neutestamentliche Lehre von der Seligkeit*, vol. iv., chap. iv. (Tübingen, 1900). For the apostolic fathers, E. J. Goodspeed, *Index patristicus* (Leipsic, 1907) is valuable. Their ethicism is currently explained as due to Jewish influence. The significance of Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine for the Roman Catholic doctrine of good works is very great (see JUSTIFICATION). Augustine's *De fide et operibus* established in the Church Paul's doctrine of "faith which worketh by love" (Gal. v. 6). The specific Roman Catholic combination of a religion of salvation and a religion of justice began after the time of Tertullian to be formed by means of an elastic and complicated conception of Merit (q.v.). The thesis of Augustine that God crowns as human desert his own gifts of grace made the combination possible. The scholastics treat many problems relative to this subject not under the title of *bona opera*, "good works," but under *actus humani*, "human activities," as belonging to ethics. As they recognized seven principal virtues, seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, and as especially good acts, eight evangelical beatitudes, so also they counted seven corporal and seven spiritual works of charity. The corporal were the Jewish "deeds of kindness" (Lactantius, *Epitome*, lx.; Augustine, *De moribus ecclesiæ catholicæ*, xxvii.). These works of pity especially, but also the other categories mentioned, are still important in the Roman Church. The prevailing,

external, reward-hungry doctrine of the Middle Ages was undermined by mystics like Bernard, Eckhart, and Tauler (qq.v.). The Tridentine council defended the "regard for reward" (see REWARD) and the fear of hell and judgment. Christ is not only the Savior whom one should trust, but the lawgiver whom one must obey. The Gospel is not a bare and unconditioned promise of eternal life without the requirement of observing the commands of God and of the Church. As works of satisfaction are mentioned "fasting, works of charity, prayer, and other exercises of the spiritual life." The point of view is not alone that of the observance of the commandments. Good works are regarded also as sufferings with Christ (Rom. viii. 17), as war with the flesh; and especially noteworthy is the connection with Johannean mysticism. The current Roman Catholic doctrine of good works may be sketched briefly as follows: even a man who has committed a sin deserving of death may perform naturally good works, which, although they will not bring him to Heaven, "are very useful in obtaining from the Divine pity the grace of conversion, and in winning temporal reward or avoiding temporal punishment" (*Katholischer Katechismus für das Apostolische Vikariat im Königreiche Sachsen*, p. 89). The commands of God and of the Church, the performance of which will win Heaven for the doer, are to hear mass, to fast, to confess and partake of the communion, to pay church tithes, and not to marry at forbidden times. To the question, which works are especially recommended by the Bible, the catechism quoted, p. 90, mentions prayer, fasting, and almsgiving, in which are included all works of reverence, mortification, and love of neighbors. A great theological-ethical tradition beginning with Augustine lies back of the doctrine of the catechism that God "especially regards the good intention, through which even with slight works we may obtain great reward of God." The good intention should be awakened every morning with prayer; to renew it frequently through the day increases the merit. A good intention that does not coincide with the proper aim and direction of a good work adds a new species of goodness to the good work, makes it doubly good. An alms, an action or suffering of anything irksome, is spoken of as being "brought as a sacrifice" to God. The good intention then makes doubly good the deed good in itself. The awakening of the good intention is an act of explicit love of God. The acts of faith and hope also should frequently be awakened. These three theological virtues are, together with sanctifying grace, an inpoured ornament of the soul disposing to a fulness of good works. It is evident how great is the number of possible good works. The Catholic needs many of them not only to obtain merit in order to attain blessedness, but also as acts of penance in order to escape temporal punishment for his sins. The acts of penance imposed by the confessor (prayer, fasting, and alms) must be supplemented by voluntary deeds, which avail to help the poor soul suffering the fires of purgatory.

In the Eastern Church the spirit of an Augustine has been lacking to lead the way beyond the formula "faith and good works." Faith and good works are regarded in that church as the two factors of all Christianity. According to Methodius "the praiseworthy are those who adorn the inner man with the proper faith as well as the outer with good works." The words of Cyril of Jerusalem are well known: "The way of regard for God is twofold, pious beliefs and good deeds; these beliefs apart from good deeds are not acceptable to God, nor are good works apart from right beliefs received by him" (*MPG*, xxxiii. 456 B). The "Confession" of Mogilas names fourteen works of charity.

5. In the Eastern Church.

With Luther, it may be admitted, the ethical interest was secondary, in the sense that he preached the receptive power of faith with more enthusiasm than the effective power; that faith is, according to him, ethically effective only when it is not too far removed from its idealization, as he himself for the most part experienced it; and that he should have avoided his apparently antinomian modes of expression. His principal work, *Von den guten Werken* (1520), begins with "It is to be understood in the first place that those things commanded by God are not the only good works." Luther believed that faith brought all religious activities along with it. He refers several times in this tract to the charge that he forbade good works. While he had condemned mere legal good works, intended to procure blessedness for the doer, he defended good works arising from faith. Good works are, according to him, the end and aim of faith, which reenforces the natural human motives to good works. Faith, especially that in the beneficence of God, disposes the recreated man to be beneficent to his neighbor. Good works are not necessary to blessedness; they flow of necessity from the beatific faith. He who has been baptized and believes is just and happy, and has received heaven and eternal life. But in order to remain so, he must retain, exercise, complete, and test his faith, and for this good works are necessary. Good works are a means, at the judgment, for measuring the degree of faith, but are not in themselves causes of blessedness. Luther continued the fight of the mystics against the "regard for reward," but in practise he did not take away the motives of reward. Melanchthon, on the other hand, defended the principle of obligation in the good works of believers—they are not "forced" but "owed." In the Augsburg Confession, VI., the statutory motive, the necessity arising from command and obligation, is placed beside the more idealistic bringing forth of good fruits, and the "thus hath God commanded" contains a third thought—it is aimed at the former emphasis upon "childishly unnecessary works" of which Melanchthon complains in articles XX. 3, XXVI. 2, XXVII. 13. In §§ lxxiii. sqq. of the "Apology" the ideas of merit and reward are brought in—good works are meritorious, but deserve neither justification nor eternal life, but only "other corporal and spiritual rewards in this life and afterward."

6. The Teaching of Luther and Melanchthon.

For the controversies about the necessity of good works in the seventeenth century see ANTINOMIAN-

ism and Antinomian Controversies, II.; Syncretistic Controversies; and Horneius, Conrad. The doctrine of the orthodox dogmatists is given in H. Schmid, *Die Dogmatik der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche*, § 49 (Gütersloh, 1893). For the Reformed doctrine of good works see Calvin, John; Protestantism; and Zwingli, Huldreich.

7. Modern Lutheran Teaching.

Few Lutherans to-day adhere to Luther's dogma that "good works are to be excluded not only when the discussion concerns justification, but also when our eternal salvation is the question." Most of them would assert that we have no right to interpret the numerous Scriptural expressions concerning God's judgment as showing that he regards good fruits only as indications of faith, upon which alone everything depends, but that he appreciates them and the good conscience from which they proceed according to the value which the good in itself has for him. Man, possessing perfection only in a measure, may, and should, find favor in a measure with God. In view of the ideal of perfection, his state will bring him no joy, but only shame and pain and anxiety. It is not "perfection" at all from the point of view of the law. It has value only in the Father's loving eyes, upon which the mortal has no claim. Does this do justice to the certainty of salvation? It is a common Lutheran misunderstanding of the Lutheran certainty of salvation to assume that the Christian is as sure of his salvation as he is, say, of his mortality. The Christian is heir to salvation, but not necessarily possessor of it. His faith is the key to a priceless treasure, but in order to possess that treasure he must guard and perfect the key. He does not, it is true, according to Luther, attain to blessedness because of his perfected faith, but because of the Savior who is the judge that pronounces happiness. The perfected faith, however, is the means of ascending to the Savior. Luther himself in his wrestling with his own soul had no such certainty of salvation. He placed so much emphasis upon faith because in his view everything depends upon Christ, "which fact must be believed and can not be attained or grasped in any other way by any work, law, or merit." But the Christian believer, for whom the rule of grace obtains, can and should bring fruits which, though not according to the dispensation of the law, pass for a certain "perfection" according to the dispensation of grace. That the anxiety concerning the persistent imperfection of this "perfection" threatens the certainty of future blessedness does not make this view a kind of sub-Lutheran Christianity. According to Luther, this very imperfection of the receptive power of faith is the never-failing point of concern. The shattered certainty of salvation becomes whole again through the faith that "God is greater than the heart and knows all things."

8. Roman Catholic Doctrine.

The specifically Lutheran dogma which condemns the principles that good works are necessary to blessedness and that it is impossible to attain blessedness without good works, does not do sufficient justice to the entire religion of the New Testament. This is a combination of the religion of salvation or atonement with a religion of morality, which makes the Roman Catholic decline into a combination of religion of salvation with a religion of legality comprehensible. According to the Council of Trent, the Savior, by means of the power that constantly streams from him into the justified, brings it about that nothing of reward is lacking to those who have fully accomplished the Divine law and have deserved eternal life. In opposition to the view of certain theologians that at the judgment the merit of Christ will have to be added anew, it is maintained that the justified can, with his good works which are God's gifts of grace as well as his own good deserts, make oneself secure before the tribunal of God without any other imputation of justice (G. Thomasius, *Die christliche Dogmengeschichte*, ed. Bonwetsch and Seeberg, ii. 698, Leipsic, 1889). These views of a complete fulfilment of the law and of a claim to a just reward are unchristian. See Consilia Evangelica; Ethics; Law and Gospel; and Major, Georg.

(Karl Thieme.)

Bibliography: The subject is often treated in works on systematic theology, for a list of which see Dogma, Dogmatics; also in those upon ethics (q.v.). Consult also the literature on the articles to which reference is made in the text. For the Jewish doctrine consult: F. Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, ed. F. Delitzsch and G. Schnedermann, Leipsic, 1897; P. Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie von Daniel bis Akiba*, Tübingen, 1903; W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter*, Berlin, 1906; O. Holtzmann, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, § 33, Tübingen, 1906. For the doctrine in the New Testament consult the works in and under Biblical Theology. On the doctrine in the Church and in ethics special treatment is in: K. Thieme, *Die sittliche Triebkraft des Glaubens*, Leipsic, 1895 (on Luther); C. E. Luthard, *Kompendium der theologischen Ethik*, § 42, Leipsic, 1898; Bensow, in *Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie*, x. 2 (1906); F. Loofs, *Dogmengeschichte*, Halle, 1906; J. Gottschick, *Ethik*, §§ 14 sqq., Tübingen, 1907. For the Roman Catholic side consult: F. A. Göpfert, *Moraltheologie*, vol. i., Paderborn, 1905; *KL*, xii. 1329–31.

GOODELL, WILLIAM: Congregationalist missionary; b. at Templeton, Mass., Feb. 14, 1792; d. in Philadelphia Feb. 18, 1867. He was graduated from Dartmouth College in 1817, from the Andover Theological Seminary in 1820, and was sent by the American Board as a missionary to Beirut in 1822. On account of the Greek revolution he was forced to retire to Malta in 1828, where he continued his missionary work till 1831. In June 1831 he opened a new mission to the Armenians in Constantinople, where he labored with conspicuous success till 1865, returning then to the United States. The crowning work of his life was his Armeno-Turkish translation of the Bible, the final revision of which appeared in 1863.

Bibliography: E. D. G. Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire; or, Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell*, New York, 1883 (by his son-in-law).

GOODWIN, CHARLES WYCLIFFE: English jurist and Egyptologist; b. at King's Lynn (26 m. n.e. of Ely), Norfolk, 1817; d. at Shanghai, China, Jan. 17, 1878. He studied at St. Catherine's Hall, Cambridge (B.A., 1838; M.A., 1842), and was admitted to the bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1848. He was the only lay contributor to *Essays and Reviews* (q.v.). In 1865 he was appointed assistant judge of the supreme court for China and

Japan. In 1873 he was transferred to Yokohama as acting judge of the supreme court, a position which he retained when he returned to Shanghai in 1876. His works include: *The Anglo-Saxon Version of the Life of St. Guthlac . . . with a Translation and Notes* (London, 1848); *The Anglo-Saxon Legends of St. Andrew and St. Veronica . . . with an English Translation* (Cambridge, 1851); *Hieratic Papyri* (in *Cambridge Essays*, London, 1858); *On the Mosaic Cosmogony* (in *Essays and Reviews*, 1860); *The Story of Sancha, an Egyptian Tale of Four Thousand Years ago, Translated from the Hieratic Text* (1866), which, with other translations by Goodwin, was included in the first series of *Records of the Past* (12 vols., 1873–81); also a number of contributions to the second series of Chabas' *Mélanges égyptologiques* (Chalon-sur-Saône, 1864), and to Lepsius and Brugsch's *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*.

Bibliography: *DNB*, xxii. 142–143.

GOODWIN, DANIEL RAYNES: Protestant Episcopalian; b. at North Berwick, Me., Apr. 12, 1811; d. at Philadelphia Mar. 15, 1890. He was educated at Bowdoin College (B.A., 1832), and, after a year of study at Andover Theological Seminary and two years in Europe, became professor of modern languages in Bowdoin College in 1835. In that position he completed his theological studies, and was ordained to the priesthood in 1848. From 1853 to 1860 he was president of Trinity College, Hartford, Conn., where he was also professor successively of modern languages and mental and moral philosophy. In 1860 he was elected provost of the University of Pennsylvania, a position which he held eight years, resigning to accept the deanship and Holy Trinity professorship of systematic theology in the Philadelphia Episcopal Divinity School, both of which he held until his death. He was a deputy to the General Convention from Maine in 1853 and from Pennsylvania after 1862. He wrote *Christianity neither Ascetic nor Fanatic* (New Haven, 1858); *The Christian Ministry* (Middletown, Conn., 1860); *Southern Slavery in its Present Aspects* (Philadelphia, 1864); *The Perpetuity of the Sabbath* (1867); *The New Ritualistic Divinity* (1879); *Notes on the late Revision of the New Testament* (New York, 1883); and *Christian Eschatology* (Philadelphia, 1885).

GOODWIN, JOHN: Arminian clergyman and controversialist; b. in Norfolk c. 1594; d. in London, 1665. He was educated at Queen's College, Cambridge (M.A., 1617). He preached for a number of years in his native county, officiated for a time at St. Mary's, Dover, and went to London in 1632, where he became vicar of St. Stephen's in 1633. Ejected from his living in 1645, he maintained an independent church till he was restored by Cromwell in 1649. Under the influence of John Cotton (q.v.) he early sided with the Puritans and was one of the first clergymen to go to the support of parliament on the appeal to arms in 1642, publishing numerous tracts in the interest of the Puritan cause. At the Restoration he, with eighteen others, was incapacitated for any public office, ecclesiastical or civil. In theology he was an Arminian, though he always maintained that he was independent of the system of Arminius. His most important works are: *Imputatio fidei, or a Treatise of Justification* (London, 1642), held in high esteem by John Wesley, and quoted extensively by Richard Watson in his *Theological Institutes; The Divine Authority of the Scriptures Asserted* (1648), which was commended by Baxter; *Might and Right Well Met* (1648), a justification of the purging of the Parliament in 1648; *Ὑβριστοδίκαι: The Obstructors of Justice* (1649), a vindication of the sentence against Charles I., a tract publicly burned at the Restoration, together with several by Milton; *Ἀπολύτρωσις Ἀπολυτρώσεως, or Redemption Redeemed* (1651) which called forth replies from John Owen, George Kendall, Robert Baillie, and others; *Water-Dipping no Firm Footing for Church-Communion* (1653); *Cata-Baptism* (1655), the last two works being polemics against Baptists; and the *Triumviri* (1658), a reply to his critics.

Bibliography: T. Jackson, *Life of John Goodwin*, London, 1872; A. à Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, ii. 65, 85, 168, 219, 288, 334, ib. 1692; D. Neal, *Hist. of the Puritans*, ii. 238, 305, iii. 230, 461, iv. 227, ed. of 1822; *DNB*, xxii. 145–148 (gives a number of other sources).

GOODWIN, THOMAS: English independent minister; b. at Rollesby (14 m. e.n.e. of Norwich), Norfolk, Oct. 5, 1600; d. in London Feb. 23, 1680. He was educated at Christ's College and Catherine's Hall, Cambridge (B.A., 1616; M.A., and B.D., 1620), where he was appointed lecturer at Trinity Church in 1628, and vicar in 1632. After an interview with John Cotton (q.v.) in 1633 he became an independent, and the following year he resigned his preferments and removed to London. Here he preached till 1639, when, his position having become untenable through Laud's vigilance, he went to Holland and became pastor of the English church at Arnheim. Soon after the opening of the Long Parliament (Nov. 3, 1640) he returned to London, gathered an independent congregation at St. Dunstan's-in-the-East, and became one of the most eminent of the independent ministers. He was a member of the Westminster Assembly, allied himself with the Congregational party called the "dissenting brethren," became their leader, and edited *The Reasons Presented by the Dissenting Brethren* (London, 1648). He was made chaplain to the Council of State Nov. 2, 1649, and president of Magdalen College, Oxford, Jan. 8, 1650. He became one of Cromwell's chief advisers, served on various important commissions, and attended the Protector on his death-bed. In 1658, with others, he secured Cromwell's consent to hold a synod for the purpose of drawing up a new confession of faith (see Congregationalists III., 1). On being deprived of his position at Oxford at the Restoration he returned to London as an independent minister. Of his voluminous writings only his sermons were printed during his lifetime. His *Works* (5 vols., London, 1681–1704) have been edited, with a memoir, by Robert Hall (12 vols., Edinburgh, 1861–1866). There is also a condensed edition by J. Babb (4 vols., London, 1847–50).

Bibliography: Besides the memoir prefixed to his works, consult: Walter Wilson, *Hist. and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches in London*, id. 214–215, iii. 420, 429–430, 446–

447, 4 vols., London, 1808–14; D. Neal, *Hist. of the Puritans*, iv. 172–173, 455–456, ed. of 1822; A. F. Mitchell, *The Westminster Assembly*, p. 214, New York, 1883; *DNB*, xxii. 148–150.

GOOSE BIBLE. See BIBLE VERSIONS, B, IV., § 9.

GORDON, ADONIRAM JUDSON: Baptist; b. at New Hampton, N. H., Apr. 19, 1836; d. at Boston Feb. 2, 1895. He was educated at Brown University (B.A., 1860) and Newton Theological Institution (1863). In 1863 he became pastor at Jamaica Plain, Mass., where he remained six years. From 1869 until his death he was pastor of the Clarendon Street Baptist Church, Boston, which became, under his leadership, a center of revivals and of philanthropic work. He also established a school for the training of missionaries and pastors' assistants. He described himself as "a prohibitionist in temperance reform; a supporter and colaborer with D. L. Moody in his evangelistic movement; Low-church in ecclesiology, and premillennial in eschatology." He prepared *New Vestry Hymn and Tune Book* (Boston, 1872) and wrote *In Christ: or, The Believer's Union with his Lord* (1872); *Congregational Worship* (1872); *Grace and Glory* (sermons, 1881); *Ministry of Healing* (1882); *The Twofold Life* (1884); *Ecce Venit: Behold He Cometh* (New York, 1889); *The Holy Spirit in Missions* (1893); *The Ministry of the Spirit* (Philadelphia, 1894); and the posthumous *Yet Speaking* (New York, 1897).

GORDON, CHARLES WILLIAM: Presbtyerian Church of Canada; b. at Indian Lands, Ont., Sept. 13, 1860. He was educated at the University of Toronto (B.A., 1883), and Knox College, Toronto (1887), and pursued postgraduate studies at New College, Edinburgh. He was classical master in the high school at Chatham, Ont. (1883–84) and in Upper Canada College, Toronto (1886–87), and tutor in Knox College (1884–87). He was a missionary at Banff, Alberta (1890–93), and since 1894 has been minister of St. Stephen's Church, Winnipeg. In theology he accepts the modern interpretation of Evangelical doctrines. He has written, under the pseudonym of "Ralph Conner," *Black Rock* (Chicago, 1898); *Beyond the Marshes* (1899); *The Sky Pilot* (1899); *Ould Michael* (1900); *The Man from Glengarry* (1901); *Glengarry School Days* (1902); *The Prospector* (1904); *The Pilot at Swan Creek* (London, 1905); *Breaking the Record* (Chicago, 1905); and *The Doctor* (1906).

GORDON, GEORGE ANGIER: Congregationalist; b. at Oyne (18 m. n.w. of Aberdeen), Aberdeenshire, Scotland, Jan. 2, 1853. He was educated at Bangor Theological Seminary and Harvard University (B.A., 1881). He was pastor at Greenwich, Conn., in 1881–84, and since 1884 has been pastor of the Old South Church, Boston. He was lecturer in the Lowell Institute course in 1900 and Lyman Beecher Lecturer at Yale in the following year, in addition to being university preacher at Harvard in 1886–90 and at Yale in 1888–1901. He has written *The Witness to Immortality* (Boston, 1893); *The Christ of To-Day* (1895); *Immortality and the new Theodicy* (1897); *The New Epoch for Faith* (1901); and *Through Man to God* (1906).

GORDON, JOHN: Presbyterian; b. at Pittsburg, Pa., Mar. 10, 1850. He was educated at the Western University of Pennsylvania (B.A., 1866), Auburn Theological Seminary (1868–71), and Union Theological Seminary, from which he was graduated in 1871. He held successive pastorates at Rensselaerville, N. Y. (1871–79), the First Presbyterian Church, Lincoln, Neb. (1880–82), the Fourth Presbyterian Church, Pittsburg (1884–86), and Westminster Church, Omaha, Neb. (1887–97). He was also professor of ecclesiastical history in Omaha Theological Seminary (1891–99); president of Tabor College, Tabor, Ia. (1901–03), and president of Howard University, Washington (1903–06). He has written *Three Children of Galilee* (Boston, 1895).

GORE, CHARLES: Anglican bishop of Birmingham; b. at Wimbledon (8 m. s.w. of London), Surrey, Jan. 22, 1853. He was educated at Harrow and at Balliol College, Oxford (B.A., 1875), and was ordained priest in 1878. He was fellow of Trinity College, Oxford (1875–95), vice-principal of Cuddesdon College (1880–83), and librarian of Pusey House, Oxford (1884–93). His advanced theological views led to his resignation, however, and after being vicar of Radley, Oxfordshire (1893–1894), he was appointed canon of Westminster in 1894. He retained this position until 1902, being also honorary chaplain to the queen in 1898–1900, and chaplain in ordinary to her in 1900–01 and to the king in the latter year. In 1902 he was consecrated bishop of Worcester, and two years later was translated to the see of Birmingham. He was the editor of the famous *Lux Mundi* (London, 1890), to which he also contributed the chapters on *The Holy Spirit* and *Inspiration*, and wrote *Leo the Great* (London, 1880); *The Church and the Ministry* (1889); *Roman Catholic Claims* (1889); *The Mission of the Church* (1891); *The Incarnation of the Son of God* (Bampton Lectures, 1891); *Dissertations* (1896); *The Creed of the Christian* (1896); *The Sermon on the Mount* (1897); *The Athanasian Creed* (1897); *Prayer and the Lord's Prayer* (1898); *The Body of Christ* (1901); *The Spiritual Efficiency of the Church* (1904); *The Permanent Creed* (1905); and *The New Theology and the Old Religion* (1907). He commented on Ephesians (London, 1898) and Romans (1899), and edited G. Romanes' *Thoughts on Religion* (London, 1894); and *Essays in Aid of the Reform of the Church* (1898).

GORHAM CASE: A well-known ecclesiastical litigation which agitated the Church of England in the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1847 the Lord Chancellor presented the Rev. George Cornelius Gorham (b. 1787; d. 1857; B.A., Cambridge, 1808; M.A., 1812; B.D., 1820, fellow of Queen's College, 1810–27) to the living of Brampford Speke, near Exeter. The bishop of Exeter, Henry Phillpotts, a determined High-churchman, having doubts of Gorham's orthodoxy, required him to submit to a searching examination, and, finding that his views concerning baptismal regeneration were highly Calvinistic and not in accord with those of the Church of England, refused to institute him. Gorham took the case into the Court of Arches (see ARCHES, COURT OF), which sustained the bishop

in a decision rendered Aug., 1849; he then appealed from the decision of the spiritual court to the judicial committee of the Privy Council, exercising the right of every clergyman of the Established Church in England to appeal from the judgment of an ecclesiastical court to a court of law. On this occasion the court, while essentially a lay tribunal deriving its authority solely from the crown, had for assessors the archbishops of Canterbury (Sumner) and York (Musgrave) and the bishop of London (Blomfield). The decision here, Mar., 1850, was in Gorham's favor, and an order in council demanded its execution. The bishop of Exeter questioned the authority of the judicial Committee in the courts of Queen's Bench, of Exchequer, and of Common Pleas, but without success. Gorham was instituted by the Court of Arches into the vicarage of Brampford Speke in Aug., 1851. The committee justified its decision by appealing to the fact that "many eminent prelates and divines had propounded and maintained" opinions practically the same as Gorham's "without censure or reproach," thus showing "the liberty which has been allowed of maintaining such doctrine." The judgment also declared that "devotional expressions, involving assertions, must not, as of course, be taken to bear an absolute and unconditional sense."

The case aroused intense interest and something like fifty works were published concerning it. Gorham's sympathizers reimbursed him for the heavy expenses of the litigation by public subscription. The decision was the first of several which have established the right of a clergyman of the Church of England to express opinions honestly held and have made heresy trials for deviation from traditional interpretations well-nigh impossible in the Established Church. On the other hand, the High-church party considered that the judgment had struck out what they believed to be an article of the creed, and had asserted afresh, as an inherent right, the supremacy of the crown in matters of faith. The decision was one of the causes leading to Manning's withdrawal from the Church of England.

Bibliography: The principal documents in the case are: *Examination before Admission to a Benefice*, by H. Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter, ed. G. C. Gorham, London, 1848; *Gorham v. the Bishop of Exeter; a Report of the Arguments before the Privy Council*, ib. 1850; *Gorham v. the Bishop of Exeter; the Judgment of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, Mar. 8, 1850, reversing decision of Sir H. J. Fust*, ed. G. C. Gorham, ib. 1850; *Gorham v. the Bishop of Exeter; Arguments before the Privy Council, the Court of Queen's Bench, the Court of Common Pleas, and the Court of Arches*, ed. G. C. Gorham, ib. 1850; G. C. Gorham, *The Great Gorham Case, a Hist. in Five Books*, ib. 1850; idem, *A Letter on the Recent Judgment, Gorham v. the Bishop of Exeter*, ib. 1850. Consult also: *DNB*, xxiii. 243–245. A partial list of the literature evoked by the case is given in the *British Museum Catalogue*, under "Gorham, George Cornelius."

GORTON, SAMUEL (SAMUELL): English sectary and founder of the Gortonites; b. at Gorton (3 m. e. of Manchester), Eng., c. 1592; d. at Warwick, R. I., Nov. or Dec., 1677. He received a good education from private tutors and learned to read the Bible in the original tongues. When about twenty-five he began business in London on his own account as a "clothier," i.e., a finisher of cloth after weaving. Being very unconventional in his religious views, he emigrated to America "to enjoy libertie of conscience in respect to faith towards God, and for no other end." He arrived in Boston in Mar., 1636 or 1637. But he did not find what he sought there, and so soon removed to Plymouth, where he did better for a while until what he considered unjust treatment of a servant led him to criticize publicly the magistracy, and in consequence he was, in Dec. of 1638, banished on a charge of contumacy. He then went to Rhode Island. But here again his independent views on State and Church got him into trouble, and in 1641 he was imprisoned and banished, probably after a public whipping at Portsmouth. He then went to Providence. In Jan., 1643, he and his followers retired to Shawomet, where he bought land of Miantonomi, head sachem of the Narragansetts, and two undersachems. The latter two were induced by the enemies of Gorton to deny that he had ever bought the land. This involved Gorton with the commonwealth of Massachusetts, to which the alleged misused Indians appealed. Accordingly he was summoned to Boston, Sept. 12, 1643, and because he and his followers refused, they were compelled by force of arms to obey. The general court of Massachusetts condemned him and six of of his followers to imprisonment, Nov. 3, 1643, but on Mar. 7, 1644, they were released and banished. Gorton went to Portsmouth, and in 1646 to England, where he pleaded his cause so successfully that he returned with an order from the earl of Warwick to the Massachusetts magistrates that the Shawomet colony should be free from interference. He renamed his colony Warwick. He was held in the highest esteem by his fellow citizens, and was honored by positions of trust.

Gorton stood politically for English law and citizenship in the English colonies, and advocated that, while the latter should purchase their lands from the Indians, they yet should have charters from England. Religiously he stood for the right of private judgment, and maintained the following distinctive views: (1) He denied the doctrine of the Trinity, but declared that Christ was God and the only proper object of worship. (2) He declared against a "hireling ministry," and affirmed that there was no fitness in a class of men paid for ministerial functions, as each man was his own priest. (3) He would do away with all outward ordinances. (4) He taught a conditional immortality wholly dependent on the character of the individual. With such views, which he boldly affirmed, it was no wonder that he had perpetual strife with the clerical and political powers in the colonies. It is claimed that for a hundred years after his death there were adherents of his views, but he did not organize any sect. To do so would have been contrary to his principles.

Gorton published several controversial tracts in advocacy of his political and religious views. The best known is his *Simplicities Defence against Seven-Headed Policy* (London, 1646, written while there to defend his cause, reprinted as vol. ii. in the *Collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society*, Providence, 1835, also in Force's *Historical Tracts*,

vol. iv., Washington, 1846). But as yet unprinted is his commentary on the Lord's Prayer, preserved in the Rhode Island Historical Society library at Providence, in which, in final form and most fully, his theological views are presented.

Bibliography: An introduction to the *Simplicities Defence*, ut sup., contains much material, in *Collections*, ut sup., vol. ii. 9–20, cf. vol. iv. 89–92; J Sparks, *Library of American Biography*, 2d ser., v. 315–411, 15 vols., Boston, 1847–55. Consult also: T. Hutchinson, *Hist. of Massachusetts Bay*, i. 117–124, 549, Boston, 1765; J. Winthrop, *Hist. of New England*, ed. J. Savage, ii. 57, 295–299, ib. 1853; *DNB*, xxii. 251–253.

GOSHEN: A region in Egypt generally called the land of Goshen, which, according to J, was given by a king of Egypt at the request of Joseph to his father Jacob and his family as a dwelling-place, and held by his descendants till the Exodus (Gen. xlv. 10; Ex. ix. 26). The priestly writer locates the Children of Israel in the "Land of Rameses" (Gen. xlvii. 11), and the Elohist places them "among" the Egyptians. The location of Goshen is not definitely given in J, but it appears that the region was in the eastern part of Egypt and was, in contradistinction to the land they had left, a fruitful region. By their occupation as shepherds the Hebrews were debarred from living directly among the Egyptians (Gen. xlvi. 34), and the stretch of country eastward from Bubastis known as the Arabian or Heroopolitan region is almost certainly the region which J had in mind, furnishing as it did all the requisite conditions. The translators of the Septuagint, possessing a more exact knowledge of the Nile delta than J had, have fixed more definitely the location. They identify Goshen with "Gesem of Arabia," and place the Hebrews there, and fix also the place where Joseph met his father, viz., at the city of Heroopolis in the land of Rameses (Gen. xlvi. 28–29). This city was the capital of a district of lower Egypt which embraced the region of the modern Wadi Tumilat. By the excavations of E. Naville the site of Heroopolis is fixed at the modern Tell el-Mashkutah in the Wadi Tumilat, not far from the Isthmus of Suez, on the site of an older city the religious name of which was Pitum, the Pithom (Coptic *Pethom*) of Ex. i. 11, on an arm or canal from the Nile to the Red Sea. This is confirmed by the Coptic version of Gen. xlvi. 28. The Land of Rameses, in which Heroopolis lay, is shown also to be the same as a district *Tkw*, identical with the Succoth of Ex. xii. 37 or a district of it. To the Greeks the Arabia in which Gesem was located was the entire region between the valley of the Nile and the desert, under the protection of the god *Spt*, the chief city of which is called in the cuneiform *Pisaptu*. This district has been identified with the Arabian nome whose capital was Phakoussa, and again with Gesem, while the god-name *Spt* is preserved in the modern Saft al-Henneh. Of all this J knew nothing; it is the result of the desire of the translators of the Septuagint to identify more closely the Goshen of Genesis and Exodus. The attempt of Ptolemy to connect Phakoussa, the chief city of "Arabia" and the later Fakus, with Gesem, is shown by Naville's researches to be impossible; the only reconciliation is that in the course of time the name was changed. Phakoussa was doubtless a later capital northeast of Saft al-Henneh. Undoubtedly under the influence of the Septuagint, Arabic and Christian tradition located Goshen in this region. On the other hand, the Arabic author Makrizi located Goshen north of Cairo, at the junction of the caravan routes from the East to Egypt. Saadia and Abu Said locate Goshen at Sadir, placed by De Sacy between Belbeis and Salihieh, to the east of the delta, while Quatremère locates this at the entrance of the Wadi Tumilat. But these later determinations present so little of worth that not much more can be said than that Goshen was east of the delta and westward from the Isthmus of Suez.

(G. Steindorff.)

Bibliography: The two important works are: E. Naville, *Goshen and the Shrine of Saft el-Henneh*, and *The Store City of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus*, the 5th and 1st memoirs of the Egypt Exploration Fund, London, 1887, 1885. Consult further: A. Dillmann, in *SBA*, 1885, pp. 889 sqq.; idem, *Genesis*, vol. ii., Edinburgh, 1897; idem, *Exodus und Leviticus*, ed. V. Ryssel, Leipsic, 1897. Also C. R. Gillett, in S. M. Jackson, *Concise Dictionary*, Appendix, New York, 1898, and see Egypt.

GOSPEL AND GOSPELS.

The Gospels a Single Literature (§ 1).
The Gospels a Prophetic Response (§ 2).
Applied to Corporate Needs (§ 3).
Causes of the Rise of the Gospels (§ 4).
Papias and the "Logia" (§ 5).
The Missionary Stimulus (§ 6).
Mark's Gospel (§ 7).
Luke's Gospel (§ 8).
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Gospel According to the Hebrews (§ 10).
Background of Fourth Gospel (§ 11).
Character of Fourth Gospel (§ 12).
Authorship, Date, and Place of Fourth Gospel (§ 13).
Conclusion (§ 14).

1. The Gospels a Single Literature.

The Gospels are something more than individual books and can not be treated adequately as independent literary units. The Synoptic problem is the result of a unique literary situation. It straightway suggests a set of conditions which must be made the background for the study of the individual Gospels. Even the Fourth Gospel, great as are its differences from the Synoptists, has none the less certain fundamental qualities in common with them. It is necessary, then, to treat the Gospels as a group of books organically related, and this on two main grounds. First, from the literary side. In the field of comparative literature the Synoptists are unique. They must be treated, not only as single books found within the canon of the Scriptures, but as together constituting a single book. There is no great literature where the common life behind the books is more necessary to their understanding. The second ground is from the side of introduction. The very existence of the Synoptic problem indicates an extraordinary literary method underlying them. The closest parallel is the Pentateuchal problem. But even this parallel is not wholly sufficient. In the Pentateuch are found literary strata; the Synop-

tics are books that have distinct individualities while they are indissolubly connected. They are three, yet one. The more intimate our knowledge, the more compelling becomes the problem, and the less easy of solution certain elements in it. To make the outstanding facts more certain, to put the unsolved questions in the best light, the Gospels must be treated as a single literature.

2. The Gospels a Prophetic Response.

To the student reasonably acquainted with literature as a whole, the Synoptics suggest a kind of authorship deeply differing from that now prevailing. They possess a remarkable impersonality; the author hardly appears. Even the Fourth Gospel, though it is extremely self-conscious, is nevertheless anonymous and the individual author seems to count for very little. The Gospels require for their explanation an authorship which is in some sense corporate. The deepest element for the understanding of their peculiar genius is found in the fact that they are the literary products of a prophetic community. St. Peter preaching on Joel (Acts ii.) introduces the situation. Our Lord has founded a society in which prophetic power inheres as an intrinsic quality. The new prophetism differs from that of the old dispensation in that prophetic inspiration no longer belongs to certain gifted individuals, but to the entire community (cf. Paul in I Cor. xii. and xiv.). The literary history of a community is, therefore, the object of study. To use a distinction drawn by literary critics, the literary study of the Gospels is not the history of a literature, but a literary history of a great community which uses certain individuals as its instruments. The closest literary parallel is the Periclean age. Greater than the individual Athenians who wrote the classic books is the great Athenian community, the *polis* or Church-State, whose extraordinary civic and corporate qualities made the individual genius possible. But the parallel is imperfect; the individual author is full-grown in Athens, he hardly exists in the field of the Gospels. Corporate consciousness and the corporate mood are all-controlling. An indication of this state of things is found in the title of the Gospels. They are entitled the Gospel according to Mark, etc. The meaning of *kata* is in part identical with the same prepositions in the editions of Homer put forth by famous editors. But there is more at stake. The *kata* carries the mind back from the second century into the prophetic age, when the Gospel was a corporate mood and a corporate message and the book-gospel of the second century was not thought of.

3. Applied to Corporate Needs.

Here is found the explanation of the style of the Gospels, their noble and sustained simplicity, and their extraordinary adaptability for translation. While their style is molded by the Old Testament and by the Aramaic language and mind, the soul of it is the genius of a supreme community. The Gospels are, like Homer, the creations of an age, and of conditions where the bookish habits of our time were wholly lacking. The Homeric singer was one with his audience, and the poem was lived before it was written. So with the Gospels. The individual author was one with his audience, and the Gospel was lived before it was written. Hence, also, the relations between the Gospels. One of the solid results of criticism is the conclusion that the text of the Gospels took fixed form slowly and that, while it was fixing itself, it was played upon by the unwritten Gospel. This is the truth within the abandoned theory of an oral Gospel. In its original form this theory has become impossible, for the reason that a text formed by the natural memory, without the help of books, resists change far more successfully than a written text. The text of the Gospels, while forming, was for a long time plastic, and the living memories of a prophetic age which was far larger than its literature played upon the text and molded it. A corporate mood controlled the Gospels; consequently, in one sense they have a corporate author. Put in another way, this means that the Gospels constitute a literature which in its origins and in the forces and motives leading to publication closely resembles law. Law, in its deeper moments, is free from academic processes and motives. The literary individual plays an exceedingly small part. Law is the expression of the community's needs, hence it travels no faster than it is driven. But the literary individual is more or less detached from corporate needs. He writes for the pleasure of expression, and seeks a systematic theory for his own mental satisfaction. But law is forced into expression and publication by the needs of the corporate life. Similarly the Gospels, in a very real sense, were published as law is published. They were built up with and shaped within the Apostolic Church.

4. Causes of the Rise of the Gospels.

There are two main conditions for the rise of the Gospels. First, the Christian Church from the first day had a Bible under its hand—it inherited the Hebrew Scriptures. Second, it was a prophetic community, inspired with creative hope and moral passion, and, consequently, the process of gospel-building was entirely free. The need of new Scriptures was not consciously felt. The law of the new community was the Old Testament plus the Savior's words, the Logia of Jesus the Messias (Acts vii. 38, *logia zonta*). As late as I. Clement (90–95 A.D.?) this situation continues. The eschatologic passion which dominated the Apostolic Age—the intense and vivid belief in the speedy return of the Savior (see MILLENARIANISM, MILLENNIUM), and in the triumph of his community—hindered the growth of the Gospels. But this passion was chastened by the knowledge of the Christ of history and sobered by the growing governmental responsibilities of the Church. It may be supposed that small and imperfect collections of the saving words appeared at a fairly early date. The Jewish-Christian community, as it began to come under strain, had to prove its right to exist. It was inevitable that it should do this by the argument from Prophecy, by searching the Scriptures (John v. 39; Acts xvii. 2–3, 11), by proving that the life of Jesus tallied with the Messianic oracles of the Old Testament. It was equally inevitable that, in order to know its own mind so far as that

mind contained anything that transcended Judaism, the Jewish-Christian community must study the mind of Jesus. Hence the tendency to assemble the saving words was instinctive.

This is the situation that explains the first published Gospel. Up to a short time ago this Gospel was confidently called the Logia, the name being taken from Papias' account of Matthew's work. So many difficulties have besieged this fragment and the utterances of Papias are so confused that in the last few years an increasing number of scholars have either put it to one side or cashiered it. In place of the "Logia" they would put "Q" (*Quelle*, "source"). They assume, what must be conceded, that the Agrapha or extracanonical sayings of Jesus can not materially help and that the only other Gospel which might have helped (the Gospel according to the Hebrews) has practically perished. So, the interpreter of the origin and relations of the Gospels is shut up to the Gospels as they are. Hence as a measurable quantity the investigator must seek the literary source (Q) of that text of the saving words which underlies our Synoptists. But Papias can not yet be wholly abandoned: the best possible must be made of his statement. It may be supposed that Matthew assembled and published a collection of the saving words. This edition of the Logia may have had a slight thread of narrative in it, but the narrative could not have been primary. The motive was to state the law of the new life and hope as Jewish Christians sought to live it. This could be done only by making clear to Christians the mind of Jesus. The cause of publication is utterly unlike that given by the Fathers, namely that St. Matthew was about to leave the Holy Land (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, III., xxiv. 6). The true explanation has already been given. The new community publishes its law, the ground and obligation of its corporate existence and aim. The place of publication, if any credit is due to Papias, must have been Jerusalem. The causes and motives of gospel-building were necessarily strongest and clearest at the center of Christian life. The congregation of Jerusalem was the mother church of the new religion. Matthew, by assembling and publishing the Logia, gave to that great congregation a deeper understanding of itself and a clearer conception of its calling. The date of publication can not be determined. But it may well have been between the death of James (62?) and the flight of the church of Jerusalem to Pella (67?).

5. Papias and the "Logia."

But the strongest motives for gospel-building were found not inside, but outside Palestine. The converts from Judaism were, in terms of religion, rich before they came to Christ (Rom. ix. 4–5). The converts from heathendom, on the contrary, being polytheists, were paupers (I Cor. xii. 2; Eph. ii. 11). Jewish Christians inheriting a complete equipment of religion and discipline, came slowly into the conscious recognition of governmental needs. Gentile Christians were outposts of Christ, besieged by a vast heathen world. As a result, Gentile Christianity very soon felt a compelling need for clear knowledge of the Savior (Luke i. 4). The period when the Gospels appeared is a distinct epoch in the history of the Church (68?–95?). The Christian communities were rapidly becoming self-conscious; Judaism pressed upon them from the one side, from the other the Roman empire. The persecutions under Nero and under Domitian forced them into close coherence. The Christian community, under pressure, needed to know the reason for its being. A clear and continuous view of Christ became a necessity. The publication of the Gospels corresponds in part to that need in the life of nations which leads to the writing of histories and still more closely to those crises in the existence of great communities which bring about the publication and codification of law.

6. The Missionary Stimulus.

Mark begins the series. The priority of Mark is a strong probability. The evidence is not merely the lively coloring which is said to indicate the eye-witness. That might be otherwise explained, e.g., as due to the temperament and ability of the reporter. Nor is the primary evidence found in Mark's possession of inside knowledge, which might in fact be secondary. The primary evidence is found, first, in the literary relationship between the Synoptics. Practically the entire text of Mark is found in Matthew and Luke. The theory broached long ago by Augustine that Mark is an epitomator becomes, in the light of the mental and literary conditions of the Apostolic Age, a sheer impossibility. The only alternative seems to be the use of Mark by Luke and Matthew. Secondly, the primary evidence is found in the way the story fits into the times and in its contrast at this point with Matthew and Luke. Mark gives the picture of Christ in his time and place. Jesus' primary question is his relation to the popular Messianism of Galilee. He is the Messiah, yet he avoids Messianic titles. At a very early day he adopts a policy of silence regarding his claims (Mark i. 34), and consistently pursues it to its end. His primary relations are with the crowd. He walks across Palestine a man of his time in the fullest sense of the word, whereas in Matthew and Luke other and later motives come into the portrait. The literary and historical arguments together give a very strong probability of priority. The story of Mark is characterized by fine narrative qualities. The story is not delayed by the massing of Logia as in Matthew, nor is its continuity ever threatened as in Luke by detailed accounts of Jesus' relations with all sorts and conditions of people. The story goes steadily forward and is a narrative of noble simplicity and movement befitting its supreme object. There is no reason for doubting the tradition that it was published in Rome. Mark satisfied the Gentile Christians' craving for an enkindling story of the Savior's life. It was probably published in the years immediately following the Neronian persecution (66–68?). As with the Logia, so with Mark, its publication was in close connection with the intense life of a great congregation. To the Roman Church, as to the Church of Jerusalem, pressure and persecution had given superior coherence and deepened its conscious needs. In the Gospel of Mark it

7. Mark's Gospel.

found a reason for its existence and a ground for its motives and aims.

8. Luke's Gospel. Luke opens with a prologue of large interest and value. The dedication to Theophilus clearly indicates that the writer is an educated Gentile; the style of it is thoroughly Greek, the sentence being highly articulated and rhetorically developed (contrast the Aramaic type of sentence in the other Gospels). The writer knows of other attempts to write the life of Christ and they do not content him. He tells his readers that he has gone to first sources and consulted the eye-witnesses. In every way he bears himself as an educated Gentile, consciously devoting himself in a literary way to the historian's task. Yet he is not an apologete (contrast Matthew). He betrays no dogmatic motive. Hence he exercises far less control than Matthew over the materials. Coming from the Greek world into Palestine, he cares little for local coloring. While he is careful to make connections with the chronology of the Empire (iii. 1), he is careless of the connections in the Savior's life, following Mark less carefully than does Matthew. Like Mark, his Gospel is, in the best sense, unconstrained, neglecting what it does not need. Thus Jesus' relations to popular Messianism are neglected or casually treated. The "Herodians," more than once in evidence in Mark (Mark iii. 6, xii. 13), are not in evidence. The Savior's policy of silence is not consistently developed. Luke's Gospel was for a long time called Pauline, a term which does not do justice to its breadth. His mind is controlled by forces deeper than a conscious Paulinism. He represents the emotional needs of the Gentile churches recruited for the most part among the lower classes and the socially disinherited. The Savior, in Luke's story, is in saving touch with women and with the folk outside the pale of rigorous Judaism. Luke's sources seem to be Mark, the Logia, and springs of tradition still flowing among the Jewish Christians of Palestine. There are distinct veinings in his Gospel (Jesus' dealings with women, vii. 37 sqq., viii. 2–3, 19 sqq., 43 sqq., x. 38 sqq., xi. 27, xxiii. 49–55, xxiv. 22 sqq.; a leaning toward Ebionism, vi. 20, xiv. 13–21, xvi. 20 sqq., xxi. sqq.). Some of his sources are thoroughly localized (the "Perean Gospel," containing much material found elsewhere in Mark and Matthew, but some original and local matter: the Jerusalemitic Gospel of the Resurrection; contrast the Galilean Gospel in Mark and Matthew). Evidently he kept the promise made in his prologue; original sources deeply color his report of the Savior's life and words and are reflected much more clearly than in Matthew. The person of Christ stands out more distinctly than in Mark. Forgiveness of sins is based upon love of his person (vii. 47). Luke shares with Matthew the great Logion "No man knoweth the Father" (Luke x. 22; Matthew xi. 27). Though it be true that he takes this from the Logia (or Q), yet his choice of it is significant. None of our Gospels is shaped by a process of mechanical incorporation; all keep close to vital motives and corporate needs. The outstanding person of Christ (cf. the persistent use of *Kurios* as a title for Jesus) answers the demand of Gentile Christians for a clear statement of the law of their life. The date of the Gospel can not be definitely fixed. It may fall anywhere between 70 and 85, probably nearer the later date than the earlier, and possibly at Antioch. If this is the case, it is another illustration of the truth that the Gospels were published to meet the pressure brought to bear upon the Christian consciousness at the great centers of missionary opportunity and interest.

9. Matthew's Gospel. In Mark unity is gained through a deep impression of the events. In Luke there is a certain loss of unity. But in Matthew unity of a high order is secured through conscious purpose. The first Gospel is intensely apologetic, and controls its material in this interest which is its first main object. It steadily employs the argument from prophecy to prove that Jesus is the Messiah ("that it might be fulfilled" occurs in Matthew twelve times, in Mark twice, and in Luke twice). The other main purpose is a clear view of the teaching of Jesus, and this is obtained by massing the Logia in impressive groups (sermon on Mount, parables in chap. xiii., and elsewhere). Through adherence to purpose Matthew becomes in a sense a creative writer, having more initiative and a larger influence than Luke. The apologetic is Jewish-Christian in type. The book springs from the heart of Jewish Christianity straining to convert Israel to Jesus, and is built into Jewish Christianity and its needs. There are some evidences that the Logia, having been constantly used in debate, have been more or less adapted (Matt. v. 3, cf. Luke vi. 20; Matthew adds "in spirit"; v. 32, xix. 9, divorce on ground of fornication, Mark and Luke being silent on divorce). The apocalypse of Jesus (chaps. xxiv.-xxv.) seems to be a literary unit which had passed through several editions before being incorporated in Matthew's text (contrast Mark and Luke). In Matt. xvi. 18 the explanation of Matthew's addition is found not, as Harnack and others have urged, in a second-century Roman molding of the text, but in the history of Jewish Christianity in the first century. Christ's criticism of the Law (v. 21–47) along with his insistence on its binding force (v. 17 sqq.) clearly indicates this. The Gospel stands close to Judaism, while superior to it. The capital relation of Jesus is not, as in Mark, with the popular Messianism (the policy of silence is not steadily presented), but with Phariseeism (xv. 1 sqq., xvi. 1–6, xxiii. 2–27). In close opposition to Judaism as a teaching force the person and mind of the Savior stand out as in no other Gospel except the Fourth. Christ lays hands on the Torah and corrects it (v. 21–47). His personal consciousness stands out in spiritual sublimity (sermon on Mount; xi. 28 sqq., absent from Luke). Thus the first Gospel marks the way in which the deeper Gospel, the Gospel of the self-consciousness of Christ, came to be written. It was probably published between 75 and 90, when Jewish Christianity was under severe strain. Judaism, as the result of the great war, was drawing in its lines and becoming increasingly hostile to Christianity. The author of our Matthew published the Law for Jewish Christianity under the form of a Scriptural apol-

ogetic. That his arrangement of the Logia satisfied a deep need is proved by the fact that the Matthean text of our Lord's words is the text generally followed in the Apostolic Fathers, beginning with Clement. The likeliest place of publication is North Syria, possibly Damascus.

The building and publishing of the Gospels was a process inherent in the growth of the Apostolic Church. It was wider than our canonical Gospels.

10. Gospel According to the Hebrews.

There is one Gospel, the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which probably falls within the first century. The scanty fragments of it remaining make a constructive hypothesis of any sort extremely hazardous. In its account of the conversion of James it places itself on solid ground (cf. I Cor. xv. 7). The silence of the canonical Gospels and of Acts forcibly recall their limitations as histories. But it would seem that the story of James had already become a Jewish-Christian legend. And possibly the Gospel according to the Hebrews at this point indicates the beginning of the Clementine legend. There are other elements (account of the temptation, " My Mother the Holy Spirit took me by one of the hairs of my head and carried me off to the great mountain, Thabor ") that suggest a movement toward extravagant mysticism. This may have been a growing tendency in the depressed and disheartened congregation of Jerusalem, which in the last years of the first century had lost its hold on great affairs. The possible relations of this Gospel to the canonical Matthew or to the Logia are questions upon which no opinion may safely be ventured. The hazy and heterogeneous opinions of the Fathers yield no solid data.

The foregoing discussion shows that the Gospels were not written as scientific histories were written, but that they constitute a religious literature springing from corporate religious need. The choice and presentation of the saving words of Jesus was determined by practical,

11. Background of Fourth Gospel.

not by systematic or historical, motives (John xx. 30–31). In Matthew there are clear indications that interpretation has to some extent fused with the Logia held in the living memory and applied to imperious practical needs. The habit of quotation has a long history. Nothing like the modern standard of quotation was reached in antiquity, not even in Greek learning, and most certainly not in first-century Christianity, where the corporate need of law gave the main motive for gospel-building. Christians did not dream that they were guilty of irreverence when they adapted the words of Jesus even as they adapted the saving words of the Old Testament (cf. Paul in Rom. x. 6 sqq.). This study of the Gospels illumines the problem of the Fourth Gospel. To place the book fairly, the history of Christian prophetism must be remembered. The Apostolic, or more concretely the prophetic, age of Christianity was the creative and constructive period of our religion. It founded a new type of community and, as a part of that work, created a new literary type, the Gospels. By the year 100 Christian prophetism was in rapid decline. The Pastoral Epistles, II Peter, I Clement, and the Didache are convincing evidence. The period of decline lasted till near the middle of the second century. The labored apocalypse of Hermas indicates its close. The publication of the Diatessaron (see HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS, I., §§ 2–4) proclaims its close. Then follows quickly the attempted revival of Christian prophetism in Montanism, and the period of the Catholic Church. Much hasty work has been done in the field of the Fourth Gospel through a disregard of certain fundamental facts involved in this history of Christian prophetism.

The quality of thought in the Fourth Gospel is not metaphysical but prophetic. The absence of the pictured parousia has been given excessive weight. The quality of the thought is the real criterion. The Gospel is inseparable from I John,

12. Character of Fourth Gospel.

where there is a lively expectation of the " last times." There is no emotional gulf between the eschatologies. The " last day " plays a not inconsiderable part in the Gospel (vi. 39, 40, 44, xi. 23, xii. 48). The monotheism is intense. The conception of the " world " (*kosmos*) has been cast in the apocalyptic mold. It is true that the presence of the word *Logos* (i. 1, 14) carries great weight. But i. 1–5, by its brevity, indicates the author's eagerness to get into history, his indisposition for metaphysics. The fundamental quality of thought is intensely prophetic and of itself places the core of the book well within the first century. The parallel with Matthew may be pressed. Here as there the opposition of Christ to Judaism is the determining element (the displacing of the purification of the Temple from the end of the ministry to the beginning to indicate the irrepressible conflict between Jesus and Judaism; the dialogue with Nicodemus, iii. 1–10; the important part taken by the Sabbath questions; the constant phrase " your law "; the title " the Jews " constantly used to describe the dark figures in the picture). Here as there, though far more decisively, the self-consciousness of Christ stands out in opposition to Judaism. The self-consciousness of the Savior *is* the Gospel (the " kingdom of God " is absorbed into the person of the king, the phrase occurs only in iii. 3, 5; the parabolic form of teaching disappears with the " kingdom of God "; the style of Jesus in the Synoptics is in striking contrast). It is evident that the mold of the Gospel was shaped in the mind of a first century Jewish Christian.

The occasioning cause of publication is found in Gnosticism in its first period of development. There is a truth in the legend that connects the author of the Gospel with Cerinthus. The substance of the Fourth Gospel was shaped

13. Authorship, Date, and Place of Fourth Gospel.

by the same causes that shaped the Synoptists, the corporate need of the Christian community, fighting at close quarters with the world. The perspective and emphasis and main terms of the Fourth Gospel are found also in the First Epistle. The person of Christ becomes the outstanding and all-controlling principle. The conception of the Logos is used to lay in consciousness the final foundation for the fact and mystery

of Christian fellowship. These conclusions are the secure results of exegesis. They prepare for the patient study of the Johannean Problem. The Johannean literature as a whole decisively demonstrates the existence of a "John" in Asia Minor. The Johannean organism of literature together with the exegesis of the Fourth Gospel places its author deep within the Jewish Christianity of the first century. Confusion begins when Papias is brought into court. Does he attest the existence of two "Johns," one of them the apostle, and both of them the disciples, the personal followers of Jesus? Prolonged study of Papias has possibly thrown our minds slightly out of bearing. Papias being in court with the results of exegesis, the controversy over the two Johns loses much of its importance. The mind of the Fourth Gospel requires a personal disciple of Jesus for its author. The Gospel or its first text (possibly worked over by the Johannean "School") was published in Ephesus in the last decade of the first century. The law that applies to the other Gospels, namely, that they were shaped under pressure at the strategic points of a militant Christianity, applies in full force here. Ephesus and its region were the critical point in the religious movements of the Empire during the first century. It is not an accident that the Logos doctrine of the Fourth Gospel became the speculative platform of the Church Catholic.

The Gospels taken together furnish a life of Christ as the subjective and corporate needs of the apostolic or prophetic age shaped it. It is not a life of Christ in the scientific sense. Beyond question the vital interpretation of the Chris-

14. Conclusion. tian consciousness has fused itself, in varying degrees, with the facts and words reported. But the modern critic is in serious danger of confounding the subjectivity of academic individualism with the prophetic subjectivity of an age controlled by corporate consciousness and corporate aims. The fact that the Gospels were so largely shaped and published as law, and the fact that the publication of the canonical Gospels falls within a period of thirty years (66–96?), a period, moreover, distant but a single generation from the original words and events in the life of the Savior, are sufficient security to Christians for the conviction that the first cause and the primary reality of the Gospels is the person and mind of Jesus. See the articles on the separate Gospels. HENRY S. NASH.

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GOSS, CHARLES FREDERIC: Presbyterian; b. at Meridian, N. Y., June 14, 1852. He was educated at Hamilton College (B.A., 1873) and Auburn Theological Seminary, from which he was graduated in 1876. After several years as a home missionary, he was called in 1885 to the pastorate of the Moody Church, Chicago, but was forced by ill health to resign five years later. He then resided for two years at Kettle Falls, Wash., after which he was assistant pastor of the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York City, for a year. Since 1894 he has been pastor of Avondale Presbyterian Church, Cincinnati. Theologically he is in general sympathy with the methods and results of the historico-critical study of the Scriptures, and accepts the "Brief Statement" of the Westminster Creed. Besides several novels, he has written *Life of D. L. Moody* (Hartford, Conn., 1900); *Just a Minute* (Philadelphia, 1904); and *Husband, Wife, and Home* (1905).

GOSSNER, JOHANNES EVANGELISTA: German minister; b. at Hausen bei Ober-Walstätt (near Augsburg) Dec. 14, 1773; d. at Berlin Mar. 20, 1858. He studied at the University of Dillingen and at the seminary of Ingolstadt, and was ordained priest in 1796. After officiating at Dillingen, Seeg, and Augsburg from 1797 to 1804, he was appointed parish priest at Dirlewang, where he remained for seven years. He had long entertained pronounced Evangelical convictions which at length made him consider the advisability of leaving the Roman Church. Despite the advice of his mystical Lutheran friend, Schöner of Nuremberg, he resigned his pastorate at Dirlewang, and engaged in literary pursuits, also accepting a small benefice at Munich. The Roman Catholic party unfrocked Gossner for his views in 1817, and two years later he was appointed religious instructor at the gymnasium at Düsseldorf. From 1820 to 1824 he officiated as pastor of a German congregation at St. Petersburg, but his attacks on the celibacy of the clergy forced him to resign, and in 1826 he openly joined the Evangelical Church. In 1829 he was appointed pastor at the Bethlehem Church at Berlin, where he officiated for seventeen years. During his stay in Berlin he developed a great and beneficial activity, founding schools and asylums,

and establishing a missionary society which during his lifetime sent out more than 140 missionaries, especially among the Khols of East India. After his resignation from his pastorate in 1846, he devoted himself for the remainder of his life to ministerial work in the hospital which he had founded while still at the Bethlehem Church.

Gossner made a highly popular and very faithful translation of the New Testament; and published numerous tracts and pamphlets. Among his more important works may be mentioned his *Schatzkästlein* (Leipsic, 1825), *M. Boos, der Prediger der Gerechtigkeit* (1826), and *Goldkörner* (Berlin, 1859). In 1834 he founded a missionary journal, *Die Biene auf dem Missionsfelde*, which he edited for several years. (W. Hallenberg†.)

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GOTHS.

Origin and History (§ 1).
First Contact with Christianity. Ulfilas (§ 2).
Alaric. Settlement in the Roman Empire (§ 3).
Relations to the Romans and the Church (§ 4).
The Gothic Kings (§ 5).
The Visigoths (§ 6).

The Goths were a people of Germanic stock who erected powerful Christian kingdoms upon the ruins of the Roman Empire in the West. Their original home seems to have been in Scandinavia and in the lands south of the Baltic Sea corresponding to the modern Prussia and Posen. About the year 150 the Scandinavian Goths migrated southward into Silesia, whence they pressed on to the north shore of the Black Sea. There they came into conflict with the decaying strength of the Roman Empire and in a series of devastating campaigns overran Thrace, Greece, and parts of Asia Minor. The Emperor Aurelian (270–275) relinquished to them the region north of the Danube, where for a century they remained in peaceful possession.

1. Origin and History.

The Goths met with Christianity as a result of their frequent marauding expeditions into the Empire. In 276 they carried off a number of Christian captives from Cappadocia and soon after we hear of a Syrian priest Audius who founded a number of small churches among them. The new faith made appreciable progress owing to the tolerant character of the people but, while the numbers of converts grew rapidly, Christian teachings exercised but little influence on the spirit of the warlike nation till the advent of Ulfilas (q.v.). The latter, a descendant of the captive Cappadocian Christians of 276, was consecrated bishop of the Goths by Eusebius, the Arian bishop of Nicomedia at Antioch in 341, and so the heretical form of Christianity was introduced. In the same year, however, the storms of persecution broke on the Christian converts. In 348 Ulfilas removed his followers across the Danube into Mœsia where they followed a peaceful pastoral life. Ulfilas did not abandon, however, his missionary labors among the Goths north of the Danube, in the course of which he reduced the Gothic language to writing, as embodied in his translation of the Bible (see Bible Versions, A, X.). The complete conversion of the Goths to Christianity was effected when the pressure of the Hun invasion induced them to cross the Danube and seek a settlement within the borders of the empire. This the majority of the nation, under the leadership of Fritigern, accomplished in 376 with the approval of the Roman authorities. A portion of the nation under Athanaric remained north of the Danube. The Ostrogoths had been conquered and to a certain degree incorporated by the Huns.

2. First Contact with Christianity. Ulfilas.

The perfidy of the Roman officials drove the Goths to turn their arms against the empire and in the battle of Adrianople (Aug. 9, 378) they overwhelmed an army commanded by Valens, Emperor of the East, who lost his life in the slaughter. It was under Alaric, who first appeared c. 395, that the Goths became thoroughly Christianized and united; their creed was the Arian, a circumstance of the utmost importance in its influence on the fortunes of the future Gothic kingdoms. Alaric's ambition was to obtain for his people a legally assured home within the confines of the empire and it was with such views in mind that, after ravaging the Peloponnesus, he turned, in 400, against Italy. Repulsed by Stilicho at Pollentia and Verona, he made a second attempt in 408 to overrun the provinces of Noricum, Illyria, and Pannonia, and failed again. In 410 he invaded Italy and spread abroad the terror of the Gothic name by plundering Rome, revealing at the same time a spirit of moderation which may be taken as proof of the sincerity of his Christian faith (see Innocent I.). Alaric died before the end of the year. Under his successor, Athaulf, the Goths left Italy for Gaul, but it was only under the next ruler, Wallia, that the object for which Alaric had struggled was obtained. Aquitania Secunda, the land between the Loire and the Garonne, was granted to the Goths and as *fœderati* of the Empire they ruled it, in nominal subjection to Rome till the fall of Augustulus (476), in complete independence after that. The Ostrogoths, meanwhile, had thrown off the yoke of the Huns after the death of Attila; united under Theodoric, they entered Italy in 489, overthrew Odoacer, captured Ravenna in 493 and erected a barbarian kingdom in the peninsula.

3. Alaric. Settlement in the Roman Empire.

Both among the Visigoths of France and the Ostrogoths of Italy, a sharp line of division ran between the conquerors and their Roman subjects. The Goths retained their military organization, and as an armed estate dwelt almost entirely in the open country, leaving the cities to the Romans. In the cities a new aristocracy arose at the head of which stood the Catholic bishop to whom with time an increasing measure of authority fell. The Church succeeded to the prestige of the empire and assumed the rôle of protector of the Romans against their alien masters, while at the same time the preeminence of Rome as the capital of Catholic Christianity was

4. Relations to the Romans and the Church.

being successfully upheld. The Arian Goths appear in sharp contrast to the splendid organization of the Catholic Church. Their spiritual life was perhaps higher than that of their opponents, and their moral standards were admittedly superior. They were more tolerant and their theology was simple and based on the Scriptures. As a young nation they rejected asceticism and monasticism. But on the other hand their clergy, cut off, as they were, from the learning of the ancient world, were inferior to the Catholic priesthood and showed with time actual degeneration. More than this, the Arian Church had no unity inasmuch as each Gothic kingdom possessed its national Church.

Over both churches the Gothic kings asserted sovereign powers. Thus Theodoric intervened in contested papal elections and exercised the right of deposition over bishops; among the Visigoths of France and Spain the decision of the national synods needed the royal confirmation.

5. The Gothic Kings. But whereas the relations between the king and his Arian followers were simplified by the immediate dependence of the latter upon their sovereign, his policy toward the Catholics was made difficult by the fact that the justifiable exercise of authority might be denounced as persecution and lead to difficulties with the power of the Catholic Byzantines or Franks to whom the subjects of Arian rulers looked for protection. Indeed, however tolerant the Arian ruler may have been, his Catholic bishops were sure to be engaged in chronic conspiracy with outside powers, forcing their sovereign finally to acts of violence. This is exemplified in the case of Theodoric, who, an Arian, ruled impartially over Arians and Catholics during the early part of his reign. The persecution of Arians by the Byzantine emperors Justin and Justinian led Theodoric to send an embassy to Constantinople to intercede for his fellow believers. The mission met with failure but the bishop of Rome, John, who was one of the ambassadors, was received with conspicuous honors. The fact aroused Theodoric's resentment, John was thrown into prison, and a number of the leading Roman senators were put to death, among them Boethius and Symmachus. The feud between Goths and Romans which thus broke out prepared the way for the overthrow of the kingdom by the Byzantines under Belisarius and Narses.

In the Visigothic kingdom the relations between the two sects were more friendly in the beginning, owing to the fact that the Goths had arrived in Gaul as defenders of the provinces against foreign invasion. Dissension first appears under Euric (460–485) who was driven by political

6. The Visigoths. need to violent measures. Danger appeared when Clovis, king of the Franks, a convert to Catholic Christianity, after overthrowing the Romans in Gaul under Syagrius (486), began his attack on the Visigothic kingdom. Alaric II. (485–507) sought to gain the good-will of his Catholic subjects by a policy of mildness and concession, but was impelled to persecution by the traitorous negotiations between his bishops and the Franks. In the battle of Vouglé he lost life and kingdom, and, though the intervention of Theodoric saved some remnant of the Visigothic power in France for the time, the end came under Amalric (531) when the Visigothic kingdom was restricted to the Spanish peninsula. In Spain there ensued a period of comparative quiet during which the Catholic Church profited by the full toleration it enjoyed to extend and confirm its power while the Gothic kingship grew weaker in the strife between the rulers and the rebellious nobility. After the fall of the Vandal and Ostrogothic kingdoms and the conversion of the Suevi and the Burgundians the Visigoths were the only Germanic people of Arian faith. Leovigild (569–586) restored the old splendor of the kingdom by bringing the entire Iberian peninsula under his sway, but his son Reccared (586–601) embraced the Catholic creed and thereby initiated a process of rapid assimilation between Goths and Romans which was to result in the development of the Spanish people. Church and State were brought closely together and the ascendency of one over the other depended entirely upon the personality of the kings. These, however, showed little ability to check the forces of disorder and dissolution. Seventeen kings ruled during the last century of Visigothic power and the end came in 711 when the Gothic army under Roderic was overwhelmed by the Arabs under Tarik at the Wady Bekka.

(G. Uhlhorn†.)

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GOTTESKASTEN, LUTHERISCHER ("Lutheran Poor-box"): The name of a number of societies of Lutherans in Germany aiming to help and support in church matters Lutherans living abroad

(see DIASPORA). The German Lutheran Church has ever been responsive to the needs of its brethren. In the hundred years between 1677 and 1777 the churches in Hamburg made eighty collections for foreign congregations. Through G. A. Francke and others, ministers were sent to America, among them H. M. Mühlenberg (q.v.), in 1742. Tobias Kissling, a merchant of Nuremberg, beginning in 1763, made 106 personal visits to the scattered congregations in Upper Austria, Styria, and Carinthia and spent the greater part of his fortune in the effort to provide them with church buildings, schools, preachers, and teachers. The work first found a special organization, however, in the Gustav-Adolf-Verein (q.v.). But this society was limited by its constitution to the help of Evangelicals living among Roman Catholics, and many strict Lutherans held themselves aloof. Such found an abundant field for their labor by responding to an appeal from America brought by Fritz Wynecken. Wilhelm Löhe (q.v.), pastor in Neuendettelsau, gave a practical direction to the work by organizing efforts to educate and send ministers to America. The name "Gotteskasten" was adopted by three Hanoverians, Pastor L. A. Petri, General Superintendent Steinmetz, and Consistorial Member A. F. O. Münchmeyer (qq.v.), who published a statement of their purpose in the *Zeitblatt für die Angelegenheiten der lutherischen Kirche* for Oct. 31, 1853. They expressed approval of the aim of the Gustav-Adolf-Verein, but took exception to some of its ecclesiastical principles, and solicited voluntary contributions to be used for the same purpose. Gotteskasten were established in Mecklenburg (1854), the duchies of Bremen and Verden (1856), the duchy of Lauenburg (1858), and in Bavaria (1863). The society in Mecklenburg developed the greatest activity. All were actuated by opposition to the Gustav-Adolf-Verein because it extended aid to the Reformed and so-called United Church as well as to Lutherans, and because it limited its field to localities where Roman Catholicism predominated.

Beginning of Movement.

After the formation of the German Empire the movement received new life. In 1876 the original Hanover society resolved to employ agents, to hold an annual meeting and issue an annual report, and to unite with similar societies. General conferences were held in 1878 and 1879, and in the latter year the Bavarian Gotteskasten was reinstituted. Gotteskasten were then established in Württemberg, Reuss, Sleswick-Holstein, Hamburg, Oldenburg, Brunswick, Hesse, and Thuringia. The "Lutherische Hilfsverein" was founded in Lippe-Detmold, and in 1889 the "Evangelisch-lutherische Gesellschaft in Elsass-Lothringen" joined the union of Gotteskasten, which had been perfected at Hanover in 1880. The rules adopted at that time are in the main still authoritative. A certain society, selected for five years, acts as the head and arranges for an annual conference. A special branch of the work—the administration of the Lutherstift in Königgrätz, the work in Austria, in Brazil, etc.—is assigned to each society. Since 1880 a periodical, *Der lutherische Gotteskasten*, has been published quarterly by the Bavarian society. The annual income is from 110,000 to 120,000 marks.

Progress after 1871.

A summary of the work of the Gotteskasten may be divided into three heads: (1) Aid to Lutherans among Roman Catholics—in Bavaria, the greater part of Hanover, Paris, the Austrian Empire, Peru, and Brazil. The first minister was sent to Brazil in 1897; in 1905 thirteen ministers were at work there, preaching was carried on at thirty-eight places in three States, and the formation of a synod was contemplated. In Peru the Hanover Gotteskasten founded the united congregation of Callao-Lima in 1897–98. In Austria-Hungary the most work has been done for the Lutheran Czechs. Congregations have been formed among them and preaching stations established, and they have been helped to maintain their parochial schools. The "Lutherstift" has been founded at Königgrätz to provide Christian family life, religious instruction, and Sunday services for Lutheran students in the schools. Promising students of theology are aided to continue their training at German universities, and help has also been given to Lutheran students at Vienna. (2) Aid to Lutherans among Reformed and other Evangelical confessions—in certain German cities (Metz, where a self-supporting congregation was established in nine years; Mühlhausen; Borkum; Blumenthal; etc.), some Austrian congregations, Lippe-Detmold, Switzerland, North America, South Africa, and Australia. The work here has been to supply ministers, help students, and support weak congregations. The Lutheran Emigrants' Mission (see EMIGRANTS AND IMMIGRANTS, MISSION WORK AMONG) also receives support from the Gotteskasten as a part of their work. (3) Aid to Lutherans among the United—Bremerhafen, three congregations in Baden, the Breslau synod and the Immanuel synod, now united with it. According to the order of the sovereign, dated Sept. 27, 1817, the Lutheran Church exists no longer in the ancient provinces of Prussia. Reformed ministers can be appointed for so-called Lutheran congregations and vice versa, not to mention the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Nevertheless, some refused to join the union and such are entitled to the support of strict Lutherans. The matter, however, is beset with difficulties.

Summary of Work.

W. FUNKE.

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GOTTHARD (GODEHARD), SAINT: Bishop of Hildesheim; b. at Ritenbach in Bavaria, near the monastery of Nieder-Altaich (Altaha), c. 961; d. at Hildesheim May 5, 1038. His father was a servant of the monastery of Niedet-Altaich and he received his education in the monastery school and the court of Archbishop Frederick of Salzburg. He was received into the monastery by Abbot Erkambert in his thirty-first year, and succeeded him in 997. The emperor Henry II. summoned him

to reform the decayed monastery of Hersfeld in Hesse, and later that of Tegernsee. In 1012 he was able to return to Altaich, but was often called upon for counsel by the emperor, who nominated him to the bishopric of Hildesheim in 1022. He maintained the condition of the diocese at the height at which his predecessor Bernward (q.v.) had left it, and even improved it in some regards. He consecrated more than thirty new churches during his episcopate, and partly restored the cathedral; he promoted the cause of education, and reconstructed the system of the Hildesheim school. He remained a monk at heart, and kept his clergy under strict discipline. At the request of St. Bernard, he was canonized by Innocent III. in a council at Reims, 1131; and Bernard founded in his honor a monastery at Hildesheim, to which his remains were translated from the cathedral.

(G. Uhlhorn†.)

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GOTTHEIL, gŏt'hīl, GUSTAV: American Jewish rabbi; b. at Pinne (30 m. n.w. of Posen), Prussia, May 28, 1827; d. in New York City Apr. 15, 1903. He was educated in his native city and at the universities of Berlin and Breslau (Ph.D., 1853). In 1855 he became the assistant of Samuel Holdheim at the Berlin *Reformgenossenschaft*, where he remained until 1860. In the latter year he accepted a call to Manchester, England, as rabbi to the Congregation of British Jews (Reformed) in that city, being also teacher of German in Owens College, Manchester. In 1873 he left Manchester for New York City to be the assistant of Samuel Adler, senior rabbi of Temple Emanu-El, of which he became rabbi eighteen months later on Adler's retirement. He himself retired as rabbi emeritus in 1899. During his rabbinate he was one of the founders of a Jewish theological seminary in New York City. He likewise established the Sisterhood of Personal Service, founded the Association of Eastern Rabbis (later amalgamated with the Central Conference of American Rabbis), and was also a founder of the (American) Jewish Publication Society (of which he was elected president), and of the New York State Conference of Religions, vice-president of the Federation of American Zionists, and chairman of the Revision Committee of the Union Prayer-Book. In honor of his seventy-fifth birthday the Gustav Gottheil Lectureship in Semitic Languages was established at Columbia University. His theological position was that of Reformed Judaism. He lectured repeatedly on Jewish subjects in Protestant Churches, and in addition to numerous lectures and contributions to periodicals, wrote *Sun and Shield* (New York, 1896), besides editing *Hymns and Anthems* (1887).

GOTTHEIL, RICHARD JAMES HORATIO: American Jewish Orientalist, son of the preceding, b. at Manchester, England, Oct. 13, 1862. He was educated at Columbia College (A.B., 1881), the universities of Berlin, Tübingen and Leipsic (Ph.D., 1886), the Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums, Berlin, and the Veitel Ephraim Beth Hamidrash in the same city. He has been professor of rabbinic literature and Semitic languages in Columbia University since 1887, and was also president of the Federation of American Zionists from 1898 to 1904. Since 1903 he has been vice-president of the American Jewish Historical Society, and is also vice-president and one of the founders of the Judæans. He is likewise president of the Jewish Religious School Union, which he established, and is head of the Oriental department of the New York Public Library. He is editor of the *Columbia University Oriental Series* and (together with Morris Jastrow) of the *Semitic Study Series*, and was editor of the departments of Jewish history from Ezra to 1492 and of the history of post-Talmudic literature on the *Jewish Encyclopedia* (12 vols., New York, 1901–1906). In addition to numerous contributions to Oriental and popular periodicals, and besides many articles in standard works of reference, he has edited *A List of Plants and their Properties from the Menârat Kudhshê of Gregorius bar Ebhrâyâ* (Berlin, 1886); *A Treatise on Syriac Grammar by Mar Eliâ of Sôbhâ* (Berlin, 1887); and *Selections from the Syriac Julian Romance* (Leyden, 1906).

GOTTI, GIROLAMO MARIA: Cardinal priest; b. at Genoa, Italy, Mar. 29, 1834. At the age of sixteen he entered the Order of Discalced Carmelites in his native city, and after completing his education there, was appointed professor of philosophy and theology in the same monastery, as well as instructor in mathematics at the royal school for naval cadets at Genoa. In 1870 he was summoned to Rome by the General of his Order to act as his adviser at the Vatican Council, and two years later he became Procurator-General of the Discalced Carmelites. In 1881 he was chosen General, and in this capacity traveled both in Europe and Palestine. He was consecrated titular archbishop of Petra in 1892 and sent to Brazil as papal internuncio, and in 1895 was created cardinal priest of Santa Maria della Scala. He was likewise appointed Prefect of the Congregation of Indulgences and Relics, holding this office until 1899, when he became Prefect of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars. In 1902 he succeeded Cardinal Ledochowski as Prefect of the Congregation of the Propaganda, and is likewise a member of several other Roman Congregations.

GOTTSCHALK: 1. A monk who started a famous controversy concerning predestination in the ninth century; b. c. 805; d. at the monastery of Hautvilliers, near Reims, 868 or 869. He was the son of Berno, a Saxon count, and was sent to the abbey of Fulda in early youth, but later felt little inclination toward the spiritual calling. A synod at Mainz in 829 declared in favor of releasing him from his vow; but his abbot, Rabanus Maurus (q.v.), refused to do so, and Gottschalk was sent to

the monastery of Orbais, in the diocese of Soissons, where he remained a monk. He studied with passionate energy, especially Augustine, whose doctrine of predestination he carried to its extreme logical conclusions. Everything he believed—evil as well as good, condemnation as well as salvation—is foreordained of God. From 837 to 839 he visited Italy. Wherever he went, he preached his doctrine with fervent enthusiasm and gained a considerable number of adherents. On his return he was ordained priest, and then undertook a second visit to Italy, from 845 to 848. There he enjoyed for two years the hospitality of the Count of Friuli; but Rabanus, now archbishop of Mainz, warned the count against the heresies of the subtle monk. Gottschalk then wandered, preaching, through Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Styria, and finally returned to Germany. He arrived in Mainz while the general diet was sitting there in 848, and laid his affirmation of the twofold predestination before a synod of German bishops convened by Rabanus, accusing the latter of Semi-Pelagianism. His doctrines were condemned as heretical, and he was sent to Hincmar (q.v.), archbishop of Reims and his metropolitan superior, to be imprisoned and punished. In the spring of 849 Hincmar convened a synod of French bishops at Quiercy; the doctrines of Gottschalk were condemned, he was compelled to throw his papers into the fire and was imprisoned in the dungeon of the monastery of Hautvilliers, where he remained until his death, becoming insane in the latter years of his life.

The controversy by no means reached an end with the imprisonment of Gottschalk. Powerful men, like the learned Ratramnus of Corbie, Bishop Prudentius of Troyes, Abbot Lupus of Ferrières, and Archbishop Remigius of Lyons (qq.v.) took his part and advocated with him the doctrine of Augustine. Gottschalk himself found opportunity now and then to take part in the controversy; he addressed a letter to Amolo, archbishop of Lyons (q.v.), in 851 and appealed to the pope in 866. Hincmar wrote against Gottschalk *Ad reclusos et simplices in Remensi parochia*, and Rabanus Maurus, Amalarius of Metz, and Johannes Scotus Erigena supported him. A synod at Quiercy (853) decided for Hincmar; synods at Paris (853), Valence (855), and Langres (859), for the Augustinian teaching. Futile attempts at a settlement were made at Savonnières (859) and Toucy (860). In the end both sides became tired of the unprofitable strife, and Hincmar had the last word in his *De prædestinatione Dei et libero arbitrio*.

In purity, knowledge, and natural endowments Gottschalk was one of the foremost men of his time, but the monastery was not the proper sphere for his activity. In his doctrine he started from the conception of the unchangeableness of God, who from eternity has ordered all his decrees in virtue of his prescience. Christ did not die for all, but only for the elect, and the true Church consists only of the elect. Gottschalk carried on an extensive correspondence with the most prominent men of his time. Of his writings there is still extant a letter to Ratramnus, a number of poems, two confessions of his faith (cf. *MPL*, cxxi. 346 sqq.), and his *Schedula*, which he wrote in 853, attacking Hincmar's doctrine concerning the Trinity.

(Albert Freytsedt†.)

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2. Ruler of the Wendish tribes on the Elbe and champion of Christianity in that region; d. June 7, 1066. The son of the Wendish Prince Uto, he was educated at the monastery of St. Michael in Lüneburg. Upon the assassination of his father by a Saxon, Gottschalk abjured his faith, and placing himself at the head of the Wendish forces, engaged in a sanguinary struggle with the Saxon Duke Bernard, by whom he was finally defeated and taken prisoner. Restored to liberty after some years, he betook himself to the court of King Canute in England, where he became once more a Christian. As apostle of that faith and as claimant also to the royal power, he returned to his native land and, with the aid of the Danish King Magnus and Adalbert, the powerful archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen (q.v.), he succeeded in making himself master of the modern Mecklenburg and parts of Pommerania, Holstein, and the Mark. The introduction of the new faith was zealously prosecuted; priests were summoned from abroad; churches and monasteries were founded at Lübeck, Oldenburg, Lenzen, and Ratzeburg; and the hierarchy of the Church was perfected by Adalbert. Gottschalk preached the Gospel in person and effected the conversion of a third of his subjects, but no sooner had the fall of Adalbert deprived him of foreign help than a pagan reaction ensued and Gottschalk was assassinated at Lenzen with many Christian priests and laymen. Within a year Christianity had been extirpated in the region.

(A. Hauck.)

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GOTTSCHICK, JOHANNES: German Lutheran; b. at Rochau (a village near Altenburg, 26 m. s. of Leipsic) Nov. 23, 1847; d. at Tübingen Jan. 3, 1907. He was educated at the universities of Erlangen and Halle from 1865 to 1868, and was a teacher in gymnasia successively at Halle (1871–1873), Wernigerode (1873–76), and Torgau (1876–1878). He was then religious inspector at the Monastery of the Virgin at Magdeburg with the title of professor in 1878–82, and in the latter year was appointed professor of practical theology at the University of Giessen. Ten years later he was

called in the same capacity to Tübingen, where he remained until his death. In theology he was an adherent of the school of Ritschl. He wrote, besides many minor contributions, *Die Kirchlichkeit der sogenannten kirchlichen Theologie* (Freiburg, 1890); and *Abschiedspredigten* (Tübingen, 1901).

GOUCHER, gau'cher, **JOHN FRANKLIN:** Methodist Episcopalian; b. at Waynesboro, Pa., June 7, 1845. He was educated at Dickinson College (B.A., 1868) and entered the ministry of his denomination in 1869, holding successive pastorates in the Baltimore circuit (1869–72), Catonsville, Md. (1872–1875), Huntingdon Ave., Baltimore (1875–78), Harlem Park, Baltimore (1878–81), Strawbridge, Baltimore (1881–82), and City Station, Baltimore (1882–90). Since 1890 he has been president of The Woman's College, Baltimore, Md. He projected the Princess Anne Training School and the Anglo-Japanese College, Tokyo, and founded the West China Mission and the Korean Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church. At the appointment of the Board of Missions of his denomination, he inspected the Methodist Episcopal missions in Italy (1886), Mexico (1892), and India (1897–98), and took an active part in founding and supporting primary and secondary vernacular schools in the latter country. He was a delegate to several general conferences of his church, and is president of the American Methodist Historical Society.

GOUDIMEL, gū"dī"mel', **CLAUDE:** Church musician; b. at Besançon or Vaison near Avignon, c. 1505; killed at Lyons, in the massacre of St. Bartholomew, Aug. 24, 1572. He was attracted to Rome, which at that time was the center of musical life, and in 1534 was a singer in the papal chapel. In 1540 he founded a school for music. His music formed an essential factor in the development of the classical style of Roman Catholic church music. For unknown reasons Goudimel went to Paris before 1549. It is uncertain at what time he embraced Protestantism, but he must have been a member of the Reformed Church when his first compilation of the complete Psalter appeared in 1564. By his majestically clear harmonization of the melodies to the translations of the Psalms by Marot and Beza, Goudimel has largely influenced Protestant church music, where they were only in part replaced, even in the Reformed churches of Germany and German Switzerland, by the tunes of the Basel cantor, Samuel Marschall. (E. F. Karl Müller.)

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GOUGE, gauge, **THOMAS:** English non-conformist divine and philanthropist; b. in London Sept. 29, 1609; d. there Oct. 29, 1681. He studied at Eton and at King's College, Cambridge, where he became fellow in 1828; took orders, and accepted the appointment to Coulsdon, Surrey, 1635; became vicar of St. Sepulcher's, London, 1638, where he distinguished himself by his catechetical instruction, and also by a system of relief of the poor by providing work instead of giving alms. By the Uniformity Act of 1662 (see Uniformity, Acts of) he was compelled to leave his living, and his charitable endeavors were directed to the relief of the necessities of ejected London clergymen, giving largely of his own means to this and other charities and reserving a mere pittance for his own support. In 1672 he engaged in the work of education and evangelization in Wales, including the translation, publishing, and distribution of the Bible, catechism, and other religious works. His own writings, several of which were translated into Welsh, include: *The Christian Householder* (London, 1663); *Christian Directions* (1664); *The Principles of Christian Religion Explained* (1675); and *The Surest and Safest Way of Thriving* (1676); and many tracts which continued to be reproduced past the middle of the nineteenth century. His *Works* were collected with an *Account of His Life* by Archbishop J. Tillotson (1706).

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GOUGE, WILLIAM: Puritan and Presbyterian; b. at Stratford Bow (4 m. e.n.e. of London) Nov. 1, 1575 (so his son states, but others say Dec. 25, 1578); d. in London Dec. 12, 1653. He was educated in St. Paul's School, London, and at Eton, and entered King's College, Cambridge, in 1595, where he became fellow in three years, and subsequently lectured on logic and philosophy and taught Hebrew, which he had learned from a Jew. During his nine years at Cambridge he was so strict and careful in all his life and studies as to earn the title "an arch-Puritan." Reluctantly he withdrew from his studies to enter upon the active work of the ministry. He was ordained in June, 1608, in the parish of Blackfriars, where he remained until his death, accounted "the father of the London divines, and the oracle of his time." In his early ministry he was brought into trouble with the government by his publication of Sir Henry Finch on *The World's Great Restauration, or Calling of the Jews, and with them of All Nations and Kingdoms of the Earth to the Faith of Christ* (1621), and was thrown into prison because Finch's speculation that the Jews would soon set up a world-wide empire was considered treasonable by King James. After nine weeks he was released, having given a statement of his own opinions, which were entirely orthodox. Several volumes of his sermons were issued: *The Whole Armour of God* (1616); *Domestic Duties* (1622, 3d ed., 1634); *Guide to Go to God* (1626); *God's Three Arrows: Plague, Famine and Sword* (1631); *The Saint's Sacrifice* (1632) and others. He was also distinguished for his method of catechizing, which was first published without his knowledge, but afterward revised and edited by himself in many editions; the eighth (1637) containing a larger and lesser catechism, with prayers. In 1643 he was made a member of the Westminster

Assembly and took an active part in the proceedings, in 1647 becoming one of the assessors. He was on the committee for the examination of ministers, on that for drafting a confession of faith, and was chosen with others to write the Assembly's annotations on the Bible, his part being from I Kings to Job. He assisted in the conflict with the Separatists of the day. He was chosen prolocutor of the first Provincial Assembly of London, May 3, 1647, and was a recognized leader of the London ministers, uniting with them in protesting against the execution of Charles I. and the actions of Cromwell. His last work was his commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, which he barely lived to finish, and which was published after his death, by his son, in 1655 (2 vols.). C. A. Briggs.

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GOUGH, gŏf, JOHN BARTHOLOMEW: Congregational layman and temperance advocate; b. at Sandgate (14 m. s. of Canterbury), Kent, England, Aug. 22, 1817; d. at Philadelphia, Pa., Feb. 18, 1886. When twelve years of age he emigrated to the United States and worked on a farm in Oneida County, N. Y., for two years. He then went to New York City, where he secured employment in the bookbindery of the Methodist Book Concern. He ultimately saved enough to bring his mother and sister to the United States. The family became reduced to poverty, however, and after the death of his mother in 1834 Gough began to drink heavily. In 1842 he was induced to sign the pledge, and quickly gained prominence as an advocate of total abstinence. Within two years he twice violated his pledge, but his earnest endeavors to keep it retained public confidence, and he became widely and favorably known as a temperance lecturer. In 1853–55 and again in 1857–60 he lectured in Great Britain under the auspices of the Scottish Temperance Association and the British Temperance Association. After his return to the United States he lectured on other than temperance topics, although he retained to the last his keen interest in the cause of total abstinence and frequently spoke in its behalf. He wrote *Autobiography* (London, 1846); *Orations* (1854); *Autobiography and Personal Recollections* (Springfield, Mass., 1869); *Temperance Lectures* (New York, 1879); *Sunlight and Shadow : or, Gleanings from my Life-Work* (London, 1881); and *Platform Echoes* (Hartford, Conn., 1886; edited in the following year by Lyman Abbott, with a memoir of the author).

GOULART, gū″lär′, SIMON: French Reformed theologian and poet; b. at Senlis (32 m. n.n.e. of Paris) Oct. 20, 1543; d. at Geneva Feb. 3, 1628. He first studied law, then adopted the Reformed faith and became one of the pastors at Geneva (1566). He was called to Antwerp, to Orange, to Montpellier, and Nîmes as minister, and to Lausanne as professor, but the Genevese magistrates always refused to part with him. In 1595 he spoke violently of Gabrielle d'Estrées, the favorite of Henry IV., in a sermon and was therefore put in prison by order of the Council of Geneva, but after eight days he was released, although the French ambassador had required a more severe punishment. He wrote a number of books on history and theology (for full list cf. Lichtenberger, *ESR*, v. 639–641), the most important being his additions to Crespin's *Histoire des Martyrs* (Geneva, 1608); *Recueil contenant les choses les plus mémorables advenues sous la Ligue* (6 vols., 1590–99); *Recueil des choses mémorables sous le règne de Henri II.* (1598). Eugène Choisy.

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GOULBURN, EDWARD MEYRICK: Church of England; b. at Chelsea (a suburb of London) Feb. 11, 1818; d. at Tunbridge Wells (30 m. s.e. of London), Kent, May 3, 1897. He was educated at Eton College and at Balliol College, Oxford (B.A., 1839). From 1839 to 1846 he was fellow of Merton College, Oxford, and tutor and dean from 1843 to 1845. He was ordered deacon in 1842 and priested in 1843. He was successively perpetual curate of Holywell, Oxford (1844–50), head master of Rugby (1850–58), minister of Quebec Chapel, now the Church of the Annunciation, St. Marylebone, London (1858–59), vicar of St. John's, Paddington, London (1859–66), and dean of Norwich (1866–89). He was also chaplain to the bishop of Oxford (1847–1849), and prebendary of Brownswood in St. Paul's Cathedral and chaplain to the queen (1859–66). In theology he advanced gradually from the Evangelical to the High-church position, although he was never a ritualist. He was a strong opponent of latitudinarianism and rationalism. Of his voluminous writings the more important are: *The Doctrine of the Resurrection of the Body* (Bampton Lectures; London, 1851); *An Introduction to the Devotional Study of Holy Scripture* (1854); *A Manual of Confirmation* (3 parts, 1855); *Thoughts on Personal Religion* (2 vols., 1862); *The Pursuit of Holiness* (1869); *The Holy Catholic Church* (1873); *A Commentary on the Order of the Administration of the Lord's Supper* (1875); *Everlasting Punishment* (1880); *Three Counsels of the Divine Master for the Conduct of the Spiritual Life* (2 vols., 1888); and *John William Burgon, late Dean of Chichester* (2 vols., 1892).

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GOULD, GEORGE PIERCE: English Baptist; b. at Exeter, England, July 13, 1848. He was educated at London University (1865–67), Glasgow University (M.A., 1871), Glasgow University Divinity Hall (1871–73), and the universities of Berlin, Göttingen, and Leipsic (1873–76). After his return to England he was pastor of Baptist chapels at Bournemouth and Boscombe (1876–80), and at Cotham Grove, Bristol (1880–85). He was then appointed professor of Hebrew, Old Testament exegesis, and church history in Regent's Park College, London, holding this position until he was chosen principal, substituting systematic theology

for church history, but retaining his chair of Hebrew.

GOVERNOR: The title of an administrative political officer. In the Old Testament the term "governor" is used almost exclusively for the Hebrew *peḥah*, though the Hebrew word is not always translated by "governor." "Governor" is found in the books of Ezra (v. 3–14, vi. 6, 13, viii. 36), Nehemiah (ii. 7, 9, iii. 7 etc.), Esther (iii. 12) etc.; but in other passages of the Old Testament *peḥah* is rendered "captain" (Jer. li. 23, 28; Ezek. xxiii. 6, 23; Dan. iii. 27, etc.), or "deputy" (Esther viii. 9, ix. 3). The Hebrew term is to be traced back to the Assyrian *bel piḥâtu*, "ruler of a district," and denotes the civil ruler of a district who is dependent upon the sovereign and is entrusted with the chief military command. The term is used in the Old Testament of Israelitic, Syriac, Assyrian, Chaldean, and Persian governors. Above the *peḥah* stood, according to Ezra viii. 36, Esther iii. 12, the "king's lieutenants," but their mutual relation is not entirely clear; lower in rank stood the *seganim*, "rulers" (Dan. iii. 2, 27; Jer. li. 23, 28, 57; Ezek. xxiii. 6, 12, 23). The corresponding term *hegemōn, hegemoneuōn*, in the New Testament is rendered throughout by "governor," whether it refers to an imperial legate of Syria (Luke ii. 2), or a procurator of Judea (Matt. xxvii. 2, 11, 14 etc.; Luke iii. 1; Acts xxiii. 24, 26), or a Roman governor in general (Matt. x. 18; I Peter ii. 14). The Greek *anthypatos*, which corresponds to the Roman title "proconsul," is translated in the Authorized Version by "deputy," in the Revised Version by "proconsul."

Biblical Use of Term.

The official position and authority which these three classes of Roman governors—proconsuls, legates, and procurators—exercised in New Testament times rested upon the regulations of Augustus for the administration of the Roman provinces. The provinces of the Roman empire were divided into consular and pretorian, and were entrusted to men of proconsular rank with the chief command of an army or to propretors without such a command; but the office carried with it almost sovereign power. After Augustus, through the victory of Actium, 31 B.C., had become ruler, the senate conferred upon him the chief military command, and in this way he controlled all provinces that were endangered by external attacks or internal disturbances, while the peaceful provinces, i.e., mostly those nearest to Italy, remained under the direction of the senate; but even these were dependent upon the emperor in virtue of his dignity as general governor of all provinces. For the appointment of governors in the senatorial provinces, such as Bætica, Sicily, Africa, Crete, and Cyrene, the republican forms were preserved as far as possible, especially election by lot, duration of office one year, and the distinction between proconsular and pretorian provinces; but the distinction of title was removed—the governors of all senatorial provinces, whether of consular or pretorian rank, were without exception called proconsuls. In accordance with this principle, the New Testament designates the governors of the provinces of Cyprus and Achaia, Sergius Paulus (Acts xiii. 7, 8, 12) and Gallio, the brother of Seneca (Acts xviii. 12), proconsuls (A.V. "deputies"). The governors in the organized and independent imperial provinces, Britain, Gaul, Spain, Upper and Lower Germany, Pannonia, Dacia, Mœsia, Cilicia, Syria, Numidia, Arabia, and Assyria were appointed by the emperor himself, not for one year, but for an indefinite time; he could therefore recall them at will. Like the proconsuls of the senatorial provinces, they were chosen from former consuls and pretors, but in their office they had only pretorian rank, and were called not proconsuls, but as mere mandatories of the emperor, legates, more completely *legati Cæsaris*. There was, however, a distinction between *legati consulares* and *legati prætorii;* as compared with proconsuls of the senatorial provinces, they possessed considerably greater power because they were entrusted with full military command. From these two kinds of provincial governors in the proper sense are to be distinguished the Roman officers in dependencies which, for various reasons, had not yet been included within the legal and administrative organization of the Roman empire. The governors in such territories were not so much state officers as administrators of the imperial court, and therefore they were chosen by the emperor himself, not from the senators, but from the nobility, and received subordinate titles. In a few districts they were called prefects, but in most of the territories belonging in this category, such as Mauretania, Rhætia, Vindilecia, Noricum, Thracia, Corsica, and Judea, the official title was procurator.

Appointment and Duties of Roman Governors.

The relation of the procurators of Judea to the legates of Syria can not be accurately defined. After Pompey, in 64 B.C., had made Syria proper a Roman province, he subjected Palestine to Roman supremacy, incorporating a part in the province of Syria and subjecting the remainder to the supervision of the legate of Syria. But it is not clear whether this subjection to Syria was still in force when the territory of Archelaus, in the year 6 A.D., was subjected to immediate Roman rule under the administration of procurators. In the interior the power of the procurator of Judea was not much restricted by the Jewish administration which the Romans left in force in accordance with their usual practise. The Sanhedrin (q.v.) or college of elders at Jerusalem was allowed to continue the exercise of its administrative and legal functions in the southern part of the country or Judea proper, but in all its activity it remained dependent upon the consent of the procurator, as may be seen from the trial and condemnation of Jesus. But Roman citizens living in Judea were under the jurisdiction of the procurator (Acts xxiii. 24); they might even contest the judgment of the procurator and appeal their cause to the imperial court in Rome (Acts xxv. 10). The procurator of Judea, it is true, had command over the troops in the province, but this was of little importance since only a few cohorts were at his disposal. The seat of government and the residence of the procurator were at Cæsarea (Acts

Governors of Judea.

xxiii. 23–24, xxv. 1). At least once a year it was his duty to travel through the whole province to execute the law, and he was usually accompanied by several councilors and assessors. The taxes and other duties from the province were strictly regulated, and the procurators were forbidden to increase them, nor were they allowed to accept presents, though there were not wanting instances both of cruelty and corruption. Incapable of understanding the peculiarities of the Jewish people, the procurator often excited Jewish hatred of Roman rule, and this finally contributed to the outbreak of the Judeo-Roman war. Of the procurators who, in the time from 6 to 41 A.D., administered the territory of Archelaus, only Pilate (q.v.) is mentioned in the New Testament. During 41–52 A.D. all parts of Palestine were once more brought under the dominion of Herod Agrippa. After his death the kingdom was again subjected to the administration of procurators, who governed from 44–66 A.D., among them Felix (Acts xxiii. 24 sqq., xxiv. 1, 10) and Festus (Acts xxvi. 30). See CENSUS; FELIX AND FESTUS; PUBLICAN; TAXATION.

(F. SIEFFERT.)

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GOZAN: The name of a country mentioned five times in the Old Testament (II Kings xvii. 6, xviii. 11, xix. 12; I Chron. v. 26; Isa. xxxvii. 12). The passage in Chronicles refers to the deportation of a part of the inhabitants of Naphtali by Tiglathpileser IV., but the parallel passage (II Kings xv. 29) makes no definite statement as to the portion of the Assyrian empire to which they were taken. The more definite statement in Chronicles must have come from II Kings xvii. 6. It has suffered in transmission, and contains the unintelligible word *hara* (E.V. "Hara"), which is probably a corruption of the expressions "cities of the Medes" or "mountains of the Medes" (so the Septuagint). The first two passages in Kings refer to the fall of Samaria and the deportation of a part of its inhabitants by Sargon II. in 722 B.C. and following years. In the A.V. an error in the translation of the Hebrew makes the passages read "in Habor by the river of Gozan," which is corrected by the American edition of the R.V. so that "Habor" is seen to be the name of the river of Gozan. The Septuagint reads erroneously "rivers" of Gozan. The remaining two passages are parallel (II Kings xix. 12=Isa. xxxvii. 12) and enumerate Gozan, with Haran and Rezeph, among the conquests of the Assyrians.

As early as Bochart (*Gegraphica Sacra*, Caen, 1646) Gozan was correctly identified with the Gauzanitis of Ptolemy, situated between the Chaboras (the modern Khabur, Biblical "Habor") and the Saocoras, which can no longer be identified. The modern name of Gauzanitis is Kaushan. The Assyrian literature gives numerous references to a city Guzana, which was first attacked in 809 B.C. by Adad-nirari III. From that time it may be regarded as a part of Assyria, for it supplied eponyms to the realm, though it had to be reduced to subjection by Asshur-dan III. in 759–758 B.C. An Assyrian geographical list mentions Guzana and Nasibina side by side (II Rawlinson, 53, 43a) and it has been inferred (by Alfred Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients*, Leipsic, 1906, p. 545, note 1) that Guzana and Nasibina (i.e., Nisibis) are the same place. It is extremely interesting to find Samaria and Guzana named together in an Assyrian letter or report (K. 1366; cf. Bezold's catalogue and Jeremias in Hauck-Herzog, *RE*, vi. 767). All the allusions to Guzana as a city and a district in Assyrian texts are satisfied by the location in the valley of the Euphrates between the Khabur and the Balikh, and this location also exactly fits the requirements of the Biblical passages. The country was well watered, and in ancient times doubtless fertile and well tilled.

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GRABAU, JOHANN ANDREAS AUGUSTUS. See LUTHERANS, UNITED STATES, BUFFALO SYNOD.

GRABE, grā'be, **JOHANNES ERNST:** Septuagint editor and patristic scholar; b. at Königsberg July 10, 1666; d. at Oxford Nov. 3, 1711 He received his master's degree at Königsberg in 1685, and then visited several other universities. At the close of 1687 he lectured on church history in Königsberg with great acceptance, but declined the offer of a theological chair because of lack of sympathy with Lutheranism. After 1694, with other Königsberg teachers and students, Grabe became involved in charges of leanings toward Romanism; and in the course of investigations which followed he accused Luther and the "Evangelicals" of apostasy from the true Church. For a time he was confined to his house, under arrest, but in May, 1695, he was allowed to leave Königsberg and went to Breslau. On the way he received tracts composed against him by electoral mandate by Baier, Spener, and Sanden. The last one prompted a defense (*Abgenöthigte Ehrenrettung*), but Spener, by his gentleness, won his confidence and dissuaded him from the step of transition to Rome. In 1697 he emigrated to England, where he found his ideal realized in the Anglican Church. He took up his residence at Oxford, and a royal pension and the income of an ecclesiastical office afforded him leisure for the scientific works that have rendered his

name famous (cf. P. de Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, ii., Göttingen, 1887, p. 190).

He first published the incompleted *Spicilegium patrum et hæreticorum sæculorum i.–iii.* (2 vols., Oxford, 1698–99), issued Justin's *Apologia* (1700) and Irenæus's *Liber adversus hæreses* (1702), and then proceeded to his most celebrated work, an edition of the Septuagint on the basis of the *Codex Alexandrinus*, which was preserved in England. Volumes i. and iv. were published by Grabe himself in 1707 and 1709; volumes ii. and iii., after his death, edited from his manuscript by F. Lee and G. Wigan respectively, in 1719 and 1720; the *Annotationes* designed in conclusion of the work remained unprinted. Grabe's comprehensive acquaintance with patristic writings proved greatly to his advantage. He sought to verify the three recensions of the Septuagint (Hesychius, Lucian, Origen) in the manuscripts of his acquaintance, and in this way marked out the course and aim of modern Septuagint researches. In his last years he felt a great longing for his home, and there is no doubt that he was a significant factor in the contemporary efforts to introduce there the Anglican hierarchy and liturgy (cf. G. J. Planck, *Geschichte der protestantischen Theologie*, Göttingen, 1831, p. 355). His manuscript remains are preserved in the Bodleian Library. J. ERDMANN.

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GRACE.

Biblical Teaching (§ 1). Medieval Doctrine (§ 3).
The Church Fathers (§ 2). Luther and Melanchthon (§ 4).
The Reformed Church (§ 5).

In the language of religion grace is the spontaneous, unmerited manifestation of divine love upon which rests the redemption of the sinner. Of the respective Hebrew expressions, *ḥen* has the general meaning of favor, while *ḥesedh* belongs specially to the sphere of religion and ethics, and denotes divine as well as human love. The term *charis* in the New Testament represents both conceptions, but is used preponderatingly of God's disposition. Manifestation of love is mercy (Heb. *raḥamim*, Gk. *eleos*) in so far as it relieves need and misery; grace, in so far as it does not consider the unworthiness of the receiver as an obstacle.

1. Biblical Teaching.

The people of Israel founded their election upon God's grace, which has no end (Isa. liv. 8–10). The Gospel of Jesus is a testimony of the pardoning and saving love of God, although the word "grace" is not used. The time of grace, promised by Isaiah, was fulfilled in Jesus, who manifested himself as the mediator of saving grace. Salvation in the kingdom of God was represented by Jesus repeatedly as the reward of corresponding conduct (Luke vi. 35, xvi. 9; Matt. v. 11 sqq., xix. 29); although at the same time every legal claim of man upon God (Luke xvii. 10) and all proportion between human achievement and divine gift are denied (Matt. xx. 1–16). John attests the fulness of grace which is to be found in Jesus (John i. 14, 16) and places *charis* in antithesis to *nomos* (verse 17); but for him the conception of love preponderates. For Paul, however, grace is the fundamental concept of the Gospel. It is God's free favor toward sinners, effecting their salvation in Christ. It is entirely spontaneous, and excludes all relation of debt or merit. It is mediated by redemption; its result is righteousness (Rom. v. 21) or forgiveness of sins (Eph. i. 7), and its aim is eternal life (Rom. v. 21). For Paul, grace is in the first place God's personal disposition; but it is also God's effective activity in Christ as it realizes itself in actual deeds (Eph. ii. 5; Titus ii. 11); and, finally, he understands by it the share of the individual in salvation as it is seized in faith (Rom. xii. 3; II Cor. xii. 9). Paul never regards grace as a general power separable from the person of Christ and his historical activity; it is always a "grace in Christ" (II Tim. ii. 1).

2. The Church Fathers.

The Greek Church Fathers regarded freedom of choice as an indispensable condition of all moral life. Sin, according to them, is only an instantaneous decision of the will. Grace can not, therefore, abolish man's freedom, but only supplements his spontaneous activity. For Pelagius, liberty of will is an endowment of nature that can not be lost. According to Augustine, man has lost the will to do good by his fall. Grace is, therefore, the power which frees man from evil concupiscence and creates in him the will to do good. The will to do good is conditioned by grace not only in its incipiency, but also in its continuance. Thus there seems to be no room for human merit; yet Augustine can think of good action only in the form of good works. Therefore he makes them dependent upon grace and regards them as gifts of God (*dei munera*), as phenomena of an inner change. Thus Augustine's doctrine of grace agrees with that of Paul in so far as he traces salvation exclusively to God; but it differs from Paul in so far as it brings grace only into a loose connection with the person of Christ and as it sees its essence not so much in the forgiveness of sins as in the communication of moral powers.

3. Medieval Doctrine.

The scholastics of the Middle Ages retained essential elements of Augustine's doctrine of grace; Thomas Aquinas especially followed closely in his steps. According to the scholastics, the original communication of grace is entirely unmerited. Grace is here also a communication of power, a quality that is infused into the soul. With the infusion of a new moral life there is also brought to us the remission of guilt, though the latter is dependent upon the former. Like Augustine, Thomas Aquinas upholds the necessity of good works which are made possible on the basis of received grace, although he infers the necessity of grace not from the radical nature of sinful corruption, but from the transcendent character of the religious gift which is obtainable only by a transcendent power. Moreover, his statement that God is the "first cause" is for him only an abstract metaphysical sentence; in practise he gives room to free will in the preparation

for grace. Finally he deepened the distinction between operating and cooperating grace. The beginning and continuance of salvation are not dependent upon grace in an equal degree; the fact that after conversion will is not only caused, but causes, justifies a special consideration of the share which it has in good works. The meritorious work of the converted is *meritum de congruo* in so far as it proceeds from his free will, *meritum de condigno* in so far as it originates from grace. According to Duns Scotus, man is the sovereign ruler of his will and the sole cause of the individual acts of will. Grace does not create the good, it only increases it.

4. Luther and Melanchthon.

Luther began as a disciple of Augustine. With him he taught the total incapacity of the natural man for the truly good. All good is a work of grace. There is no preparation for its reception on the part of man. The scholastic conception of the infusion of grace was at first accepted by Luther, but even then the idea of Paul began to take possession of him that the real blessing is not moral transformation, but the forgiveness of sins. The grace of forgiveness depends upon Christ and his work, which must be seized as the power of God that effects redemption. The means by which God bestows grace is the Word. The Evangelical thought that grace is not an infused quality, but the personal favor of God, first appears in the works of Melanchthon, who explains *gratia* by "favor." It is only from God's benevolence that the gift of the Holy Spirit follows. The same interpretations are to be found in the works of Luther and Calvin. Thus the personal character of grace, as found in Paul, was restored, and the merits of man vanished behind the one merit of Christ. In his treatise *De servo arbitrio* (1525) Luther tried to build the necessity of grace and the certainty of salvation through faith upon metaphysical ideas of determinism and predestination. But the influence of these thoughts upon the Lutheran Church has been slight. Beside Luther's religious determinism, there appeared after 1527 Melanchthon's doctrine of liberty. Both tendencies culminated in the synergistic controversy (see Synergism). The opponents of Philippism upheld the sole causality of God in conversion, but they did not approve the doctrine of a grace that acts irresistibly and can not be lost. The Formula of Concord concluded that there is no cooperation of man in conversion, but at the same time it restricted predestination to the eternal will of God to save those who believe in Christ (art. xi.). Thus, by putting into the background metaphysical questions, it tried to uphold the religious position of Luther.

5. The Reformed Church.

In the Reformed Church the doctrine of grace is closely connected with that of predestination. With Calvin as well as with Zwingli it originated undoubtedly in the religious interest of the certainty of salvation, but it follows from the doctrine of salvation only under the condition that there is a concurrent attempt at a metaphysical explanation of the general divine world-rule. But if thought be concentrated upon the fact that God's grace is not his all-effective will in general, but that will which is manifest and effective in Christ and directed toward salvation, there is no need of explaining the reality and power of grace by metaphysical constructions and of representing its effectiveness otherwise than as a personal manifestation of will, which changes and influences another personal will. (O. Kirn.)

Bibliography: On the Biblical conception consult: W. Beyschlag, *New Testament Theology*, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1895; H. Schultz, *Old Testament Theology*, 2 vols., ib. 1895; *DB*, ii. 254–257; Lichtenberger, *ESR*, v. 645–653. On the dogmatic conception, besides the works on systematic theology, consult: C. E. Luthardt, *Die Lehre vom freien Willen und seinem Verhältniss zur Gnade*, Leipsic, 1863; F. Wörter, *Die christliche Lehre von Gnade und Freiheit*, vol. i., Freiburg, 1856; idem, *Beiträge zur Dogmengeschichte des Semipelagianismus*, Paderborn, 1898; H. Reuter, *Augustinische Studien*, Gotha, 1887; H. Schultz, *Der sittliche Begriff des Verdienstes und seine Anwendung auf das Verständniss des Werkes Christi*, in *TSK*, lxvii (1894), 1–50, 245–314. 554–614.

GRACE, MEANS OF: In Protestant theology the Word and the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper, considered as means divinely ordained by which God offers through his grace to all sinners the salvation won by Christ the mediator, and gives and preserves in them a true faith. These means were those given by Christ for the continual propagation of his Church, and received by the apostles as having this specific content and purpose. What they thought of the preaching of the Word may be seen in such passages as I Cor. ii. 1, 4, 5; I Thess. i. 5, ii. 13; and as in it the presence of God is felt (I Cor. xiv. 25), so from it proceed definite divine workings, faith and the creation of a new moral nature (Acts xviii. 8; Rom. i. 16; I Pet. i. 23; James i. 18). In like manner baptism is regarded as a means for imparting communion with Christ and moral renovation (Acts ii. 38; Eph. v. 26; Heb. x. 22; Rom. vi. 3 sqq.; Col. ii. 11; Gal. iii. 27; Titus iii. 5; I Pet. iii. 21); and the appropriation of the new covenant in the blood of Christ, the remission of sins, excepted from the recurrent presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper. The two sacraments are thus connected by Paul in I Cor. x. 1–5, as a parallel to the great works of salvation wrought by God for the children of Israel under the old covenant.

The Word and Sacraments.

In the early Church great stress was laid upon the preaching of the Word, at first entrusted to persons specially endowed with *charismata* ("apostles, teachers, prophets"), and then becoming part of the regular official functions of the Church. In spite of all developments in a formal direction, many citations might be adduced to show how long the primitive relation of Word and sacraments, of baptism and communion, was insisted on in the ancient sense. Medieval theology raised the sacraments as means of grace above the Word; Dionysius the Areopagite taught the East to seek grace in the "mysteries," and Abelard revised the Augustinian arrangement of faith, love, hope, replacing hope by a developed sacramental doctrine with a keen insight into the tendencies of his age. From his day and that of Peter Lombard, the sacramental system formed an important separate section of medieval dogmatics. The absence of a

similar stress laid on the preaching of the Word was felt, and supplied by the preaching orders. It was one of their members, the Franciscan Duns Scotus, who worked out the thought (in his treatise *De perfectione statuum*, Paris ed. of his *Opera*, 1895, vol. xxvi.) that the preaching of the Word and personal influence is a higher thing than mere administration of the sacraments, so that monks who preach and represent a life of moral perfection are of more importance to the Church than the priests who administer the sacraments. Along this line it was possible to return to a position which restored to preaching its primitive significance as a means of grace; and Luther did so fully. Through "the Word and sacraments" the Spirit comes to men, and Christ performs his miracles in the soul. Precedence is given to the Word, and the sacraments are reduced once more to two; the Scriptural conception is recovered by this and by the attribution of the efficacy of the sacraments to the religious faith awakened by the words of institution. The Calvinistic theology laid equal emphasis on Word and sacraments both as vehicles of grace and as notes of the true Church, but considered them to be effective only in the predestinate, for whom the work of Christ was performed. This led to the view that they were not indispensable or necessarily connected with the saving divine operations. The Lutheran theologians of the seventeenth century worked out systematically the ideas promulgated in the sixteenth, without reaching any essentially new conclusions. The Pietistic conception of an "inner word" as an immediate revelation of the Spirit, while it was to some extent anticipated by Anabaptist tenets, had its importance as leading up to the rationalist idea that the true revelation of God consists in innate religious and moral concepts. The more modern development formally recognizes Word and sacraments as the means of grace, but is inclined to empty them of their force by understanding the sacraments in a Zwinglian sense as mere commemorative symbols, and failing to realize the present and operative divine power of the Word.

A survey of the primitive development of the means of grace, with their relation to the work of Christ and to the Holy Spirit as continuing that work, leads to certain logical conclusions which it will be useful to state. (1) Since the

Conclusions.

corporate life proceeding from Christ is a historic life, the means to be used for transmitting and preserving it will be along the line of human and historic tradition. (2) Since membership in the body depends on recognition of Christ's authority, the means of grace and the method of their administration must be those ordained by him. (3) Since the life created and preserved by the means of grace can be understood only as the result of a supernatural causality, it follows that the actual effect of them can not be produced without the presence of God, i.e., the direction of the almighty Will to the hearer or recipient. (4) Since the means of grace, as the historic form of the economy of the Spirit, can, on account of his relation to Christ, have no other purpose than Christ's purpose, no other operation can be attributed to them than the saving of souls. (5) An essentially similar operation must be attributed to Word and sacraments, but this does not exclude a "difference of operations" according to the different manner of the administration, baptism and the communion having each its own special purpose and the Word being distinguished as either Law or Gospel. (6) Since revelation is intended to produce faith, the main purpose of the means of grace must be the awakening and preservation of faith; thus the administration of the sacraments is inconceivable without the presupposition of the Word and without strict relation of their purpose to it.

(R. Seeberg.)

Bibliography: The subject is treated in most of the works given under Dogma, Dogmatics, and in the literature under the articles on the sacraments. Consult, for example, Harnack, *Dogma*, ii. 133 sqq., iii. 163 sqq., iv. 306 sqq., v. 84 sqq., 155–168, 205 sqq.; R. M. Stanbrough, *Scriptural View of Divine Grace*, New York, 1890; J. Watson, *Doctrines of Grace*, ib. 1900.

GRACE, TERM OF. See Terminism.

GRADUAL: **1.** In the canon of the mass (no. ix.) the chant of two verses (occasionally more) taken, as a rule, from the Psalms and sung after the reading of the Epistle; properly as a responsory by one or several voices, or by a portion of the choir; then repeated by another voice, or by the choir collectively. In the stricter sense, "gradual" in the Roman missal denotes only the first couplet of verses, the second member being termed "verse." The name is from the *gradus*, or steps, on which the precentor stood. The gradual originated from the singing of entire Psalms occurring, in the primitive Church, between the lessons.

Luther, in his *Formula missæ*, permitted the use of the gradual, but preferred to assign the longer graduals of the lenten season to family worship. Accordingly he substituted, in the German mass, a German hymn, to be sung by the full choir. Although the gradual is mentioned by some liturgies of the sixteenth century, it soon lapsed in the Lutheran Church. Latterly, however, it is coming to be restored, or at least, favored, especially on festivals, either in the forms of a congregational hymn, or choral song, or the two combined.

2. In the Roman Church, "gradual" also signifies the book containing all the chants of the mass, in distinction from the *Antiphonarium*, which contains the chants proper to the offices of prayer. As first uniformly arranged by Palestrina and Giovanni Guidetti, it appeared in 1614–15; subsequently, as revised and enlarged in an edition pronounced authentic, in 1872 (folio) and 1877 (octavo). Georg Rietschel.

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GRAFE, grā'fe, **EDUARD:** German Protestant; b. at Elberfeld (16 m. e.n.e. of Düsseldorf) Mar. 12, 1855. He was educated at the universities of Bonn (1873–74), Leipsic (1874–76, 1878–79), Tübingen

(1876–77; Ph.D., 1880), and Berlin (1877–78), and became privat-docent at the last-named university in 1884. Two years later he was appointed associate professor of New Testament exegesis at Halle, whence he went to Kiel in 1888 as full professor of the same subject. Since 1890 he has been professor at Bonn, and has written *Ueber Veranlassung und Zweck des Römerbriefs* (Freiburg, 1881); *Die paulinische Lehre vom Gesetz* (1884); and *Die Stellung und Bedeutung des Jakobusbriefes in der Entwicklung des Urchristentums* (Tübingen, 1904).

GRAFTON, CHARLES CHAPMAN: Protestant Episcopal bishop of Fond du Lac; b. at Boston Apr. 12, 1830. He studied theology under Bishop W. R. Whittingham of Maryland, and was ordered deacon in 1855 and ordained priest three years later. He was assistant at Reisterstown, Md., and a city missionary in Baltimore, Md., from 1855 to 1858, and curate of St. Paul's, Baltimore, as well as chaplain of the Maryland Deaconesses, from 1858 to 1865. He was rector of the Church of the Advent, Boston, from 1872 to 1888, and in the following year was consecrated bishop of Fond du Lac. While in England from 1865 to 1872 he helped to establish the Society of St. John the Baptist, popularly known as Cowley Fathers, and also founded a community of the English St. Margaret's Sisterhood in Boston in 1888, in addition to establishing the mother house of the Sisters of the Holy Nativity at Providence, R. I., in the same year. He is one of the leaders of the High-church school in America, and has written *Vocation, or Call of the Divine Master to a Sister's Life* (New York, 1889); *Plain Suggestions for a Reverent Celebration of the Holy Communion* (1897); *Christian and Catholic* (1905); and *A Catholic Atlas, or, Digest of Catholic Theology* (1908).

GRAMANN (GRAUMANN), JOHANN. See POLIANDER.

GRAMMONT, grā''mōn' (GRANDMONT), ORDER OF (known also as *Boni Homines*, q.v.): One of the chief orders of the latter part of the eleventh century. Its founder, Stephan, was born in Auvergne in 1046. He was educated for the religious life by his kinsman, Bishop Milo of Benevento, and from 1070 to 1074 resided in Rome. His petition to be permitted to establish a religious order was refused by Alexander II. on account of Stephan's youth. In 1073, however, Gregory VII. granted his request, and Stephan returned to France, where he built a little hut of boughs in Muret, a desolate spot in Auvergne, near Limoges where he lived according to the strict Calabrian rule. For several years his asceticism found few imitators, but gradually the fame of his sanctity led many to submit to his guidance, although he refused the title of master or abbot and called himself simply "corrector." After his death, Feb. 8, 1124, the home of the community was fixed on the mountain Grandmont a few miles northeast of Limoges, to which Stephan used to retire for prayer. Hence the name was given to the order.

The bull of Gregory VII. empowered Stephan only to establish an order on the Benedictine rule, yet he seems to have made certain additions from other monastic institutions in so far as he considered them advisable. In 1143 Stephan de Lisiac, the third successor of the founder, reduced to writing the regulations which hitherto had been transmitted only by word of mouth. Under him the order had more than sixty houses, especially in Aquitaine, Anjou, and Normandy. The eighth prior, Ademar de Friac, drew up a new rule of extreme severity which was confirmed by Innocent III. It was not until the seventeenth century that the forty-second prior, G. Bary, mitigated this rule, but after that time a strict Observantine division separated from the main order under the leadership of Charles Frémont. From its very beginning the order contained more lay brothers than regulars, and thus fell a prey to internal schism and decay. Limited throughout its history to France, it succumbed to the storms of the Revolution. The habit was a black cassock with a scapular and a pointed hood. Toward the end of the thirteenth century the order also comprised three nunneries.

(O. ZÖCKLER†.)

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GRANADA, ARCHBISHOPRIC OF: An ancient metropolitan see in Spain. The city is identical with the ancient Illiberris or Elvira, which was early the seat of a bishop and is best known for the synod held there early in the fourth century (see ELVIRA, SYNOD OF). It was occupied by the Moors in the eighth century and later became the capital of a powerful kingdom. The bishops of Elvira or Granada for a long time after the Moorish conquest were merely titular. After the capture of Granada by Ferdinand the Catholic in 1492, an archiepiscopal see was founded there, with Isabella's confessor Fernando Mendoza de Talavera, then bishop of Avila, as its first incumbent. Alexander VI. gave the sees of Guadix and Almeria to the new province, and added that of Malaga in 1493. Since the Concordat of 1851 the suffragan sees have been Almeria, Cartagena or Murcia, Gaudix, Jaen, and Malaga. Notable archbishops were Caspar de Avalos (1529–45), who established the university and under whom John of God founded the Brothers of Charity (see CHARITY, BROTHERS OF), and Pedro Guerrero (1546–76), one of the most learned theologians at the Council of Trent. The population of the diocese is about 230,000.

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GRANBERY, JOHN COWPER: Methodist Episcopal bishop; b. at Norfolk, Va., Dec. 5, 1829. He was educated at Randolph, Macon College, Boydton, Va. (A.B., 1848), and entered the Methodist Epis-

copal ministry in the Virginia Conference in 1848. He was assigned to the Eastville Circuit, Va. (1848–1849), Farmville, Va. (1849–50), Lynchburg, Va. (1850–51), Loudoun Circuit, Va. (1853), Randolph, Macon College, Va. (1854–55), Charlottesville, Va. (1856), Washington (1857–58), University of Virginia (1859–60), Market Street, Petersburg, Va. (1865–68), Centenary Church, Richmond, Va. (1868–1872), and Broad Street Church, Richmond, Va. (1872–75), interrupted only by illness in 1852 and by his duties as chaplain in the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia from 1861 to the close of the Civil War. In 1875 he was appointed professor of moral philosophy in Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn., and held this position until 1882, when he was elected bishop. He was retired from active service in 1902. In theology he is an orthodox member of his denomination and is an Evangelical Arminian. He has written *A Bible Dictionary for Sunday Schools and Families* (Nashville, Tenn., 1885); *Twelve Sermons* (1896); and *Experience the Crowning Evidence of Christianity* (1900).

GRANT, ABRAHAM: African Methodist Episcopal bishop; b. at Lake City, Fla., Aug. 25, 1848. He was born a slave, and after the close of the Civil War acquired an education in missionary and night-schools. He joined the African Methodist Episcopal Church in 1868 and for five years was a class leader and steward. He was licensed to preach in 1873 and became an elder three years later, and in 1888 he was elected bishop.

GRANT, ASAHEL: American physician and missionary; b. at Marshall, Allegany County, N. Y., Aug. 17, 1807; d. at Mosul, Asiatic Turkey, Apr. 24, 1844. He studied medicine at Pittsfield, Mass., and was practising his profession at Utica, N. Y., when, in 1834, he first became interested in missions. In 1835 he went to Urumiah as a missionary of the American Board. He gained the confidence of the Persian officials, and of the Nestorian priests and bishops, founded schools and did much to alleviate the sufferings of the Nestorians in the war with the Kurds. After the massacres of 1843 he settled at Mosul. He published *The Nestorians, or the Lost Tribes* (London and Boston, 1841).

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GRANT, SIR ROBERT: Governor of Bengal, India; b. in Bengal in 1779; d. at Dalpoorie, Western India, July 9, 1838. He was educated at Magdalen College, Cambridge (B.A., 1801; M.A., 1804), and was admitted to the bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1807. Prior to his appointment to the governorship of Bengal in 1834 he was a member of the House of Commons for fifteen years, in which body he championed the movement for repealing the civil disabilities of the Jews. He published three works dealing with Indian affairs and a number of hymns. Twelve of these, most of which were originally contributed to the *Christian Observer*, were collected by his brother Charles, Lord Glenelg, under the title *Sacred Poems* (London, 1839). Two of them, "When gathering clouds around I view," and "Savior, when in dust to thee," rank with the best of modern hymns.

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GRAPHEUS (De Schryver, *Scribonius*), CORNELIUS: Humanist; b. at Aalst (Alost, 15 m. w.n.w. of Brussels), in Flanders, 1482; d. at Antwerp, Dec. 19, 1558. While town clerk of Antwerp, he published the two works of Johann von Goch, *Epistula apologetica contra Dominicanum quendam* and *De libertate Christiana*, accompanying them with caustic prefaces dated respectively Aug. 23, 1520, and Mar. 29, 1521. In both prefaces he complains of the clergy's forgetfulness of duty, and of the suppression of the truth of the Gospel. He was soon arrested by the Inquisition, and early in Feb., 1522, he was taken to Brussels, being obliged to make a formal recantation both there and at Antwerp. He was not reinstated in office, however, until 1540.

Otto Clemen.

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GRATIÆ, GRATIOSA RESCRIPTA: Technical terms applied in the Roman Catholic Church to rescripts by which the pope, as a grace or favor, generally in response to a request, confers a dispensation, an indulgence, a privilege, an exemption, a benefice, or an expectancy. The usual formula "Fiat ut petitur" or "Concessum," involves the tacit condition that the grounds adduced in the request are truthfully stated. If the grace is given in the form "Placet motu proprio," it is independent of the grounds stated and operative even if they should prove invalid. (P. Hinschius†.)

GRATIAN, grē'shi-an: 1. Roman emperor, 375–383; b. at Sirmium, 359; killed at Lyons Aug 25, 383. He followed his father, Valentinian I., on the throne of the West in 375, while his uncle, Valens (q.v.), governed the East until his death in 378, when Theodosius succeeded him. In 383 Gratian was murdered in Gaul by his general Maximus, who had assumed the title of emperor and made war upon him.

The policy which Gratian pursued with respect to the Church, and which was carried still farther by Theodosius (q.v.), was of decisive consequences. Religious liberty had reigned, at least nominally, since the Edict of Milan (313; see Constantine the Great and his Sons, I., §4), but none of the powerful ecclesiastical parties in the empire was satisfied with it, while an equal tolerance of all parties would have entailed unceasing religious wars and threatened the existence of the empire. On the other hand, paganism had already received such a blow by the most far-reaching laws that a serious and lasting resistance was not expected from it. Thus the time had come in which the rulers of the State, by elevating the confession of one of the ecclesiastical parties to the

state religion and suppressing all others, could bring about the only kind of peace either attainable or desirable, if the empire and civilization were to be maintained. Gratian accordingly established the orthodox State Church, while Theodosius began with the systematic suppression of paganism. It is impossible to tell how far Gratian was influenced by the Christian bishops in his work, but his attachment to the Nicene faith was without doubt due largely to the personal influence of Ambrose. In 376 Gratian forbade all heretics to assemble for any religious purpose, confiscated the property belonging to their churches, and transferred the buildings to the orthodox, whom he favored at the same time by a series of laws. In the same year (376) he issued an edict concerning ecclesiastical jurisdiction. In 377 he exempted all officers of the orthodox Church, down to the *ostiarii*, from municipal services and personal taxes, and in 379 he even made the retail trade which the lower clergy carried on in Illyria, Italy, and Gaul free of duty. In the Roman schism Gratian took the part of Damasus (see Damasus I.), whom he appointed judge of appeal over all Occidental bishops. Nevertheless, he rejected the demand of the Roman synod of 378 to free the bishops of the cities from the jurisdiction of the State. In 381 the Council of Constantinople pronounced the anathema against all non-Nicene parties.

After the accession of Theodosius, paganism was treated with the same severity as heretical Christianity. According to his edict of 381, apostates from Christianity to paganism lost their right to make a will, this being only the beginning of a number of special edicts. Gratian does not seem to have attacked paganism with the same severity as Theodosius; but he, too, beginning in 382, issued a number of edicts for his provinces under the immediate influence of Ambrose. All sacerdotal privileges and all state support were withdrawn from paganism, and real estate belonging to the pagan temples was confiscated. The altar of victory in the hall of the senate was removed; and Gratian declined to accept the emblems of the office of *pontifex maximus*. Shortly before his downfall, he issued a law punishing apostasy to paganism and Judaism with the loss of citizenship. Thus the orthodox State Church came into existence, but neither Gratian nor Theodosius created it; it was no act of deep political insight, but the necessary result of historical development. (Adolf Harnack.)

Bibliography: Sources from the Christian side are the histories of Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Rufinus and Sulpicius Severus, with which cf. Ammianus Marcellinus, *Roman History*, in Bohn's Classical Library, London, 1887. Consult: J. C. L. Gieseler, *Church History*, ed. H. B. Smith, i. 282–283, New York, 1868; C. Wordsworth, *Church Hist. to the Council of Chalcedon*, vol iii., ib. 1885; Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chaps. xxv.–xxvii.; Neander; *Christian Church*, vol. ii. passim; Schaff, *Christian Church*, iii. 61–62; W. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, ii. 301–303, London, 1890.

2. Compiler of the *Decretum Gratiani*. He was a Camaldolensian monk, teacher of canon law in the monastery of St. Felix at Bologna, and prepared his work between 1139 and 1142. Nothing more is known of his life. See Canon Law, II.

GRATRY, grā"trî', AUGUSTE JOSEPH ALPHONSE: French Roman Catholic; b. at Lille Mar. 30, 1805; d. at Montreux (14 m. s.e. of Lausanne) Feb. 6, 1872. He was educated at the college of his native city, at the École Polytechnique, and at the Collège Stanislas, Paris. Entering the priesthood at Strasburg, he was successively professor at the Catholic seminary there (1832–42), director of the Collège Stanislas (1842–47), and almoner of the École Normale (1847–52). He was decorated with the order of the Legion of Honor in 1845. In 1852, with Abbé Petetot, he established anew the Oratory of the Immaculate Conception, and devoted himself chiefly to the education of Parisian youth till 1869, when his connection with Père Hyacinthe and the International League of Peace forced him to retire from the Oratory. He was appointed vicar-general to the bishop of Orléans in 1861, and professor of morals at the Sorbonne in 1863, and elected a member of the Academy in 1867. During the Vatican Council he published four letters against the doctrine of papal infallibility, but accepted the dogma when it was promulgated. His principal works are: *Cours de philosophie* (6 vols., Paris, 1855–57); *Les Sources, conseils pour la conduite de l'esprit* (2 vols., 1861–62); *La Philosophie du credo* (1861); *La Paix* (1861); *Commentaire sur l'évangile selon saint Matthieu* (2 vols., 1863–65); *Les Sophistes et la critique* (1864); *Jésus-Christ. Réponse à M. Renan* (1864; Eng. transl., London, 1868); and *La Morale et la loi de l'histoire* (2 vols., 1868).

Bibliography: Besides Gratry's *Œuvres posthumes, souvenirs de ma jeunesse*, Paris, 1874, consult: B. Chauvelot, *Le Père Gratry*, Paris, 1862; A. L. A. Perraud, *Le Père Gratry; ses derniers jours*, Paris, 1872, Eng. transl., *Last Days of Père Gratry*, London, 1872; E. Peyrat, *Le Père Gratry*, Paris, 1890; A. Chauvin, *Le Père Gratry*, ib. 1901; Lichtenberger, *ESR*, v. 665–674.

GRAU, RUDOLF FRIEDRICH: German Lutheran; b. at Heringen-on-the-Werra (4 m. s.e. of Nordhausen), Hesse, Apr. 20, 1835; d. at Königsberg Aug. 5, 1893. He studied at Leipsic under Liebner and Kahnis, under Hofmann at Erlangen, and under A. F. C. Vilmar at Marburg. After being a private tutor from 1857 to 1860, he returned to Marburg, first as lecturer and then (1861) as privatdocent. In 1865 he was made professor extraordinary, but in 1866 was called to Königsberg as ordinary professor of New Testament exegesis. He also lectured occasionally on dogmatics and apologetics, and was an admirable speaker upon subjects outside his official sphere.

In harmony with the influence of Hofmann and Vilmar, Grau's theological position was decidedly Lutheran, and he emphasized it by entering the Lutheran Union of his province and by his active association, both personally and by correspondence, with the leading Lutheran theologians of his day. In this same spirit he took a warm interest in American Lutheranism, although he was not in entire sympathy with the conservatism of the latter body. His Lutheranism was far more practical than dogmatic in character, and throughout his activity the apologetic defense of Christian belief against the hostile tendencies of the period found frequent presentation in his writings.

Grau's writings fall into two categories, apolo-

getic and exegetic, the former being both the more numerous and the more important. Here belongs his *Semiten und Indogermanen, eine Apologie des Christentums vom Standpunkte der Völkerpsychologie* (Stuttgart, 1864), in which he assailed Renan's view that the Semites were an inferior race, and emphasized the Biblical presentation of the monotheism of the Semitic stock. This work was, in a certain sense, continued and supplemented in his *Ursprünge und Ziele unserer Kulturentwicklung* (Gütersloh, 1875; Eng. transl., by Sir M. Williams under the title of *Goal of the Human Race*, London, 1892), which emphasized the importance of the Hamites as a leading factor in the ancient culture-history of mankind, while at the same time the "Hamitization of Rome and the Roman spirit" at the end of the republic and during the empire was emphasized as a warning precedent for certain tendencies of modern times. He likewise wrote numerous minor apologetic essays, chiefly in the *Beweis des Glaubens*, of which he became associate editor at its establishment in 1865. Among these essays special mention may be made of his *Ueber den Glauben als die höchste Vernunft* (1865); *Der Glaube als die wahre Lebensphilosophie* (1881); *Das Geheimnis der Judenfrage* (1881); *Ueber J. G. Hamanns Stellung zu Religion und Christentum* (1888); and *Einem unbekannten Gott* (1889). Many of his later essays express considerable bitterness against modern theology, especially of Ritschl's school.

Grau's first exegetical work was his *Zur Einführung in das Schrifttum des Neuen Testaments* (Stuttgart, 1868), which was fully developed in his *Entwickelungsgeschichte des neutestamentlichen Schrifttums* (2 vols., 1871). These were followed by his *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments* (Nördlingen, 1883; 3d ed., 1889) and *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu* (1887). During the final years of his life Grau began a more comprehensive work on the theology of the Old Testament, but only a fragment appeared after his death under the title of *Das Volk Gottes und sein Gesetz* (Gütersloh, 1894). He likewise wrote several briefer monographs on Old Testament themes, and prepared two works for a more general circle of readers. In collaboration with other scholars, he edited a New Testament *Bibelwerk für die Gemeinde* (2 vols., Bielefeld, 1887–1880; 2d ed., 1889–90), to which he himself contributed the exegesis of Matthew, John, the two Epistles to the Corinthians, and Revelation. Two years before his death appeared *Luthers Katechismus erklärt aus biblischer Theologie* (Gütersloh, 1891).

(O. Zöckler†.)

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GRAUL, KARL: German Lutheran missionary; b. at Wörlitz (9 m. e. of Dessau) Feb. 6, 1814; d. at Erlangen Nov. 10, 1864. In 1836 he entered the University of Leipsic, and after the completion of his theological studies spent two years in Italy as a private tutor. Returning to Germany he became a teacher at Dessau and published *Hammerschläge in Dreizeilern* (Leipsic, 1843) against the lax tendency of the times. Meanwhile the missionary committee at Dresden called him as their director in 1842. Graul entered his new position in 1844, at the time when the question of creeds in missionary work was being agitated. He labored in the spirit of his predecessor Wermelskirch, looking upon the missionary society as a distinctive outgrowth of the Lutheran Church and its creed, in opposition to the ideas of the missionary institute at Basel; and the Dresden society soon became the bond of union between most of the Lutheran Churches, not only of Germany, but also of foreign countries. At the same time Graul developed an important literary activity. It was his idea from the beginning to bring missions into close touch with scientific theology by eradicating the prejudice between missionaries and theologians, and thus both to assign to missionary work its important place in the sphere of the theological science, and to lay a solid foundation for it. He accordingly required of missionaries a thorough education in scientific theology, and to attain this he removed the institute from Dresden to Leipsic, the seat of the university (1848). It was an early desire of Graul to be personally acquainted with the mission fields of India, and in 1849 he undertook a journey thither, returning in 1853 with a thorough knowledge of the country and of the Tamil language and literature. Henceforth the main efforts of his life were directed toward a thorough instruction of his pupils in Tamil. For this purpose he had collected in India a large Tamil library, and the principal literary work of his life was the *Bibliotheca tamulica* (3 vols., Leipsic, 1854–1856).

Graul desired to Christianize the Tamil people as a whole, rather than to convert individuals. He accordingly advocated a considerate treatment of the distinctions of caste among the Hindus, distinguishing a civil and a religious aspect of caste. The question engendered many controversies, most of the other missionary societies in India, especially the English, holding different views on the subject. Graul had occasion, while in India, to defend the principles of his society in an English polemical treatise. As the dispute was continued in Germany Graul thoroughly discussed the question in *Die Stellung der evangelisch-lutherischen Mission in Leipzig zur ostindischen Kastenfrage* (Leipsic, 1861). He admits that caste, although originally a distinction of purely national and social significance, shows in its present form a religious character, and that as such it is entirely contrary to the spirit of the Gospel. But, he continues, the practise of caste loses its force in native congregations of Christians because they all without distinction partake of the cup in the Lord's Supper, and the express doctrine of Holy Scripture concerning the common origin of human society deprives the institution of caste of its pagan basis. In 1860 Graul retired as director of the missionary institute of Leipsic, because of the continuance of violent attacks and for the sake of his health; and in 1861 he removed to Erlangen, intending to establish himself as teacher in the university; but death prevented the execution of his plan.

During his activity at Dresden he wrote *Unterscheidungslehren der verschiedenen christlichen Bekenntnisse* (Leipsic, 1845); *Die evangelisch-lutheri-*

sche Missionsanstalt zu Dresden an die evangelisch-lutherische Kirche aller Lande; Vorwärts oder Rückwärts? (1845); *Die christlichen Missionsplätze auf der ganzen Erde* (1847). A fruit of his studies on Irenæus was *Die christliche Kirche an der Schwelle des irenäischen Zeitalters* (1860). His *Ueber Stellung und Bedeutung der christlichen Mission im Ganzen der Universitätswissenschaften* (Erlangen, 1864) is an exposition of the ruling principle of his life. His last work was *Indische Sinnpflanzen und Blumen zur Kennzeichnung des indischen, vornehmlich tamulischen Geistes* (1864).

Bibliography: G. Hermann, *Dr. Graul und seine Bedeutung für die lutherische Mission*, Halle, 1866; Lichtenberger, *ESR*, v. 674–676.

GRAVAMINA (Lat., = "Grievances"): In historical terminology the official compilation of the grievances of the German nation against the Papal Court. Such formal complaints became more and more frequent, especially in the second half of the fifteenth century, and in the course of time developed into a constantly recurring subject of consideration or menace in the German diets far into the period of the Reformation. Their origin may be traced to the complaints or propositions of reform which the German nation, like other nations, laid before the Council of Constance and the Council of Basel (qq.v.). Efforts at an ecclesiastical reformation accompanied those directed against abuses in the empire, and it is to be noted that the prime source of complaint, as well as of opposition, was the higher clergy. The general desire received a more tangible form in the *Gravamina Alemaniæ nationis* which were laid before the Diet of Frankfort in Aug., 1456, in which the unfulfilled hopes of the preceding councils again found expression; but conditions did not change. In the latter years of the century, under the influence of Berthold of Mainz, complaints about the investiture of foreigners with German prebends became more urgent. Another chief point of complaint was directed against questionaries and mendicant friars. While thus far spiritual princes had been the leaders of the movement, so that secular princes and their desires came into consideration only secondarily, a change took place in the latter period of the reign of Maximilian I. (d. 1514); but it was at the Diet of Augsburg in 1518 that the *Gravamina* first received real official form, when a memorial was prepared stating reasons for the refusal to pay ecclesiastical tithes. The movement reached its culmination at the Diet of Worms (1521), where it was advocated even by Roman Catholic princes, like George of Saxony, who disavowed Luther, but favored a reformation after the conception of Erasmus. A commission, composed of spiritual and secular members, was immediately entrusted with the compilation of the complaints. Their discussions resulted in the famous "One hundred [more precisely one hundred and two] Gravamina of the German Nation," *Deutsche Reichstagsakten*, 2d ser., ii., Gotha, 1896, no. 96, which attack not only papal encroachments, but abuses of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and the immoral life of the clergy in general. Nevertheless, they remained only a provisional draft, and no result followed from them even though they were repeated in another form at the Diet of Nuremberg (1522–23; cf. O. Redlich, *Der Reichstag zu Nürnberg 1522–23*, Leipsic, 1887, pp. 120, 144; Gebhardt, pp. 133 sqq.); but, as an official accusation of the German nation, they form an important historical document concerning the conditions of the time.

(T. Kolde.)

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GRAVATT, WILLIAM LOYALL: Protestant Episcopal bishop of West Virginia; b. at Port Royal, Va., Dec. 15, 1858. He studied at the Virginia Military College, Blacksburg, Va., and was graduated at the Virginia Theological Seminary in 1884. He became curate of St. Paul's, Richmond, Va., 1884; rector of St. Peter's, Norfolk, Va., 1887; of Zion Church, Charlestown, W. Va., 1893, and was consecrated bishop coadjutor of West Virginia 1899.

GRAVES, ANSON ROGERS: Protestant Episcopal missionary bishop of Laramie; b. at Wells, Vt., Apr. 13, 1842. He was educated at Hobart College (B.A., 1866) and at the General Theological Seminary (1870). He was then curate of Grace, Brooklyn, and of Gethsemane, Minneapolis, and rector of St. Luke's, Plattsmouth, Neb., All Saints', Northfield, Minn., All Saints', Littleton, N. H., St. Peter's, Bennington, Vt., and Gethsemane, Minneapolis. In 1890 he was consecrated missionary bishop of The Platte, the name of his diocese later beging changed to Laramie.

GRAVES, FREDERICK ROGERS: Protestant Episcopal bishop of Shanghai, China; b. at Auburn, N. Y., Oct. 24, 1858. He was educated at Hobart College (B.A., 1878) and the General Theological Seminary (1881). Since 1881 he has been stationed in China, being at Wu-Chang 1881–85, and professor in the Theological School of St. John's College, Shanghai, 1885–87. He was professor in the Theological School at Wu-Chang, 1887–93, and in the latter year was consecrated missionary bishop of Shanghai. He has translated a number of theological works into Chinese, among which special mention may be made of eight books of Joseph Bingham's *Antiquities of the Christian Church* and commentaries on Isaiah and the Psalms.

GRAY FRIARS: A popular English name for the Franciscans, from the color of their dress.

GRAY NUNS. See Charity, Sisters of, 1.

GRAY SISTERS (*Sœurs grises*). See Elizabeth, Saint, Sisters of.

GRAY, GEORGE BUCHANAN: English Congregationalist; b. at Blandford (45 m. s.e. of Bristol), Dorsetshire, Jan. 13, 1865. He was educated at New College and University College, London (B.A., 1886), and Mansfield College, Oxford. He entered the Independent ministry in 1893 and was fellow and tutor in Mansfield College from 1891 to 1900. Since 1900 he has been professor of Hebrew and Old Testament exegesis in the same institution, and was likewise lecturer on the Old Testament to the

Friends' Summer School in 1897–1899. He has been a member of the Board of the Faculty of Oriental languages in Oxford University since 1896, and of the general and executive committees of the Palestine Exploration Fund since 1905. In theology he is a liberal Evangelical. He has written *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names* (London, 1896); *The Divine Discipline of Israel* (1900); *Numbers* in *The Temple Bible* (1902); and *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Numbers* (Edinburgh, 1903).

GRAY, GEORGE ZABRISKIE: Protestant Episcopalian; b. in New York City July 14, 1838; d. at Sharon Springs, N. Y., Aug. 4, 1889. He was educated at the University of the City of New York (A.B., 1858), the Theological Seminary at Alexandria, Va., and the Episcopal Divinity School, Philadelphia (1862). After being rector of St. Paul's, Kinderhook, N. Y., in 1863–65, and at Trinity, Bergen Point, N. J., in 1865–76, he was dean and professor of systematic divinity at the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass. He wrote *The Children's Crusade: An Episode of the Thirteenth Century* (Boston, 1872) which made his literary reputation and still holds its place; *The Scriptural Doctrine of Recognition in the World to Come* (New York, 1875); *Husband and Wife: or, The Theory of Marriage and its Consequences* (Boston, 1885); and *The Church's Certain Faith* (New York, 1890).

GRAY, WILLIAM CRANE: Protestant Episcopal missionary bishop of Southern Florida; b. at Lambertville, N. J., Sept. 6, 1835. He was educated at Kenyon College, where he took the college and the theological courses simultaneously, being graduated in 1859. From 1860 to 1881 he was rector of St. James's, Bolivar, Tenn., where, soon after the close of the Civil War, he established St. James's Girls' School (now called St. Katharine's School). He was then rector of the Church of the Advent, Nashville, Tenn., from 1881 to 1892, and in the latter year was consecrated missionary bishop of southern Florida. In theology he holds firmly to the fundamental doctrines of the Church—the Scriptures, the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, the Sacraments, and the threefold ministry with apostolic succession—but lays less stress on details of ritual and matters of opinion not concerned with these essential tenets.

GRAY, WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM: Presbyterian layman; b. at Pleasant Run, O., Oct. 17, 1830; d. at Oak Park, Ill., Sept. 29, 1901. He was educated at Farmers' College, College Hill, O. (A. B., 1850), and after being admitted to the bar in 1852 was a political editor until 1870. From the latter year until his death he was editor of the *Interior*, a Presbyterian organ, which he made one of the leading periodicals of the denomination. He was also the author of *Camp-Fire Musings: Life and Good Times in the Woods* (New York, 1894).

GREAT BIBLE. See Bible Versions, B, IV., §4.

GREECE.

I. In the Apostolic Age.
Government under the Romans. The Proconsul Gallio (§ 1).
Paul at Athens (§ 2).
Corinth (§ 3).
Nicopolis (§ 4).
II. Modern Greece.

I. In the Apostolic Age: The name Hellas (E.V. "Greece") occurs in the New Testament only in Acts xx. 2. From the connection the province of Achaia exclusive of Macedonia is evidently meant, especially Corinth, though the city is not mentioned. With the destruction of Corinth and the overthrow of the Achean league under Mummius in 146 B.C., Greece became a Roman province, administered by the consul, proconsul, or pretor of Macedonia. After the battle of Actium (31 B.C.) Augustus made Achæa an independent province comprising, besides the southern part of Greece, Eubœa and most of the Cyclades, the latter remaining so attached till the third century when they were connected with the newly established "island eparchy." When the provinces were divided into senatorial and imperial, Greece was allotted to the senate. Tiberius united it again with Macedonia, but under Claudius in 44 A.D. the former order was reestablished. During the period 44–67 A.D., when Christianity took root in Achæa, it was a senatorial province and was governed by proconsuls, assisted by a legate and questor. They had the command of the provincial army and jurisdiction in criminal and civil affairs. One of the best-known proconsuls was Gallio (Acts xviii. 12) or Lucius Annæus Novatus, son of Marcus Annæus Seneca the elder and elder brother of the famous Seneca. Having been adopted by Lucius Junius Gallio, he took the name Junius Gallio. The date of Gallio's proconsulate in Achæa is very doubtful and no dependence can be placed on mention of him as a basis for the chronology of Paul's life. More important, however, is his attitude toward the tumults caused by Paul's preaching. The Jews of Corinth accused Paul not of political offense, as did those of Thessalonica (Acts xvii. 7), but of preaching a new religion "contrary to the law" (Acts xviii. 13)—no doubt the Mosaic law, not the Roman. Gallio was free to interfere or let the matter drop; the important point was whether the apostasy from Judaism was proven and the new religion appeared important or dangerous. Since the Jews were divided among themselves, Gallio considered the whole matter a quarrel of the Jews especially as there was no question of "wrong or wicked lewdness" (Acts xviii. 14–16). Gallio's disposition to hear the Jews in case of a wrong indicates that at Corinth, as elsewhere, the Jews had no jurisdiction in criminal matters. As a whole the Greek cities had certain liberties under the Roman administration. Some enjoyed an especially favored position, being treated as *civitates fœderatæ*.

1. Government under the Romans. The Proconsul Gallio.

The condition of the land at the time of Strabo's visit in 29 B.C. was deplorable. Under Roman sway the situation gradually improved, but even in the Apostolic Age the condition was unfortunate. It is especially suggestive that in his missionary journey between Berea and Athens Paul found no opportunity for a longer stay or for missionary effort. At all events, Athens was the first point which he considered promising as a missionary field. In Paul's time Athens had risen in importance. In spite of its decay, it was revered by the Romans and the entire Hellenistic world, and had a powerful attraction for the educated. Many cultivated Ro-

2. Paul at Athens.

mans were settled there at that time (cf. Acts xvii. 21); and there were also Jews there (Acts xvii. 17). Paul may have been interested in the votive offerings of Herod (Josephus, *War*, I., xxi. 11) and while walking through the city (Acts xvii. 23) must have been greatly impressed by the profusion of sanctuaries. Of the many altars one especially attracted his attention, that devoted to "the unknown god" (Acts xvii. 23). He disputed in the synagogue, and appeared daily in the market and held discussions with those who chanced to be there (Acts xvii. 17), including Epicureans and Stoics. He was brought before the court of the Areopagus (Acts xvii. 19), which met in the market before the royal colonnade (Pausanias I., iii. 1), no doubt to determine whether he and his preaching should be tolerated in Athens. That "Areopagus" in the narrative means the court, not merely the locality where it met, is shown by the mention of "Dionysius the Areopagite" (Acts xvii. 34.)

Not being successful at Athens, Paul went to Corinth, which became the center of his missionary work in Greece. There he wrote his epistles to the Thessalonians, to the Romans, perhaps also to the Galatians. To the Corinthians he wrote several, perhaps four, epistles (see PAUL THE APOSTLE), since the Christians of Achæa caused

3. Corinth. him much trouble. For Paul's missionary method, for the difficulties to be overcome, for the typical experiences in the lives of the congregations, there is nothing more instructive and characteristic than what may be learned from all sources with regard to the Corinthian Church. At Corinth was to be found a mixture of Romans, Greeks, and Orientals, a cosmopolitan syncretistic "heathenism." That many Jews lived there is a matter of course (Acts xviii. 4, 7).

The city of Corinth was one of the most flourishing commercial cities of antiquity, and its situation between two seas made it the natural emporium between the Orient and the Occident. Naturally it had two ports. The western, Lectæum, north of Corinth, was formerly connected with the city by walls; the eastern seaport was Cenchrea (Rom. xvi. 1; Acts xviii. 18), with a Christian congregation of its own. In the city was a sanctuary of the Ephesian Artemis; in the market a statue of Athene and a sanctuary of the Capitoline Zeus. On a rock which afforded a beautiful view stood the temple of Aphrodite. There were also two sanctuaries of Isis, two of Serapis, altars to Helios, a temple of Anangke and Bia, and one of the mother of the gods. It can easily be imagined that in such a city immorality abounded; the catalogue of vices in Rom. i. 18–32 was written at Corinth, as was I Thess. iv. 1–12; and the epistles to the Corinthians show that Paul had to oppose there the base viciousness of heathenism. A great attraction for Greeks and Romans and for the rabble were the Isthmian games, and it is perhaps not accidental that Paul betrays an intimate knowledge of the stadium (cf. I Cor. ix. 24–27). The congregation in Corinth was composed of members belonging to the lower class of the population (I Cor. i. 26 sqq.), so that, since it was there less possible than elsewhere to speak to people of the lower and higher ranks at the same time, Paul there preached to the people. According to his own statement (I Cor. ii. 1 sqq.), he pursued there a method different from that followed in Athens. Like a popular speaker he relied entirely upon convincing, spiritual preaching, laying aside philosophic refinements. But this did not exclude the well-considered rhetorical form which he used in the epistles to the Corinthians. The rhetoric employed by him was the kind used by the popular orators among the Cynics, as may be seen from the diatribes of Epictetus and the much earlier Teles. About the time of Paul, or a little later, the cynic Demetrius, the friend of Seneca, labored at Corinth, and no doubt the apostle intentionally adopted the method of these popular orators.

A word may be added about Nicopolis (the modern Prevesa, situated in Albania, the old Epirus, at the outlet of the Gulf of Arta). Zahn

4. Nicopolis. (*Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, i., Leipsic, 1900, pp. 434–435) has proved that Titus iii. 12 refers to this city. This Roman colony (*Actia Nicopolis*) was established by Augustus in memory of the battle of Actium. Tacitus (*Annales*, ii. 53) speaks of it as belonging to Achæa. Its special attractions were the sanctuary of Apollo and the Actian games indroduced by Augustus. Here again it was a modern, flourishing city that Paul selected for a longer residence. Nicopolis was afterward the scene of the labors of the Stoic Epictetus. (JOHANNES WEISS.)

II. Modern Greece: The present kingdom of Greece dates from 1832. It comprises a continental portion, the Ægean Archipelago, and the Ionian Islands, with an area of 25,014 square miles, and a population of about 2,600,000, which belongs almost solidly to the Eastern Orthodox confession. Its Church (the "Church in Greece") is autonomous, having no hierarchical connection with the patriarch of Constantinople, and has been so, essentially, since 1833, although the separation was formally made by the constitution of 1852. The dignity of archbishop was abolished, save that a priority was reserved for the metropolitan of Athens, and the Church was recognized as a State Church in the national constitution. Since 1852 the highest authority in all affairs of church government has been exercised by the "Holy Synod," which is composed of the metropolitan and four other bishops, the latter being called in turn to officiate thus at Athens for the term of one year. The government convenes the synod, pays the salaries of these officers, and guarantees the validity of the synod's enactments by counter-signature of the state commissioner. Further a general council of the bishops and qualified abbots may be convened as supreme tribunal. The Holy Synod elects and ordains bishops, who, however, must be confirmed by the government. In like manner the Holy Synod examines and appoints the remaining clergy. In case of an ecclesiastical assignment, in respect to educational institutions, the erection of a convent, and the alteration of feast-days, the government's consent is required. The church administration is vested in thirty-two bishops (besides the metropolitan), twenty-two of whom are stationed on the mainland. There are also many monasteries; in 1898

the number was 198, including nine nunneries; though, all told, they sheltered only some 1,500 monks and nuns. The number of pastoral cures was 4,025, with 5,670 clergy, only 242 of whom were unmarried. Most of them were without higher scholastic education, the number with only common-school training being 4,116. The clerical stipends are meager, usually being derived solely from voluntary gifts and surplice-fees. Besides three so-called clerical schools (at Tripolis, Chalcis, and Syra), which have scant attendance, there is a theological seminary at Athens.

Of other Christian confessions, only the Roman Catholic Church has an appreciable following, with a membership of about 22,000. The hierarchical establishment indicates a propagandist attitude of this Church in Greece, there being (since 1875) three provinces, Athens, Corfu, and Naxos. The latter comprises five suffragan sees, Andros, Syra, Tino, Santorin, and Milo. The archbishop of Corfu has also jurisdiction over the dioceses of Zante and Cephalonia; these two sees have but little over 7,000 adherents, a number surpassed by the single diocese of Syra. The number of secular and cloistered clergy is considerable; six male and seven female orders or congregations, mainly from France, are active in the country.

The number and significance of the Protestants is slight, there being only four small congregations, three in the capital and one at Piræus. The so-called court congregation includes Protestant Germans, Swiss, and French; it is in charge of the clergyman whom the Protestant king (a prince of Denmark) maintains as preacher. The Anglican congregation numbers about 120. It is difficult to estimate the number of Greek Protestants, since not a few of them do not formally separate from the old Orthodox congregations. The congregation at Piræus has grown slowly. A popular tumult, incited by attempts at proselyting, led to the destruction of its house of worship in 1888. Occasional Protestant services are held in other places, e.g., in Patras and Volo. There are some 6,000 Jews, more than half of whom belong to the Sephardim; and, notwithstanding copious emigration, there are still about 24,000 Mohammedans, mostly in Thessaly.

Popular education has been considerably promoted by compulsory schooling from the age of six to thirteen, though in many districts attendance is not enforced. There are 3,263 common schools, 285 public high schools, 39 state gymnasia, ten normal schools for men and three for women, and a number of private and technical schools. The University of Athens is a collective center for modern Greek scholarship and culture, with some 2,600 students from all parts of the Levant. It embraces faculties of law, medicine, philosophy, science, and theology.

WILHELM GOETZ.

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GREEK CHURCH. See EASTERN CHURCH.

GREEN, ASHBEL: American Presbyterian, president of Princeton College; b. at Hanover, Morris County, N. J., July 6, 1762; d. in Philadelphia May 19, 1848. He served as a sergeant in the Revolutionary War till the spring of 1782, when he entered Princeton (B.A., 1783). He was a tutor at Princeton (1783–85), professor of mathematics and natural philosophy (1785–87), pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia (1787–1812), chaplain to Congress (1792–1800), and president of Princeton College (1812–22). He was one of the founders of the Princeton Theological Seminary and president of its board of directors 1812–48. On resigning the presidency of Princeton in 1822 he returned to Philadelphia and edited the *Christian Advocate* 1822–34, and also *The Assembly's Magazine* during a part of this time. He was moderator of the General Assembly in 1824, and a member of that body in 1837, 1838, and 1839. He wielded great influence in the Presbyterian Church, took a strong stand in favor of the Old School party, and was largely instrumental in bringing about the disruption of 1837. His principal works are: *Sermons on the Assembly's Catechism* (1818); *History of Presbyterian Missions* (1820); and *Discourses Delivered in the College of New Jersey, Including a Historical Sketch of the College* (1822).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A volume of *Memoirs*, begun by himself, was completed by J. H. Jones, New York, 1849. Consult W. B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, iii. 479–496, New York, 1858; R. E. Thompson, in *American Church History Series*, vol. vi., passim, ib. 1895.

GREEN, EDMUND TYRRELL: Church of England; b. at Westminster Mar. 19, 1864. He was educated at St. John's College, Oxford (B.A., 1886). From 1887 to 1890 he was curate of St. Barnabas, Oxford, and was then appointed lecturer in Hebrew and theology in St. David's College, Lampeter, Wales. Six years later he became professor of the same subjects, a position which he still retains, in addition to being lecturer in parochalia since 1896. He was lecturer in architecture in 1902. Besides his professorial duties, he has held many parochial missions and in 1904 delivered a course of apologetic lectures at Southampton. In theology he belongs to the Anglo–Catholic school of the Church of England. He has written *Notes on the Teaching of St. Paul* (London, 1893); *The Thirty-Nine Articles and the Age of the Reformation* (1896); *The Sinner's Restoration* (1899); *The Church of Christ* (1902); and *How to Preach* (1905). He has also edited *Jeremiah* and *Lamentations* in *The Temple Bible* (London, 1902).

GREEN, JOSEPH HENRY: English surgeon and student of philosophy; b. in London Nov. 1, 1791; d. at The Mount, Hadley, near Barnet (11 m.

n.n.w. of London), Dec. 13, 1863. He received his medical education in German universities, and in the College of Surgeons, London (M.D., 1815), where he became professor of anatomy in 1824. He was also surgeon to St. Thomas' Hospital (1820–52), professor of anatomy to the Royal Academy (1825–1852), professor of surgery at King's College (1830–1837), a member of the council of the College of Surgeons (1835–63), a member of the court of examiners (1846–63), president of the college (1849–1850, 1858–59), and president of the General Medical Council (1860–63). He was a personal friend and disciple of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and became his literary executor. In 1836 he retired to the country and spent the rest of his life in philosophical and linguistic study with a view to publishing a monumental exposition of Coleridge's system. He embodied the results of his philosophical studies in *Vital Dynamics* (London, 1840); *Mental Dynamics* (1847); in the *Introduction* to his edition of Coleridge's *Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit* (1849); and particularly in the posthumous *Spiritual Philosophy: Founded on the Teaching of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, edited, with a *Memoir* of Green, by John Simon (2 vols., 1865), the best exposition of Coleridge's philosophy that has yet appeared.

Bibliography: Consult, besides the *Memoir* prefixed to *Spiritual Philosophy*, ut sup., *DNB*, xxii. 49–51.

GREEN, SAMUEL GOSNELL: English Baptist; b. at Falmouth (66 m. w.s.w. of Plymouth), Cornwall, Dec, 20, 1822; d. in London Sept. 15, 1905. He was educated at Stepney (now Regent's Park) College (B.A., University of London, 1844). He was successively pastor at High Wycombe, Bucks. (1844–47), and Taunton (1847–51), then classical tutor (1851–63) and president (1863–76) of Horton College, Bradford, which was removed to Rawdon in 1859. In 1876 he was chosen book editor of the Religious Tract Society, London, of which he subsequently became secretary, retiring from active life in 1899. He was a trustee of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, and a vice-president of the British and Foreign Bible Society. In theology he was a liberal Evangelical. His principal works are: *Addresses to Children* (London, 1849); *The Working Classes of Great Britain* (1850); *Lectures to Children on the Bible* (1856); *Lectures to Children on Scripture Doctrine* (1856); *Bible Sketches for Young People* (2 vols., 1865–70); *Handbook to the Grammar of the Greek New Testament* (1870); *The Written Word; or, the Contents and Interpretation of Holy Scripture briefly considered* (1871); *Life and Letters of the Apostle Peter* (1873); *Kings of Israel and Judah* (1876); *Pen and Pencil Pictures* (4 vols., 1876–83); *What do I believe?* (1880); *Christian Ministry to the Young* (1883); *Wycliffe Anecdotes* (1884); *The Christian Creed and the Creed of Christendom* (1898); *The Story of the Religious Tract Society* (1899); *Handbook of Old Testament Hebrew* (1901); and *Handbook of Church History* (1904). He edited a new edition of P. Lorimer's translation of G. V. Lechler's *Wiclif* (London, 1884); an enlarged edition of the *Annotated Paragraph Bible* (1894); and a thoroughly revised edition of J. Angus' *Bible Handbook* (1904); besides being chairman of the editorial committee of a *New Baptist Church Hymnal.*

GREEN, THOMAS HILL: English philosopher; b. at Birkin (10 m. s.e. of Leeds), Yorkshire, Apr. 7, 1836; d. at Oxford Mar. 26, 1882. He was educated at Rugby and at Balliol College, Oxford (B.A., 1859; M.A., 1862), where he was elected fellow in 1860. His life henceforth was devoted chiefly to teaching in the university, first as tutor, after 1878 as Whyte professor of moral philosophy. Certain scruples prevented him from entering the ministry, though on taking his M.A. degree he signed the Thirty-Nine Articles. He was a disciple of Kant and Hegel, but by his independent treatment of philosophical problems he won, and still holds, extremely high rank as an original thinker. By his trenchant criticism of Hume, from the idealistic viewpoint, he broke the sway of empiricism in England and afterward became the founder of the so-called Neo-Hegelian school, which is now practically dominant in English and American speculation. Briefly, his view is, that only the experienced is real, and that finite experience forms a system of relations which are caught up in one eternal self-conscious whole, viz., the Absolute or God. While for God the world is, for man it becomes; and human experience is only God partially and gradually revealing himself in man. Green's ethics is based on his idealistic metaphysics. The ethical ideal, the end in which the effort of a moral agent "can really find rest," is revealed to the self-conscious subject by the reason; and the difference between a good man and a bad man is, that while the one wills what the eternal and divine intelligence reproduced in him demands, the other wills contrary to reason, and therefore in violation of divine law. Green's character is described in Mrs. Humphry Ward's *Robert Elsmere*, under the name of Mr. Gray. His principal works are, the famous *Introduction* to Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature* (i. 1–310, London, 1874); his posthumous *Prolegomena to Ethics* (ed. A. C. Bradley, Oxford, 1883), one of the most valuable contributions to constructive philosophy ever made by an Englishman; and *The Witness of God, and Faith* (London, 1883), two lay sermons delivered to his pupils at Oxford. His *Works*, exclusive of the *Prolegomena*, were edited by R. L. Nettleship (3 vols., London, 1885–88).

Bibliography: A *Life*, by R. L. Nettleship, was prefixed to vol. iii. of the *Works*, reprinted separately, London, 1906. Consult: *DNB*, xxii. 55–56; W. H. Fairbrother, *The Philosophy of Thomas Hill Green*, New York, 1896; full bibliography in Baldwin, *Dictionary*, III., i. 228.

GREEN THURSDAY. See Holy Week, § 4.

GREEN, WILLIAM HENRY: Presbyterian; b. at Groveville, N. J., Jan. 27, 1825; d. at Princeton, N. J., May 4, 1896. He was educated at Lafayette College (A.B., 1840) and Princeton Theological Seminary (1846). He was instructor in Hebrew at Princeton Theological Seminary from 1846 to 1849 and was also stated supply at the Second Presbyterian Church there in 1847. From 1849 to 1851 he was pastor of the Central Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, and from the latter year until his death was a professor in Princeton Theological

Seminary, first of Biblical and Oriental literature (1851–59) and later of Oriental and Old Testament literature (1859–96). He was chairman of the American Old Testament Company of the Anglo-American Bible Revision Committee, and in 1868 declined the proffered presidency of Princeton College. In Biblical criticism he was one of the leading representatives of the conservative school, and firmly impressed his individuality on the seminary. Besides editing the Song of Solomon for the American edition of the Biblical commentary of J. P. Lange (New York, 1870), he wrote *A Grammar of the Hebrew Language* (New York, 1861); *A Hebrew Chrestomathy* (1863); *The Pentateuch Vindicated from the Aspersions of Bishop Colenso* (1863); *The Argument of the Book of Job Unfolded* (1874); *Moses and the Prophets* (1883); *The Hebrew Feasts in their Relation to Recent Critical Hypotheses concerning the Pentateuch* (1885); *Prophets and Prophecy* (Princeton, 1888); *The Old Testament Canon* (1889); *Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch* (New York, 1895); *The Unity of the Book of Genesis* (1895); and the posthumous *General Introduction to the Old Testament* (2 vols., 1898–99).

GREENE, RICHARD GLEASON: Congregationalist; b. at East Haddam, Conn., June 29, 1829. He was educated at Yale College, but left before graduation on account of the death of his father. He received his theological training at Andover Theological Seminary (1853), becoming immediately acting pastor of the First Congregational Church, Springfield, O., after which he held successive pastorates at the Eastern Congregational Church, New York City (1854–56), Plymouth Congregational Church, Adrian, Mich. (1856–57), East Cambridge, Mass. (1858–60), First Congregational Church, Brighton, Mass. (1860–62), Bedford Congregational Church, Brooklyn, N. Y. (1862–65), Orange Valley Congregational Church, Orange, N. J. (1865–66), North Church, Springfield, Mass. (1866–74), and Trinity Church, East Orange, N. J. (1875–89). He was editor-in-chief of the *Library of Universal Knowledge* (15 vols., New York, 1882); the first edition of the *International Encyclopædia* (16 vols., 1887); and the *Columbian Cyclopedia* (32 vols., 1890). In theology he is an Evangelical, placing more stress on the fellowship of faith in Christ than on any similarity either of doctrinal belief or of church government. In addition to numerous reviews he has written *Glimpses of the Coming* (New York, 1877).

GREENE, WILLIAM BRENTON, JR.: Presbyterian; b. at Providence, R. I., Aug. 16, 1854. He was educated at the College of New Jersey (A.B., 1876) and Princeton Theological Seminary (1880). He then held successive pastorates at the First Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, 1880–83, and at the Tenth Presbyterian Church in the same city, 1883–93. In the latter year he was appointed professor of apologetics and Christian ethics in Princeton Theological Seminary, a position which he still holds. In theology he is a strict conservative, believing firmly in the supernatural character of Christianity and the infallibility of the Bible. He has written *Christian Doctrine* (Philadelphia, 1905).

GREENFIELD, WILLIAM: Linguist and Biblical scholar; b. in London Apr. 1, 1799; d. there Nov. 5, 1831. He studied under two maternal uncles, business men in London, and afterward received instruction in Hebrew from a Jew in the employ of a bookbinder to whom Greenfield had been apprenticed in 1812. In 1824 he gave up business to devote himself to languages and Biblical criticism, and in 1830 he became editor of foreign versions to the British and Foreign Bible Society. During the year and a half that he was in the employ of the Society he wrote on more than twenty languages. His principal publications were: *The Comprehensive Bible . . . with . . . a General Introduction . . . Notes, etc.* (London, 1827); *The Polymicrian Greek Lexicon to the New Testament* (1829; new revised ed., 1885); *A Defense of the Serampore Mahratta Version of the New Testament* (1830); *Novi Testamenti Græci Ταμεῖον . . . ex opera E. Schmidii* (1830); *The New Testament, Greek and Hebrew* (1831); and *The Pillar of Divine Truth Immoveably Fixed on the Foundation of the Apostles and the Prophets* (1831), an abridgment from the *Comprehensive Bible.*

Bibliography: *DNB*, xxii. 76–77.

GREENHILL, WILLIAM: English non-conformist; b. probably in Oxfordshire 1591; d. in London Sept. 27, 1671. He studied at Magdalen College, Oxford (B.A., 1609; M.A., 1612) and held the Magdalen College living of New Shoreham, Sussex, from 1615 to 1633. After officiating for a time in Norwich he removed to London and became afternoon preacher at Stepney. He was a member of the Westminster Assembly and one of the so-called "dissenting brethren." In 1644 he became the first pastor of the Congregational church at Stepney, in 1649 chaplain to the children of Charles I., in 1654 one of the commissioners for approbation of public preachers, and about the same time vicar of St. Dunstan's-in-the-East. He lost this post at the Restoration in 1660, but retained his independent pastorate at Stepney till his death. His principal works are: *The Axe at the Root* (London, 1643), a sermon preached before the House of Commons Apr. 16, 1643; *An Exposition of the Prophet Ezekiel* (5 vols., 1645–62; ed. J. Sherman, 1839), one of the most celebrated Puritan commentaries, of which the first volume was dedicated to Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Charles I.; *Sermons of Christ, His Discovery of Himself* (1656); and *The Sound-Hearted Christian* (1670).

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GREENLAND, MISSIONS IN. See Egede, Hans.

GREENUP, ALBERT WILLIAM: Church of England; b. at London June 5, 1866. He was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge (B.A., 1890; M.A., 1893). He has been chaplain to the earl of Cadogan since 1893, and was rector of Alburgh, Norfolk, from 1897 to 1899, when he was appointed principal of the London College of Divinity, St. John's Hall, Highbury, becoming also Macneil pro-

fessor of Biblical exegesis in the following year. He was public examiner at the University of Cambridge in 1898–99, and has been prodean of the faculty of theology in the University of London and a member of the board of theological studies since 1901, as well as examiner in Hebrew, Greek Testament, and Aramaic since 1903 and in ecclesiastical history since 1905. In theology he belongs to the Evangelical school of the Church of England. He has written *Short Commentary on Lamentations* (Hertford, 1893); *Marginal References to the Revised Version* (Oxford, 1898); *Forms of Absolution* (London, 1901); and *Commentary on Micah* (1903), in addition to translating the Targum on *Lamentations* (Sheffield, 1893) and editing the commentary of Tobiah ben Eliezer on the same book (Hertford, 1896).

GREENWOOD, JOHN: English Separatist; he studied at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (B.A., 1581), and took orders in the Church of England, but in 1586 was arrested for holding a private conventicle in London. He was released, again arrested, and held in prison for more than four years. In 1592, with Francis Johnson (q.v.), he organized the first society of the Separatists in London and became its "teacher." He was arrested Dec., 1592, tried and condemned with his friend, Henry Barrow (q.v.), for publishing seditious books, and the two were hanged at Tyburn Apr. 6, 1593. He wrote several works, most of them in collaboration with Barrow.

Bibliography: H. M. Dexter, *Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years*, New York, 1880; W. Walker, *Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism*, p. 30, n. 1, New York, 1893; *DNB*, xxiii. 84–85.

GREER, DAVID HUMMELL: Protestant Episcopal bishop of New York; b. at Wheeling, W. Va., Mar. 20, 1844. He was educated at Washington College, Pa. (A.B., 1862), and the Gambier Theological Seminary, Gambier, O. (1866). He was rector of Grace Church, Providence, R. I., 1871–88, and of St. Bartholomew's, New York City, 1888–1904. In 1904 he was consecrated bishop coadjutor of New York, becoming bishop in 1908. He has written *The Historic Christ* (New York, 1890); *From Things to God* (1893); *The Preacher and his Place* (1895); and *Visions* (1898).

GREGG, DAVID: Presbyterian; b. at Pittsburg, Pa., Mar. 25, 1846. He was educated at Washington and Jefferson College (A.B., 1865) and the Theological Seminary at Alleghany, Pa. (1868), after which he held pastorates at the Third Reformed Presbyterian Church, New York City (1870–87), Park Street Congregational Church, Boston (1887–1890), and Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn (1890–1904). Since 1904 he has been president of Western Theological Seminary, Alleghany, Pa. He has written: *From Solomon to the Captivity* (New York, 1890); *Studies in John* (1891); *Our Best Moods* (1893); *The Heaven Life* (1895); *The Testimony of the Law to the Book* (1895); *Makers of the American Republic* (1896); *Ideal Young Men and Women* (1897); *Facts that call for Faith* (1898); *Things of Northfield and other Things* (1899); *New Epistles from Old Lands* (1899); *The Dictum of Reason on Man's Immortality* (1902); *Individual Prayer as a Working Force* (Chicago, 1903); and *Between the Testaments* (1907).

GRÉGOIRE, grê''gwār', **HENRI:** French ecclesiastic; b. at Veho (a village just e. of Lunéville) Dec. 4, 1750; d. at Auteuil, Paris, Dec. 28, 1831. He was brought up in the Jesuit college at Nancy, taught for a while in the Jesuit school at Pont-au-Mousson, and was then vicar and finally priest at Emberménil (3 m. n. of Veho) until 1789 or 1791. The clergy of the district of Nancy sent him to the Assembly of 1789, and until 1814, with trifling interruptions, he was a member of various legislative bodies, being at the same time bishop of Blois from 1791 until 1801. After 1814 be busied himself with learned researches.

As a priest he was the first to take the oath demanded by the Constituent Assembly (Dec. 27, 1790). Out of two bishoprics to which he was elected he chose Loire-et-Cher or Blois and served faithfully there for ten years, but, on the signing of the Concordat (q.v.) in 1801, was forced by the Ultramontanes to leave. Nevertheless, in spite of all attacks he continued to wear his bishop's robe in the Convention and on the street, and read mass at home daily.

As a statesman he was at times secretary or president of the assemblies, or chairman of important committees. The Legislative Body which had made him its president chose him senator three times, thus forcing Napoleon to confirm him. In 1819 France was roused by his election as representative of the department of Isère, but the Chamber refused to let him take his seat.

As a philanthropist he stood ahead of his day. His book on the Jews took a prize in 1788, and today the Jews hold his name in honor. He combated slavery with vigor. In the Convention he did much for commerce and trade, and for schools and libraries. His report on bibliography was often reprinted (at late as 1873). The French Institute was his creation.

As a writer he treated of the Jews (Paris, 1789), Port Royal (1801), theophilanthropy (1806), negro literature (1808), history of religious sects (2 vols., 1814; 6 vols., 1828), Gallican liberties (1818), Christianity and women (1821), history of confessors of emperors (1824), marriage of priests in France (1828), *Mémoires* (1837). Many of his books were translated into foreign languages.

The archbishop of Paris refused him extreme unction, because Grégoire refused to retract his oath of Dec. 27, 1790; but Abbé Guillon served him as confessor and gave him the last rites.

Caspar René Gregory.

Bibliography: His own *Mémoires*, ed. H. Carnot with a biographical notice, appeared in 2 vols., Paris, 1839. Consult: G. Krüger, *Heinrich Grégoire, Bischof von Blois*, Leipsic, 1838; P. Böhringer, *Grégoire, ein Lebensbild*, Basel, 1878; A. Debidour, *L'Abbé Grégoire*, Nantes, 1881; H. Carnot, *Étude sur l'abbé Grégoire*, Paris, 1882; Lichtenberger, *ESR*, v. 728–731; W. H. Jervis, *The Gallican Church and the Revolution*, passim, London, 1882 (well worth consulting).

GREGORIAN CHANT. See Music, Sacred, II., 1, § 2.

GREGORY: The name of sixteen popes.

Gregory I., the Great: Pope Sept. 3, 590–Mar. 11, 604. He was born in Rome about 540. His father, Gordianus, was an ecclesiastical *Regionarius* (q.v.). After her husband's death his mother devoted herself to the cloistral life. Brought up "as a saint in the midst of saints," Gregory was thoroughly instructed in grammar and rhetoric, and read the Latin Fathers zealously, especially Augustine, Jerome, and Ambrose. He so distinguished himself, moreover, in his legal studies that Emperor Justin II. advanced him to the rank of prefect of the city (before 573). Nevertheless, his religious devotion ultimately led him to renounce the life of the world; and after his father's death he devoted his wealth to good works. He built six cloisters in Sicily and endowed them with landed estates, as well as a seventh in his own house at Rome. The latter – St. Andrew's—he himself entered about 575. It is uncertain under what rule he lived as monk; but he extolled the Benedictine rule in his *Dialogus* (ii. 26) and sooner or later he introduced it into the cloisters of his foundation. To the end of his life Gregory evinced a special predilection for monasticism, desiring to promote the purely contemplative life as the most perfect, and to secure it from perturbations.

Life Before his Consecration as Pope.

Pope Benedict I. constrained Gregory to return to the world, and ordained him one of the seven Roman deacons (577). When Benedict's successor, Pelagius II., had been consecrated before imperial confirmation of his election had been received, he sent Gregory as his delegate to Constantinople in 579, to justify this irregular procedure, and at the same time to entreat aid against the Lombards, then menacing Rome. The first object succeeded, but not the second. It is probable that Gregory was allowed to return to Rome and his cloister in 585. In 590 he was unanimously elected pope by senate, clergy, and people. He hesitated to accept this high dignity, owing not only to his predilection for the contemplative life, but also to his conviction that the office should be conferred only on one who fled from it in humility; but he was consecrated on Sept. 3.

His first care was the security of Rome against the Lombards. Efforts to this end, however, were obstructed by the factional struggle in Ravenna, the imperial capital of Italy, for the independence of its Church from Rome, which created difficulties for the Roman bishop in the political sphere and sought to influence the imperial exarch against him (see Ravenna). In 591 Gregory despatched soldiers to support the imperial commander against the Lombard duke, Ariulf of Spoleto; and likewise sent a reenforcement to the imperiled border-post of Nepi, and a tribune to Naples, so that that city was able to hold out. Nevertheless the exarch sent no help and refused his consent to a peace. Gregory, therefore, of his own accord concluded peace with Ariulf in 592. Next, however, the Lombard King Agilulf moved against Rome, to chastise the pope as his most zealous antagonist. He invested the city in June. The stress of famine that shortly set in compelled Gregory to send a liberal ransom and bind himself to an annual tribute. He then again zealously endeavored to bring about a general peace between the Lombards and the imperial party. But the emperor, Mauritius, sided with his exarch, whereupon, Gregory's efforts for peace remaining fruitless, the Spoletans and Beneventans again broke forth in 596, devastating Campania and the southwest of the peninsula. With a view to mitigate the misery thus occasioned, Gregory sent funds for the ransom of the captives, and even authorized the bishop of Naples to apply the sacred utentils to this object. He then sought to defend Corsica and Sardinia from the threatening danger. Finally, in the spring of 599, it was practicable to conclude peace.

Struggle Against the Lombards.

The means for so sweeping a political activity were secured to the pope by the *patrimonium Petri* —the rich possessions of the Roman Church in all Italy, Dalmatia, Gaul, and North Africa. Gregory now strove to consolidate this property into an organized whole, and to enhance its productiveness. To this end, he sought to make practical application of the principle that the Church must not farm out her estates, but administer them herself, as far as possible through the clergy exclusively. At the same time, he exercised a careful personal supervision over these officials, requiring of them the most scrupulous accountability in receipts and expenditures, and supplying them with minute instructions as to the best management of the estates. The revenues which accrued were applied not only to strictly ecclesiastical purposes, but also toward provision for the sick, the infirm, and orphans; to the maintenance of almshouses and pilgrims' hostelries; to the support of other benevolent institutions at home and abroad; to the ransoming of captives and slaves; toward fighting or conciliating the Lombards. This political and social activity which the conditions of the time forced Gregory to undertake on so large a scale obtained for him in the sight of all Italy, which looked in vain for protection and help from the emperor, so high a regard that in Central Italy he was honored like a sovereign prince. In a word, the temporal sovereignty of the papacy then had its beginning (see Papal States).

Administration of Church Property. Benevolent Activity.

Gregory entertained a noble conception of his position as Roman bishop, yet, while he regarded every office in the Church as a service, in another light Peter must have been charged —and likewise his successors—with the duty of strengthening his brethren; and every bishop should be willing freely to receive service from Peter's successor. It was Gregory's indefatigable endeavor gradually to gain ground for this theory, though in every concrete instance he brought only so much pressure to bear as would secure the recognition of his tenets. His views were destined to encounter opposition, especially in Constantinople. When the patriarch at that see, Johannes IV.,

Gregory's Conception of the Papacy. Relations with Constantinople.

Jejunator (q.v.), kept assuming the title "Ecumenical," Gregory made earnest remonstrances to him, and forbade his envoy to attend the patriarch's mass so long as he retained that title. The emperor addressing Gregory a written admonition to keep the peace, he answered both emperor and patriarch in the sharpest terms. Not even the bishop of Rome, he said, though to him was "committed the primacy and the care of the entire Church," called himself "Universal Bishop"; and last of all might the bishop of Constantinople so style himself, since it was notorious that many bishops of that Church had fallen into the abyss of erroneous doctrine. The dispute continued under the new patriarch, Cyriacus (see CYRIACUS, 2). Finally, Gregory believed himself permitted to hope for victory in this contest, when (Nov., 602) the patriarch's defender, Emperor Mauritius, was dethroned and executed by Phocas. In confidence of the new emperor's assistance, he again admonished the patriarch "to put far from the Church the scandal of that impious and proud title." His will was attained after his death, in that Phocas acknowledged Rome as "head of all the churches."

Relations with Ravenna and Other Bishoprics.

Gregory had likewise to contend with John, the archbishop of Ravenna, who had been loyally devoted to him at the outset. When the pope, however, forbade him to wear the pallium except during mass, he would not comply. After his death (595), Gregory rejected the candidates proposed in Ravenna, and nominated his friend, the Roman presbyter Marinianus, yet even he soon refused to acknowledge the bishop of Rome as the decisive tribunal in the affairs of distant churches. Gregory encountered similar opposition in Illyria and Aquileia. In Africa, the Church still suffered grievously from the Donatist schism (see DONATISM). Gregory deemed it his official duty to exhort the bishops as well as the exarch and the emperor to combat this heresy, and to express his censure if this were not done in the way by him judged proper. When, however, he desired that in future the primate of each ecclesiastical province should no longer be appointed according to seniority, but by election, the bishops declined to approve this infringement of their ancient *consuetudines;* and the pope was obliged to yield. In other instances he regarded the independent spirit of the North African Church; but, though he had the gratification of appeals from this church to Rome, he never required the case to be decided by himself at Rome, but stopped short with allowing the matter to be settled on the spot. He was able to commit the Spanish Church unreservedly to the care of his friend, Bishop Leander of Seville.

The Frankish Church.

Peculiarly difficult was Gregory's position in respect to the Frankish Church, which was already accustomed to independence, while Gregory was so entirely unprovided with practical means to confront the situation aggressively that here he must show forth, in special measure, a wise "humility in service." No vicar of the pope had held office in Gaul from 586 onward, until Bishop Virgilius of Arles, in harmony with King Childebert, besought Gregory, in 595, to appoint him his vicar, and to confer the pallium on him. Gregory forthwith made efforts to abolish simony and the promotion of laymen to bishoprics. He also encouraged the holding of synods under the presidency of his vicar, along with obedience to their enactments, reserving for the Apostolic See the decision of disputes in matters of faith, and other difficult questions. When nothing resulted from all these beginnings, Gregory attempted to gain influence over this "extra-Roman" Church through a special legate, Candidus, as well as through frequent written communications to the princes and a number of the Frankish bishops. The task was aggravated because he was obliged to commend himself and his wishes to the favor of Brunhilda; but infamous as her deeds were in all else, at least she befriended the Church, so that Gregory deemed it his duty to ignore the darker sides of her life, and by laudatory recognition of what she did for the Church to render her disposed toward still further fulfilment of his wishes. This policy was not simply diplomacy. Gregory was entirely persuaded that what the good Brunhilda had wrought for the Church was in itself well-pleasing to God, meritorious, and available to cancel sin. However, the irregular appointment of bishops was not abated, nor did the synod, from which Gregory hoped for important reforms, come to pass in his lifetime. Nevertheless his endeavors with reference to the Frankish Church are to be reckoned among the fruitful seeds which at last sprang up and grew.

Gregory's Missionary Activity.

Of the very greatest importance for the future was Gregory's missionary activity, of which the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons (see ANGLO-SAXONS, CONVERSION OF THE; AUGUSTINE, SAINT, OF CANTERBURY) was the most conspicuous result. He sought also to win the Jews for Christendom, forbidding herein all manner of coercive procedure, but holding it allowable to promote their conversion by pecuniary rewards. When he learned that in Sardinia there were still many heathen, he commanded the bishop to resort to flogging and imprisonment. Here the Church possessed power, and so needed not to exercise the patience that was still requisite in England.

Writings.

Among the writings of Gregory, his *Expositio in beatum Job seu moralium libri XXXV.* was utilized and highly esteemed as a compendium of ethics during all the Middle Ages. He was moved to compose his second work, *Regula pastoralis*, by the reproaches of Archbishop John of Ravenna for his attempt to avoid by flight his elevation to the papal throne. In the first part he shows how the highest government is to be attained; in the second, how a pastor should live; in the third, how he should teach; in the fourth, that good conduct of office must not be allowed to lead one astray through pride. This book was early so renowned that in 602 the Emperor Mauritius had it translated into Greek, while Alfred the Great (q.v.) rendered it into Anglo-Saxon. At several synods (for instance, those of

813 at Mainz and Reims) it was read aloud to the priests for a standard of conduct. According to Hincmar of Reims, a priest at his consecration had to hold it in his hand and swear that he would discharge his office accordingly. In the form of conversations with his friend Peter, Gregory composed in 593–594, his *Libri IV. dialogorum de vita et miraculis patrum Italicorum et de æternitate animarum.* The first and third books tell wondrous stories of various persons, to which the third appends all sorts of instructive digressions; the second book relates the life of Benedict; the fourth, wonderful apparitions intended to prove the existence of the soul after death. This work was much in vogue in the Middle Ages, and was rendered into Greek by Pope Zacharias (d. 752), and into Anglo-Saxon under Alfred's direction. Gregory constantly emphasized his conviction that one of the pastor's main duties is preaching, and industriously practised it himself, so long as his health permitted. Twenty-two homilies by him on Ezek. i. 1–iv. 3 and xl. are preserved as well as forty homilies on passages from the Gospels. Eight hundred and fifty-three of Gregory's letters are extant and have great value for the history of the time. Lastly he composed hymns. Those which are universally attributed to him show resemblance in both substance and form to the hymns of Ambrose.*

In the liturgical sphere, Gregory was certainly active, but the evidence does not altogether confirm the traditional view that "he established a strict order in the *ordo Romanus* for the solemn observance of mass, as performed in Rome on processional days, transcribing from the Psalms into the *liber antiphonarius* the portions to be sung during the introit, gradual, hallelujah, tract, offertory, and communion, and eliminating from the sacramentary of Gelasius whatever he deemed unnecessary; but adding new matter, and thus becoming the author of the sacramentary still known by his name, besides perhaps compiling the *liber responsalis*, containing the responsories usual in the mass, and the hymns of the canonical book of hours." Nor is it altogether certain whether that style of liturgical chant which has become customary in the Roman Catholic Church is rightly termed "Gregorian" after Gregory I. as its originator (see Music, Sacred, II., 1, § 2). Against such an epoch-making activity on Gregory's part in the musical sphere, it is especially significant that no indications of it appear either in his versatile correspondence, or in any other sources in all the seventh century; although it is certain that he founded a chorister school in Rome to improve the church singing.

Reform of the Liturgy.

Gregory's importance in the history of dogmatics is great. During the Middle Ages no Christian writer of the past was studied so much as he. Though he furnished no original thoughts, this very defect made his writings especially useful for an era wherein the only valid rule was to transfer what was old into the new ecclesiastical forms which grew out of national readjustments. Furthermore, he was commended by the fact that he appeared to lean entirely upon the great Augustine, and was even able to replace the latter, reproducing his thoughts in such a form that they were no longer too difficult for the uneducated multitudes. The impression is not infrequently given that Gregory may have possessed more Christianity than he offered to others; the fact is that the same regard for the attainable as is traceable in all his policies caused him, as a teacher, to say only so much, and that only in such guise, as, in his opinion, could find acceptance and exert practical influence amid the ecclesiastical conditions then prevalent. As thus viewed, Gregory's contribution may be termed an abridged and materialized Augustinianism. Stiff necks are to bend under the authority of Holy Scripture and Holy Church. The former is dictated by the Holy Ghost; outside the latter one can "absolutely not be saved." That is to say, none but the officiating "regents" in this Church administer the necessary "boons" to the attainment of salvation. True, Christ "appeased by his death the judge's wrath"; but his sacrifice undergoes its effectual repetition in the sacrifice of the mass provided by the Church. Consequently the Church, in the sacrifice of the mass, is possessed of a means for influencing God. Again, this "good work" dispensed by the Church also profits the dead in Purgatory, while it sometimes helps even the living in earthly tribulation. In like manner, Gregory sharply defined and incorporated into the church doctrinal plan certain theories which had long been in vogue in a supplementary way, but which Augustine had admitted to be only "perhaps" true, or "not incredible"; and he likewise keenly appreciated the value of the marvelous in impressing a people still half-pagan. His doctrine of sin and grace is so far Augustinian that he teaches the damnation of children dying without baptism, and seems to assume the irresistibility of grace (*Moralia*, IX., ix. 13); even though he speaks of a "monstrous great weakness" in fallen man, of our "voluntary accord with the grace which frees us," and of the cooperation of man's will in good works. In this light "it can be said of us that we free ourselves"; and therefore "the good that we do is both God's and our own doing," and becomes our "merit." In a similar vein he speaks of the "hidden decree of predestination"; but "the determined number of the elect," rests on "the foreknowledge of God." Gregory indeed appears to hold the necessity of an inward transformation of man, in that according to him the voice of the Spirit which speaks in man by process of the Word inspires love toward the invisible Creator, and, con-

Gregory's Theology.

* The Benedictine edition of his works attributes eight hymns to him, viz. (1) *Primo dierum omnium*, several Eng. transls., e.g., J. M. Neale, "On this the day that saw the earth"; D. T. Morgan, "Welcome! Thou chiefest of all days"; (2) *Nocte surgentes vigilemus omnes*, by Cardinal Newman, "Let us arise and watch by night"; (3) *Ecce jam noctis tenuatur umbra*, by Cardinal Newman, "Paler have grown the shades of night"; (4) *Clarum decus jejunii*, by R. F. Littledale, "The shining glory of the fast"; (5) *Audi, benigne conditor*, by J. M. Neale, "O Maker of the world, give ear"; (6) *Rex Christe, factor omnium*, by Ray Palmer, "O Christ! our King"; (7) *Lucis creator optime*, by Cardinal Newman, "Father of lights, by whom each day"; and (8) *Magno salutis gaudio*. Cf. Julian, *Hymnology*, passim.

sequently, the will of what is good. In reality, however, whenever he aims to insure the doing of what is good, he virtually assumes that his readers or hearers do not do so out of love, the predominating motive being "the fear of eternal pain." He is always guarding against the contingency that the acceptance of forgiveness may result in a relaxation of the fight against sin; so that he not only requires the Church to intermingle hope and fear for its believers; but also stresses his conviction that "no sin is forgiven without punishment." If man will not punish himself, God will punish. On one occasion, to be sure, he can say: "Certainly God has no joy in our suffering; he simply cures our sin-sickness by means of corresponding remedies." But if he then declares that "upon sinful pleasure there must follow the bitterness of tears; upon unrestraint in what is disallowed, restraint from what is allowed"; this, in turn, he can call "a satisfaction for the Creator," a "sacrifice to cancel guilt." If Gregory's exaltation of the contemplative life above the secular be borne in mind, and if to all this there be added the consideration that the idea of intercession is already so great a factor in his life, while not only Christ but also the angels and saints are recommended as interceding protectors; it becomes clear that the type of Christianity which finds expression in Gregory's writings became the religion of the Middle Ages, and underwent but little further development.

Gregory died on Mar. 11, 604. The Church received him into the number of her saints, and honored him by the title of "the Great." His earnest monastic piety; his restless toiling for the extension and strengthening of the faith, for the elevation of morals, for union of the various churches with the see of Rome; and the justice and gentleness, energy and patience that he showed—all this makes him one of the noblest representatives of the papacy. If, notwithstanding his defects of actual scholarship and original thoughts, he has been reckoned one of the four great doctors of the Western Church, the explanation is, on the one hand, the comparative power of even a dim light in a dark age; on the other hand, the fact that the age succeeding him found the dwarfed type of Christianity which he transmitted fully satisfactory.

Gregory's Character and Influence.

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Gregory II.: Pope 715–731. A Roman by birth, he was destined from childhood for the ecclesiastical state. Under Sergius I. (687–701) he became a subdeacon, and was made treasurer and librarian of the Roman Church. He accompanied Constantine I. (q.v.) on his journey (709–711) to the Byzantine court, and is said to have made his mark in the discussions there. He was elected pope May 19, 715. His pontificate was marked by the beginning of the great conflict between the Roman see and the Lombards, which ended in the downfall of the Lombard kingdom; by his controversy with the iconoclastic Emperor Leo III.; and by his rela-

tion to Boniface and the nascent Germanic national churches of central and northern Europe. In regard to the first point, Gregory recognized from the beginning of his pontificate the danger offered by the Lombard kingdom to Rome and the Church; but for some time he contrived to maintain friendly relations with the court of Pavia, succeeding in gaining from Liutprand in 715 or 716 the restoration of a portion of the patrimony of Peter near Genoa, and in 728 the city and district of Sutri. The first outbreak of trouble was caused by the iconoclastic edict of Leo III., which caused all Italy to rise against the Byzantine overlordship. Even Ravenna opened its gates to the Lombards. But Gregory was forced to proceed against the emperor, and solemnly condemned the iconoclasts in a synod held about 729. The east coast from Venice to Osimo threw off the Byzantine rule, and the election of an Italian emperor was even discussed. Gregory, however, rightly perceived a greater danger in Liutprand than in Leo. When the eunuch Eutychius was sent as exarch of Ravenna about 730, he made common cause with the Lombards against the pope, whose opposition to the emperor was on purely ecclesiastical grounds, and even on those kept within the bounds of moderation. In these difficulties Gregory was comforted by the submissive reverence of the Western peoples, greater than they had shown to any of his predecessors. King Ina of Wessex founded the *schola Saxonum* at Rome and established the payment of Peter's pence in his kingdom for its support. Theodo of Bavaria came to Rome in 716 to consult the pope about the ecclesiastical organization of his dominions, and a few years later Gregory came into relations with Boniface, sending him to Thuringia in 719 and consecrating him bishop in 722 that he might go to the north as an ecclesiastical organizer in the interests of the Holy See (see Boniface, Saint; Papal States). No pope since Gregory the Great had done so much for the increase of the papal territory, for the elevation of the spiritual life of Rome, or for the promotion of monasticism, and none had followed with such intelligent force the path of development marked out by the first of his name. (H. Böhmer.)

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Gregory III.: Pope 731–741. He was of Syrian origin, and was elected Mar. 18, 731, succeeding Gregory II. His first care was to establish better relations with Constantinople, and to induce Leo III. to abandon his iconoclastic position, though without success. The stubbornness of the emperor and the danger from the Lombards ultimately forced Gregory to widen the breach between new and old Rome. Of the measures which he took to strengthen himself against the Lombards, his alliance with the dukes of Benevento and Spoleto brought him into direct conflict with Liutprand, who appeared before Rome in the summer of 739. Gregory twice urgently besought the aid of Charles Martel; and although this was refused, and a combination of circumstances delivered him from the Lombard attack, it was clear that only in alliance with the Franks could the papal see maintain its independence (see Papal States). He was more successful in the province of ecclesiastical administration. He maintained the relations of his predecessor with Boniface, whom he made archbishop in 732 with the right to organize new dioceses as he saw fit in Germany, and in 738–739 induced him to give up his Saxon missionary plans and devote himself as papal vicar to the organization of the Bavarian and Alemannic churches (see Boniface, Saint). In the same spirit he attempted to draw closer the ties between himself and the Anglo-Saxon Church, to attach the North Italian bishops more firmly to Rome, and generally to extend the scope of the papal jurisdiction. After Gregory II., he was undoubtedly the most important pope of the eighth century. (H. Böhmer.)

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Gregory IV.: Pope 827–844. He was a Roman of noble birth and had been priest of the basilica of St. Mark. His election was the first at which the *Constitutio Lotharii* was carried out, the Roman *proceres* acting as electors, and an imperial *missus* confirming the choice before his consecration, to which another preliminary was the taking of an oath of fealty to the emperor. This dependence on the Frankish power lasted through the first years of his pontificate, and was only mitigated by the conflicts in the imperial family. Early in 833 he went to Germany at the summons of the young Lothair to work for peace in the imperial house and for the unity of the empire. But after efforts in which he was misunderstood by both parties his intervention proved fruitless, and he went back to Rome feeling that he had been tricked, and remained friendly to Louis as long as the latter lived, attempting again to work for peace upon his death, but with what success is not known. He labored with great liberality for the building and furnishing of churches and monasteries, and erected a strong fortress against the Saracens in the ruins of Ostia. He died in Jan., 844. (H. Böhmer.)

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Gregory V. (Bruno of Carinthia): Pope 996–999. He was a great-grandson of Otto the Great and uncle of the later emperor, Conrad II.; and this relationship, together with his German education, accounts for his partial subserviency to the views then prevalent at the imperial court. Under the influence, however, of the old curial traditions, he took the papal standpoint in the strife about the see of Reims (see Sylvester II., Pope), and at a synod at Pavia in the spring of 997 suspended all the French bishops who had taken a part in Arnulf's deposition, and declared energetically in favor of his restoration. He took strong moral ground also against the uncanonical marriage of Robert of France and against simony. Toward the end of 996 he was driven from Rome by Crescentius, the leader of the Roman nobles, who the next year set up John, archbishop of Piacenza, formerly the tutor of Otto III., as antipope (see John XVI.). In Feb., 998, Gregory was forcibly restored by Otto, after which he was wholly dependent upon the imperial power. At his death (Feb. 18, 999) the papacy was more dependent on the crown than at any time since the restoration of the Empire by Otto the Great. (H. Böhmer.)

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Gregory VI.: Antipope 1012. He was set up by the Crescentian party as antipope to Benedict VIII. (q.v.), who was elevated by the Tusculan party in 1012. Being compelled to flee from Rome, he betook himself to Germany, to King Henry II., but was by him constrained to lay down the papal dignity. What became of him is not known.

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Gregory VI. (Johannes Gratianus): Pope 1045–46. While archpriest of San Giovanni a Porta Latina, he bought the papal dignity from Pope Benedict IX. by a written contract dated May 1, 1045, for the sum of 1,000 (or 2,000) pounds silver. It is probable that this downright simony was not publicly known at the outset, for Peter Damian (q.v.) enthusiastically congratulated Gregory on his elevation. Gregory's personal reputation in Rome was good and he also secured recognition abroad. However, when it became notorious in what way he had risen to the papacy, his continuance in the office was impossible. Benedict had reaffirmed his claim to the papacy and John, bishop of Sabina, was also trying to reign as Sylvester III. To remove the scandal of three popes and terminate the impossible situation, the Emperor Henry III. made his appearance in Italy in the autumn of 1046. Gregory was deposed at a synod at Sutri, Dec. 20, 1046, or perhaps, for the sake of form, he was forced to depose himself. He was exiled as state prisoner to Germany—probably to Cologne, where he appears to have died about the beginning of 1048. See Benedict IX.

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Gregory VII. (Hildebrand): Pope 1073–85; one of the greatest of popes and preeminently the representative of their claims to temporal power. He was born in Tuscany probably near the beginning of the third decade of the eleventh century. Raovacum (Rovacum) is given as the place of his birth. His father (Bunicus or Bonizo) appears to have been of humble station. The son went to Rome in his early years and received his education at a school of the Lateran. When Henry III. of Germany, after the synod of Sutri (1046), took Gregory VI. to Germany with him (see Gregory VI.), Hildebrand attended Gregory into exile, and thus by personal observation learned to know the land which was destined more than any other to influence his future policy. Thanks to Bishop Bruno of Toul, who in 1048 succeeded Pope Damasus II. as Leo IX., Hildebrand was brought back to Rome; although at that time he intended to spend the rest of his life as a monk. He appears, indeed, to have made profession in Rome, whether before or after the visit to Germany must be left an unsettled question. Leo IX. ordained Hildebrand subdeacon (1049), appointed him "œconomus" of the Roman Church, assigned to him the direction of St. Paul's monastery at Rome, and in 1054 employed him as legate in France. Victor II. also showed appreciation of him, both admitting him to the papal chancery and also sending him as envoy to France. When Stephen IX. found it desirable to have the acquiescence of the Empress Agnes in his election, he committed this

Education. Services to Leo IX., Victor II., and Stephen IX., 1048–1058.

difficult mission to Bishop Anselm of Lucca and to Hildebrand. Nor did the result fail to justify this mark of confidence. How highly this pope esteemed Hildebrand appears further from the fact that when seized with forebodings of death, he solemnly bound the clergy and people of Rome to institute no new papal election before Hildebrand had returned from Germany. The pope's apprehensions proved, after his sudden death (Mar. 29, 1058), to be well founded. Bishop John of Villetri was immediately made pope (Benedict X.) by the Roman nobility. But he was unable to maintain his position, and this was Hildebrand's work (see Benedict X.). He heard the news of the occurrences in Rome at Florence on his way back from Germany, and he at once effected an understanding with Duke Godfrey concerning an opposition candidate; then he alienated a portion of the Roman people from Benedict, and won the German court to his plans. After the preliminaries, Bishop Gerhard of Florence was elected pope by the cardinals in conclave at Sienna, and enthroned in Rome as Nicholas II. on Jan. 24, 1059.

Hildebrand's influence during the administration of Nicholas is unmistakable; and he had his full share in the great events which mark this pontificate (the law as to papal election, 1059; alliance of the papacy with the Patarenes; treaty with the Normans; see Nicholas II.). He became archdeacon in 1059. When the pope's death (1061) imperiled the hardly won independence of the papacy from the Roman nobility and the German kingdom, it was Hildebrand again who knew how to act with promptness and success. The fact that Alexander II. (Anselm of Lucca) was elected, and finally asserted himself in opposition to Bishop Cadalus of Parma (Honorius II.), was made possible through Hildebrand's energy (see Alexander II., Pope; Honorius II., Antipope). After Alexander's death (Apr. 21, 1073), Hildebrand's time had come. During the funeral solemnities in the Church of the Lateran, the shout went up: "Hildebrand for bishop!" and amid the tumult Hildebrand was hurried to the Church of St. Peter ad Vincula and enthroned. It took place in direct contradiction to the election law of 1059; but attacks against the validity of the election were not brought forward till after 1076.

Nicholas II. and Alexander II.

Hildebrand Chosen Pope, 1073.

By far the most important chapter in the history of Gregory's policy deals with his relations to Germany. After the death of Henry III. (1056), the power of the kingdom became greatly weakened under the regency of the Empress Agnes and the princes. In 1073 Henry IV. (b. 1050) was still inexperienced in statecraft, and was so preoccupied with affairs of home government that he could not maintain his father's attitude toward the Curia. The situation, accordingly, was uncommonly favorable for Gregory. In 1073–74 Henry was in such straits by reason of the insurgent Saxons that he was compelled to seek the pope's support. In May, 1074, he laid certain declarations before the pope's legate in Nuremberg, which so thoroughly satisfied Gregory that he turned his thoughts to plans for a crusade and purposed, during his absence, to commit the protection of the Roman Church to Henry. In the summer of 1075, however, the situation of the German king changed completely by his victory over the Saxons near Homburg on the Unstrut, thus gaining a free hand in Germany, with corresponding changes in his status toward the pope. Henry despatched his trusted servant, Count Eberhard, to Lombardy to restore the imperial prestige shattered by the Patarene movement. He appointed Teobald archbishop of Milan, and opened negotiations with the Normans. These steps on the king's part were at variance with the pope's policy, and Gregory addressed him an ultimatum, at the same time referring to alleged crimes of the king for which he might be excommunicated and deposed. Henry forthwith convened a council at Worms on Jan. 24, 1076. The attending prelates sided with the king and the excitement was intensified by the attacks of Candidus upon the pope, with the result that the bishops declared Gregory deposed, while Henry summoned the Romans to elect a new pope. The documents were hurriedly despatched to northern Italy, and the episcopate of Lombardy indorsed them at the Synod of Piacenza.

Relations with Germany. Quarrel with Henry IV.

The papers were now conveyed to Rome, and an ecclesiastic of Parma contrived to have them read aloud before the Lenten synod just then in session. Gregory retorted by excommunicating the king, declaring him deposed, and releasing his subjects from their oath of fealty. Nevertheless, the political effect of the papal measures was contingent upon whether the German princes would remain loyal to the king. However, the pope's calculation proved correct; the princes fell away from the king. The Saxons found the moment opportune for a new uprising, and in Oct., 1076, the princes assembled at Tribur on the Rhine to confer about the election of a new king. Although they disagreed in the matter, Henry was obliged to promise the pope obedience and satisfaction, but even so his crown gained little security. The rebellious princes agreed to deprive him of the crown, unless the ban were removed within a year, and also resolved to invite the pope to a diet of the princes at Augsburg, set for Feb. 2, 1077. Henry clearly discerned his predicament; he could save his kingdom only by obtaining release from the ban. Straightway he despatched messengers to the pope, and declared himself ready to make full satisfaction; but Gregory refused to release him. Henry now hurried in person to Italy and put upon the pope the moral obligation of absolving him before going to Germany. The Alpine passes being held by the South German princes, he traveled through Burgundy, setting out from Speyer shortly before Christmas, and reaching northern Italy in good season. Gregory had already started on his journey to Germany, but was awaiting the promised escort of the German princes. Upon tidings of the king's arrival in Lombardy, he fled to Canossa (11 m. s.w. of Reggio),

Henry Excommunicated, 1076. Canossa, Jan., 1077.

the castle of Countess Matilda of Tuscany. Henry appeared before the gate of this castle, a penitent, and succeeded in inducing Gregory to release him, though not without reservation; for he did not revoke the sentence of deposition.

Only a transient peace ensued between Henry and Gregory upon this basis. When, several weeks later, on motion of some of the German princes, Rudolph of Swabia was elected opposition king at Forchheim, Gregory did not declare against him. He treated the matter of Henry's or Rudolph's legitimacy rather as an open question, and hoped to be able to decide the dispute as judge. Finally, when Rudolph, on Jan. 27, 1080, won a great victory—so the report went—near Flarchheim, Gregory again placed Henry under the ban and sentence of deposition. But this time public opinion was against him, whereas in 1076 it had sided with him; furthermore, on Oct. 15, 1080, Rudolph died, and Hermann of Luxemburg, later elected in his stead, could not materially strengthen the papal position in Germany. Henry IV. was now able to take the offensive against Gregory. At Brixen (June 25, 1080), Gregory was solemnly repudiated, and Guibert of Ravenna (q.v.) was made counterpope. In the following year, Henry marched to Italy, since Gregory was to be conquered only in Rome. This was accomplished in 1084. A faction of the clergy fell away from Gregory, thirteen cardinals turned their backs on him, and the Roman people, weary of the war, delivered the city to the German king. Guibert of Ravenna was now enthroned (Mar. 24) as Clement III. and Henry IV. was crowned emperor by him on Mar. 31. Not until May did the Norman prince Robert Guiscard march to Gregory's aid. He forced Henry to retreat, but by his plundering of Rome the cause of Gregory, who was held responsible therefor, was lost forever. Gregory lived a year longer in exile at Salerno, forsaken by his friends but unbroken in spirit. He died May 25, 1085.

Second Excommunication of Henry, 1080. Henry's Triumph, 1084.

The concentration of his strength upon Germany prevented Gregory from acting with similar energy in other countries. He projected great things in the Orient; but he did not succeed in abolishing the schism between East and West, nor could he institute a crusade or form a union with the Armenians. He made good some political claims on Dalmatia, Corsica, and Sardinia; and he cherished the vain hope of founding a papal feudal kingdom in Spain. He once threatened excommunication and interdict, and even deposition, against Philip I. of France, who had aroused his ill-will by reason of simony and ecclesiastical oppressions; but he did not enforce these penalties—although the king showed no improvement—because he was unwilling to provide Henry IV. with a confederate. William I. of England also derived advantage from the conflicts in Germany. For, in spite of his marital relations, in spite of his appointment of bishops and abbots, in spite of his forbidding the bishops to visit Rome, and of many other things, he was spared the Roman censures. Gregory maintained favorable relations with Denmark, whose King Svend II., Estridsen, was summoned —without practical result—to transform his kingdom into a feudal dependency upon the apostolic prince. He directed like hopes toward Russia; and he affirmed that the Roman Church had long held a right of possession in respect to Hungary. He also kept Poland and Bohemia in view; even as his provident care was likewise engaged by north Africa, oppressed by the Saracens.

Gregory's Policy and Achievements outside of Germany.

Gregory's administrative activity thus encompassed the entire Christian world, operating along definite lines, and clearly pursuing well-defined aims. Of fundamental significance were his ideas as to the essence of the State. The Augustinian theory that the State is a product of sin was shared by him; only, inasmuch as the logical sequel of a permanent conflict with the State as such was not within practical realization, he recognized the coexistence of State and Church as of divine ordination, at the same time vigorously affirming the obligation to subordinate the State to the Church. From these premises he deduced the right of excommunicating and deposing incompetent rulers and of confirming the status of a German king. The attempts to persuade particular States into a relation of spiritual dependency on the Roman see show that he had consciously in view the goal of subjecting temporal States to the Church; that is, to found a theocracy or to create an ecumenical papal dominion. He endeavored to apply these principles in filling spiritual vacancies, and in this way the dispute as to Investiture (q.v.) came about. Inaugurated by a law promulgated in 1049, under Leo IX., it filled Western Christendom down to the Concordat of Worms in 1122. It is manifest from the laws enacted under Gregory in 1075, 1078, and 1080 that he purposed to withdraw appointments to spiritual positions from the influence of the king for the sake of securing this influence for himself, and so to substitute papal nomination for the previous royal nomination. But even had this goal been attained, Gregory was not yet at the end of his aspirations; for even if the king no longer had influence on episcopal nominations, the bishops were expected to retain all the sovereign rights, allodia, and fiefs which had been conveyed to them as princes of the realm. By this process, however, the king's right to church property of the realm would have been annulled, and the pope, as feudal suzerain, would have acquired the right of administration over the goods of the Church.

The Aims and Means. The Investiture Controversy.

In the internal direction of the Church, Gregory's efforts to enforce the celibacy of the clergy and to extirpate simony took front rank at the outset. The legislation of Leo IX. on celibacy was energetically sustained by Gregory, and the "Nicolaitan heresy" was combated in all countries, —though with spirited protests on the part of many married ecclesiastics. The difficulty of abolishing simony was increased by the fact that in the course of time the practise

The Internal Administration of the Church.

had assumed very subtle forms, having grown to be an established custom, and finding a certain support in ecclesiastical usage itself. Lastly, it is significant in respect to Gregory's administrative policy that he sought to centralize the entire government of the Church in Rome. The power of the bishops was restricted, and the metropolitans were kept in submission by oaths of obedience and the bestowal of the pallium.

Prominent among Gregory's partizans and auxiliaries were the Countess Beatrix of Tuscany, her daughter the Countess Matilda, and the Empress Agnes. Among the high clergy, he was supported preeminently by Bishop Altmann of Passau, and by Archbishops Gebhard of Salzburg, Hugo of Die, and Lanfranc of Canterbury.

Gregory's Importance.

The importance of Gregory VII. in the history of the Church is due to the fact that he elaborated and realized, with logical acuteness and consistency, the ideal of the papacy as a political power. He exerted radical influence on the canon law in its formative period, both by virtue of his own legislative activity and also through the digests that were compiled at his instigation. Furthermore, he brought it about that thenceforward the continence of priests occupies front rank among the obligations of their vocation. Not one of the requirements emphasized by Gregory was absolutely new; but he has the merit of having given the papal ideal its classic definition, and of having made the catholic Church of the West, Roman Catholic. His name was admitted by Gregory XIII., in 1584, into the *Martyrologium Romanum;* and Paul V. canonized him in 1606. The passage concerning him in the *Breviarium Romanum* under May 25 contains a glorification of the papal power over princes and countries, which, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, led to prohibitive measures in several Roman Catholic States.

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Gregory VIII. (Mauritius Burdinus): Antipope 1118–21. He was archbishop of Braga in Portugal, and, having joined the cause of Henry V. of Germany, was put under the ban by Pope Paschal II. at the Synod of Benevento, in Apr., 1117 (see PASCHAL II.). He was then set up as pope by Henry, when Gelasius II., successor elect to Paschal, took flight from Rome before receiving consecration, and was proclaimed as Gregory VIII., on Mar. 8, 1118, being ordained priest on the 9th and consecrated bishop on the 10th. He was unable to assert himself in Rome, was imprisoned by Calixtus II., and also continued in duress under Honorius II. He died after 1137.

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Gregory VIII. (Albertus de Mora): Pope 1187. He was born in Benevento between 1105 and 1110, was a Benedictine and cardinal, and after the death of Urban III. was almost unanimously chosen pope on Oct. 21, 1187. He was imbued with the ideal of strict asceticism, which he sought to apply both in the curia and among the clergy. He had the plan of a crusade particularly at heart, and to this end he strove to reach an understanding with Emperor Frederick I., and attempted to mediate between the cities of Pisa and Genoa. In the midst of his projects he was suddenly overtaken by death, on Dec. 17. Carl Mirbt.

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Gregory IX. (Count Hugo—Ugolino—of Segni): Pope 1227–41. He was born at Anagni perhaps about 1145, and began his spiritual career under Innocent III., his uncle, who created him cardinal deacon and afterward appointed him cardinal bishop of Ostia. Honorius III. (1216–27) honored him with important commissions. His name is likewise intimately connected with the history of the rise of the Franciscan order, while Dominic, the founder of the Dominican order, likewise had his support. After the death of Honorius III., Cardinal Ugolino was elected as Pope Gregory IX.

Gregory quickly came into strained relations with Frederick II. of Germany, although they had previously been on good terms. The causes of estrangement lay in the general trend of the imperial policy. At the Diet of Frankfort, 1220, Frederick had had his son Henry elected king of the Romans; the administration of Sicily had been ceded to Frederick by Honorius III.; and, after putting affairs in order there, he had undertaken to win back the German imperial rights in northern Italy, where the Lombards had curtailed them. In this enlargement of the imperial power, Gregory perceived a danger for the Roman see. His distrust was enhanced by the fact that Frederick had postponed the fulfilment of his promise to proceed to the Holy Land. At the appointed term (Aug., 1227) he had indeed stationed himself at the head of the crusaders, assembled at Brindisi; but the epidemic which carried off thousands of pilgrims seized him as well, and compelled him to remain in Otranto. Gregory, not making a full examination of the circumstances, excommunicated the emperor (Sept. 27, 1227), and justified this condemnation in an encyclical. Frederick, too, made public defense of himself, and in the following year actually began the crusade—against the pope's protest and under difficult conditions. Despite all this, he succeeded, by a treaty with the sultan Kamil of Egypt (Feb. 18, 1229), in achieving more than the other crusaders before him. The main gain was that Jerusalem was again turned over to the Christians, with the right of fortification. But the patriarch of Jerusalem, after Frederick had put on the crown of the kingdom of Jerusalem, covered the sacred sites with a sentence of interdict. In view of this hostility, and upon receipt of tidings of the pope's encroachment on Sicily, Frederick resolved on a speedy return. He soon succeeded in expelling the papal soldiers; and in the year following, by the Peace of Ceperano (Aug. 28, 1230), after great concessions he was released from the ban.

Gregory and Frederick II. of Germany.

There now followed nine years of peace, but the fundamental conflict of papal and imperial interests continued, and finally led to another open rupture. Gregory allied himself with Frederick's adversaries, the Lombards, and on Mar. 20, 1239, put the emperor under the ban for the second time. Both pope and emperor vindicated their cause in public, but Gregory, not disposed to peace, formed the design, in 1241, of having Frederick sentenced in Rome by an ecumenical council. The plan failed, however, since the imperial and Pisan fleet defeated the Genoese fleet southeastward of Elba, and the extra-Italian prelates happened to be aboard the vanquished squadron. Gregory was not even turned from his bitter opposition to the emperor by the great surging of the Tatars toward Central Europe in 1241, until the battle near Liegnitz (Apr. 9, 1241) checked their progress.

Relations with Other Countries. Gregory's Importance and Character.

Gregory's relations with other countries quite receded into the background in contrast with his struggle with Germany. Under his contemporary, St. Louis of France (1226–70), that country was consolidated into a strong hereditary kingdom. In England, the clergy vigorously reacted against the curia's practise of bestowing the lucrative benefices upon foreigners. Gregory also gave attention to crusading plans, and was occupied with thoughts of missions. His early relations with the mendicant orders proved to their advantage, though the division among the Franciscans began even in his time. His converting the battle against heresy, on the conclusion of the Albigensian wars, into a permanent institution of the Church came to be of epoch-making significance for the medieval Church, for the laws affecting heresy, as developed in his time, maintained themselves (see Inquisition). His importance for medieval philosophy and theology was due to the fact that he approved the study of Aristotle. Finally, Gregory's pontificate was of the utmost importance in the sphere of canon law, since through his chaplain, Raymond of Pennaforte, he had a collection of decretals compiled which gained universal recognition as a codification of canon law (see Canon Law, II.) and thus contributed to the victory of the pope's legislative authority. Greg-

ory died Aug. 22, 1241. He may be called great in his zeal for the Church. That he was blinded by his hatred of Frederick and unscrupulous in his choice of aggressive measures is the blot on his reputation. CARL MIRBT.

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For his relation to the crusades consult: J. I. Mombert, *Short Hist. of the Crusades*, pp. 246 et passim, New York, 1894; T. A. Archer and C. L. Kingsford, *The Crusades*, pp. 380–383, 386, 428, ib. 1895; J. M. Ludlow, *The Age of the Crusades*, p. 300 et passim, ib. 1896.

Gregory X. (Teobaldo Visconti): Pope 1271–76. He was born in Piacenza in 1210 and was archdeacon of Liége when he was chosen pope on Sept. 1, 1271. The Roman see had been unoccupied for nearly three years (since the death of Clement IV., Nov. 29, 1268), the cardinals in session at Viterbo, divided into a French and an Italian party, being unable to agree until finally they reached a compromise in the election of Teobaldo Visconti. At the time he was in the Holy Land as a crusader. Upon the news of his elevation, he set out from Acre Nov. 19, arrived at Brindisi Jan. 1, 1272, and, after stopping awhile at Viterbo, entered Rome on Mar. 13; he was ordained priest on Mar. 19 and on Mar. 27 received consecration in St. Peter's as Gregory X. On Mar. 31 he ordered a general council on May 1, 1274, for the abolition of the Greek schism, and to abate the oppression of the Holy Land by the Saracens and the corruption of morals among clergy and laity. It was formally decided, on Apr. 13, 1273, that the council should convene at Lyons. Of the princes invited only James I. of Aragon attended in person; but many ambassadors were present, and about sixteen hundred prelates, among whom were five hundred bishops. The first session of the council, which is usually designated by the Roman Catholic Church as the Fourteenth Ecumenical Council, was opened on May 7, 1274; the sixth and last session was held on July 17.

The Council of Lyons, 1274.

Gregory cherished peculiar interest for the Holy Land and large resources were obtained from France and England, which enabled the new patriarch of Jerusalem whom Gregory had installed (Archbishop Thomas of Cosenza) to afford sustenance to the Christian army. Moreover, on the initiative of King Charles of Sicily, a ten years' truce had been concluded in Cæsarea between Sultan Bibars and King Hugo of Cyprus—at least as far as Ptolemais and Nazareth were concerned. There shortly ensued, however, all kinds of untoward circumstances. Prince Edward of England left the Holy Land; the new patriarch proved incompetent; and the strife between Hugo of Cyprus and Maria of Antioch over the crown of Jerusalem continued. The council failed to support the operations in the East. The pope contrived, indeed, to have a tithe of the church revenues appropriated for six years to the prospective crusade; but no great or adequate action was taken.

A Crusade Attempted.

Emperor Michael Palæologus of Byzantium had sent ambassadors to Lyons; and to gain Gregory's assistance against the aggressive designs of Charles of Sicily, he evinced great cordiality toward the pope's ecclesiastical plans. The Byzantine delegates accepted the *filioque* clause in the creed; the primacy of Rome was acknowledged in an imperial communication that was read in public; and the logothete took the oath in the emperor's name that he solemnly abjured all schism. In short, the submission to the Roman see was complete.

Union with the Eastern Church.

The Council of Lyons was also important for Gregory's relations with Germany. When, after the death of Richard of Cornwall (Apr. 2, 1272), the surviving pretender, Alfonso of Castile, demanded imperial coronation, the pope held aloof; as he did with respect to the demand of Philip of France, which was backed by Charles of Sicily. On the other hand, at the close of July, 1273, he addressed to the German electors the mandate to hold a new election promptly, and threatened, were this avoided, himself to appoint a king. Count Rudolph of Hapsburg was accordingly elected at Frankfort, Oct. 1, 1273. King Ottocar of Bohemia lodging a protest against the election it was only after receiving extensive concessions that Gregory gave an affirmative decision in behalf of Rudolph's petition for imperial coronation. The pope had no success in his attempt to move Ottocar of Bohemia to submit to Rudolph; but he succeeded in procuring the renunciation by Alfonso of Castile of all claims to the German empire. Rudolph of Hapsburg was recognized by Gregory in a written proclamation dated Sept. 26, 1274. After further concessions at Lausanne (Oct. 21, 1275), the day for the imperial coronation was set for Feb. 2, 1276.

Relations with Germany.

At least some attempt was also made, although

no fundamental reform was attained, to remedy the moral corruption of the time. The most important of the laws passed was the one touching papal election; by its terms the cardinals, when a vacancy occurred, were to hold the new election in conclave. Finally, while the council was in progress, negotiations were concluded through Philip of France for the cession to the curia of the County Venaissin, which remained a papal possession until 1791.

Ecclesiastical Reform.

From all this it would appear that Gregory X. could point to great results, but they were not enduring. The union with the Greeks soon proved a great delusion; and the time of the crusades was past. Gregory was spared disappointment, however, for he died on Jan. 10, 1276.

CARL MIRBT.

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Gregory XI. (Pierre Roger de Beaufort): Pope 1370–78. He was of the diocese of Limoges, and was chosen pope at Avignon Dec. 30, 1370. He was a nephew of Clement VI. and was made a cardinal in his seventeenth year. As pope he made fruitless efforts at a reunion with the East and against the Turks, and attacked the teachings of Wyclif with vehemence. In response to the entreaties of the Romans, and possibly influenced by St. Catherine of Sienna, he determined to return to Rome and entered the city on Jan. 27, 1377. He died Mar. 27, 1378. PAUL TSCHACKERT.

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Gregory XII. (Angelo Corrario): Pope 1406–15. He was of a noble Venetian family and was chosen pope by the Roman cardinals Dec. 2, 1406; but even the cardinals who had voted for him forsook him. The Council of Pisa deposed him on June 5, 1409, whereupon he, like his rival Benedict XIII. (q.v.) at Avignon, protested against the competency of the council and threatened excommunication. Finally, on July 4, 1415, he resigned and spent the rest of his life as cardinal bishop of Porto. He died Oct. 18, 1417. PAUL TSCHACKERT.

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Gregory XIII. (Ugo Buoncompagni): Pope 1572–1585. He was born at Bologna in 1502 and for eight years taught canon law at his birthplace. His learning and his services at the Council of Trent procured him the cardinal's hat in 1564, and Spanish influence made him pope six years later. Gregory celebrated the Massacre of St. Bartholomew (1572) by a service of thanksgiving and a commemorative medal. Twenty-three Jesuit colleges were founded by him and he sent the Jesuit Antonio Possevino (q.v.) to Russia to work for a union with the East, besides promoting the missions in India and Japan. He adorned Rome with magnificent churches. In 1582 he received the completed new edition of the *Corpus juris canonici* (see CANON LAW, III.), at which he had himself worked while cardinal, and by the bull of Feb. 13 of the same year he was able to announce the completion of the work of the commission he had appointed to reform the calendar (see CALENDAR, THE CHRISTIAN, §§ 8–9). The expenses of all his undertakings brought the papal finances into disorder and the procedure of his courts incited the barons of the Papal States (q.v.) to acts of brigandage which he was unable to restrain. He died Apr. 10, 1585. K. BENRATH.

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Gregory XIV. (Niciolo Sfondrati): Pope 1590–1591. He was born in Cremona 1535, and was chosen to succeed Urban VII. Dec. 5, 1590. He was pious and upright, but was wholly under the influence of the Spanish party and the League in France. By excommunicating Henry IV. of France he contributed much toward making Henry's return to the Roman Church a political necessity. He died Oct. 15, 1591. K. BENRATH.

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Gregory XV. (Alessandro Ludovisi): Pope 1621–23. He was born in Bologna 1554, and was chosen to succeed Paul V. Feb. 9, 1621. His

nephew Ludovico acted for him and continued with energy the policy of Gregory XIII. The Counter-reformation prevailed in Bohemia, Austria, and Hungary. Ferdinand II. and Maximilian of Bavaria were surrounded with Jesuit influences. In France, and even in the Netherlands and at the English court, the restoration of the Roman Catholic Church made progress. A permanent basis for missions outside of Europe was provided by the foundation of the Congregation *de propaganda fide*, and the conclave was organized in its present form by a constitution of Gregory. He died July 8, 1623.

K. Benrath.

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Gregory XVI. (Bartolommeo Alberto Cappellari): Pope 1831–46. He was born at Belluno (51 m. n. of Venice) Sept. 15, 1765, and at eighteen entered the order of Camaldoli. He became increasingly prominent in its affairs, and in 1805 was made abbot of the large monastery of San Gregorio in Rome. After the breach between Pius VII. and Napoleon he was forced to find shelter in his first monastic home at Murano, just outside of Venice, where he conducted a school for the sons of the upper classes. This he was obliged later to transfer to Padua; but in 1814 he was able to return to San Gregorio, and presently rose to be procurator-general and vicar-general of his order. In 1825 Leo XII. made him a cardinal and prefect of the Propaganda. On the death of Pius VIII. (Dec. 14, 1830), the conclave was divided between Cardinals Pacca and di Gregorio, and only when the friends of the latter showed signs of going over to the reactionary Giustiniani did Pacca's principal supporter Albani turn to Cappellari. Nevertheless, he did not reach the requisite number of votes until Feb. 2, after the duke of Modena had plainly signified the desire of Austria that a choice should be speedily made, in order that pope and emperor might work together to counteract the threatened revolution in central Italy.

Early Life. Election as Pope, Feb. 2, 1831.

Cappellari was hardly crowned as Gregory XVI. before the revolution broke out. Louis Philippe had declared in favor of the policy of non-intervention in the autumn of 1830, and the small states of Italy hoped to be allowed to regulate their own affairs. Francis IV. of Modena, perhaps in the Austrian interest, had affected to coquet with the revolutionary movement. On the day after the election of Gregory he thought the time had come to act decisively against it. But the next day a formidable rising at Reggio and elsewhere forced him to take refuge in Mantua; at the same time a similar movement showed itself in Bologna, and by Feb. 8 the Italian tricolor had generally replaced the papal flag in that part of the States of the Church. An attempted rising in Rome on the night of Feb. 12–13 was easily suppressed; but outside the city the flood of revolution rose, and Bernetti, the secretary of state, saw nothing for it but to summon Austria to his aid. By Feb. 25 a strong Austrian force was marching on Bologna; the provisional government fled to Ancona, and it was not long before most of the conspirators (among whom was Louis Napoleon) had taken refuge in foreign countries. Austria felt entitled to make certain demands of the pope, and Bernetti at once promised considerable reforms. When these were not carried out, the five great powers in a joint note of May 21, 1831, demanded the admission of laymen to administrative and judicial offices, the establishment of communal and provincial councils, and a *giunta* or assembly of notables which should be a guaranty for continuity in the government. Gregory appointed commissions to report on these proposals, in order to gain time. The year 1831 was one of great financial distress in the Papal States, and the public debt rose alarmingly, reaching sixty million scudi by the death of Gregory. Such reforms as were introduced failed to content the populace, and when the Austrian army departed in July, a new revolution was already in contemplation. Deputations from the provinces came to Rome, hoping, with the aid of the foreign ambassadors to compel the execution of the reforms demanded by the powers. Bernetti still temporized and made slight concessions; but in Jan., 1832, Austrian troops had to be summoned once more into the legations. France had already warned Bernetti that this step would be followed by a French occupation of Ancona, which was carried out, in spite of papal protests, on Mar. 21. Casimir-Périer announced that this was done with a view to compelling liberal reforms; but its effect was counterbalanced by the influence of Austria. The universities had been closed the year before and many students had to leave their homes, embittered against the Church. A good idea of the spirit which prevailed in the curia may be gained from the encyclical *Mirari vos* of Aug. 15, 1832—a link in the series of declarations which culminated in the encyclical and syllabus of 1864; it was directed especially against Lamennais (q.v.) and against Belgium, which had shortly before adopted a constitution guaranteeing liberty of conscience. Considerable excitement was also caused in Germany by the encyclical *Dum acerbissimas* of Sept. 26, 1835, condemning Hermesianism (see Hermes, Georg).

The Italian Revolution of 1831 and Its Consequences.

An indiscreet note of Bernetti's which came into Metternich's hands caused his downfall. He was replaced by the Genoese Lambruschini, who had been nuncio in Paris during the July Revolution, and as a diplomat was a pupil of Consalvi's, though with more churchly feeling. He soon made himself feared, and the pope was wholly led by him. The Austrians evacuated Bologna and the French Ancona in 1838, and things seemed quiet; but the revolutionary party was pursuing its work in secret. Mazzini had formed the "Young Italy" party, which, while it did not share the religious belief of the populace, still coupled the name of God with that of the people in its appeals. The neo-Guelph party which arose in the forties, under the leadership of Gioberti and Count Cesare

Lambruschini Secretary of State. The Jesuits Suppressed in France.

Balbo, adhered to the teachings of the Church, and could have no concord with a liberalism hostile to the Holy See. Lambruschini, however, had no greater sympathy for the neo-Guelphs than for Young Italy; and relations began to be strained between Rome and France. Gregory XVI. caused uneasiness in Paris by his frank sympathy with the duke of Bordeaux and the Legitimist cause. The government began to be suspicious of French Ultramontanism, and the students in the Collège de France applauded Michelet and Quinet when they attacked the Jesuits. Guizot sent Pellegrino Rossi to Rome to induce the pope to withdraw his support from the order. At first it seemed a hopeless task; but the curia gradually came to see that the Jesuits must be less prominent. Louis Philippe frankly told the nuncio in Paris that he was not prepared to risk his crown for the sake of the order, and Lambruschini finally yielded. In July, 1845, the order was suppressed in France and its houses closed.

Later Events in Italy. Gregory's Merits.

Meantime the revolution had lifted its head once more at Bologna and Rimini in 1843. Luigi Carlo Farini issued a manifesto which called for an amnesty, juster penal laws, and a share in the government; Massimo d'Azeglio and Gino Capponi published notable appeals. Lambruschini's answer was the exercise of still greater severity, and d'Azeglio was banished from Tuscany at his request. The Jesuit question came up in Italy also. Some expressions of Gioberti in his *Prolegomeni al Primato* (1845) called forth a defense of the order from Francesco, brother of Silvio Pellico, and Curci; Gioberti was not silenced, but began to collect material for his thoroughgoing work *Il Gesuità moderno* (8 vols., Paris, 1846–47). Before it was published, however, Gregory XVI., already failing in health, died June 1, 1846. He was a friend of all the monastic orders, and did much to prepare for the definition of the immaculate conception. Stiff and unyielding in his ecclesiastical policy, he came into serious conflict with Prussia over the mixed marriage question (see Droste-Vischering), and by the encyclical *Inter præcipuas* of May 8, 1844, condemned the Bible societies and the newly formed Evangelical Allicance. He was a liberal patron of art and letters; he established the Etruscan and Egyptian collections of the Vatican, and laid the foundation for the Lateran museum of Christian antiquities.

(F. Nielsen†.)

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GREGORY (Gk. *Grēgorios*): The name of several patriarchs of Constantinople, the most important being the following:

Gregory III.: Patriarch 1445–48; d. at Rome 1459. He was a Cretan by origin, and bore the epithets of Mamas, Melissenus, and Strategopulus. As protosyncellus of the patriarch of Constantinople and confessor of the Emperor John VIII., Palæologus, he attended the council held at Florence for a union of the Greek and Roman Churches (see Ferrara-Florence, Council of). Originally orthodox, he now became an adherent of the Roman party, and after his return was appointed patriarch. On the death of the emperor in 1448, however, he was forced to resign, spending the remainder of his life at Rome. In defense of the union he wrote his three works, "Apology for the Confession of Ephesus"; "Apology for the Epistle of Ephesus"; and "To the King of Trebizond." His sole argument for union was its harmony with the teachings of the Church Fathers.

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Gregory V.: Patriarch 1797–98, 1806–08, 1818–1821; b. at Dimitzana (40 m. n.w. of Sparta) 1745; d. at Constantinople Apr. 22, 1821. He was educated at Athens, Smyrna, and Patmos, and in 1785 was consecrated metropolitan of Smyrna, becoming patriarch of Constantinople twelve years later. In the following year the intrigues of the clergy forced him to resign, although he ruled again from 1806 to 1808. His third patriarchate lasted from 1818 to his strangulation by the order of the Sultan. The manner of his death has caused Gregory to be regarded as the martyr of Greek freedom, although he took no part in the uprising of his fellow countrymen, and his attitude toward the Greek movement for independence was unsympathetic. As patriarch, he promoted the welfare of his Church in all ways, and particularly by education. He made Romaic translations of the nine homilies of Basil on the hexaemeron (Constantinople, 1807), as well as the addresses of Chrysostom on the priesthood (new edition by J. Papadopulos, Smyrna, 1879), and he is also said to have edited the "Ethics" of Basil in 1807.

Bibliography: Accounts of his life, in Greek, appeared at Athens in 1853 and, in 2 vols., 1865.

Gregory VI.: Patriarch 1835–40, 1867–71; b. Mar. 13, 1798; d. at Constantinople June 20, 1881. His entire tendency was reactionary and devoted to the purification of the Greek Church from all foreign elements. In this spirit he waged an unceasing war against the Occidental churches, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, as well as against every liberal movement within his own communion, so that he may almost be said to have given his impression to the present Greek Orthodox Church. Important factors in this struggle were his decrees, which have been collected by Gedeon and partially translated into German by Wenger. (Philipp Meyer.)

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GREGORY OF ELVIRA: Bishop of Elvira, in Spain (hence called *Bæticus*, the "Andalusian"); fl. c. 357–384. He was one of the stanchest western adherents of the Nicene Creed. He rigorously opposed Hosius of Cordova (q.v.) when the latter returned from exile; and stood firmly in relation to the Homoian party at the synod of Ariminum, 359. Afterward he joined Lucifer of Calaris (q.v.), and became one of the leaders of the Luciferians. It seems probable that Gregory composed the so-called *Tractatus Origenis* (ed. P. Batiffol, Paris, 1900), and "Five Homilies on Canticles" (ed. G. Heine, in *Bibliotheca anecdotorum*, Leipsic, 1848). He is the probable source, besides, of a brief tract, *De fide*, generally attributed to Ambrose (Vigilius of Thapsus, Phœbordius of Agennum, *MPL*, xx. 31; cf. Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, cv.). Moreover, Kattenbusch holds that to Gregory should be credited *Exhortatio sancti Ambrosii episcopi ad neophytos de symbolo* (cf. C. P. Caspari, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols*, ii. 128–182, Christiania, 1869).

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GREGORY OF HEIMBURG: German popular reformer; b. at Schweinfurt (22 m. n.n.e. of Würzburg) about the beginning of the fifteenth century; d. at Dresden 1472. His importance has been overestimated; he was no "forerunner of the Reformation," still less "a civil Luther." As a youth he devoted himself to legal and humanistic studies and took the degree of doctor of civil and canon law at Padua about 1430. Upon his return to Germany he practised law, and was present at Basel during the sessions of the Council, becoming acquainted there with Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini (afterward Pope Pius II.). In 1435 he was elected syndic of Nuremberg and held this influential position till 1461. He often had an opportunity to play a part in public affairs, and to work for the diminution of the influence of the Italian papacy in Germany. In 1446 he headed a delegation which the German electors sent to Pope Eugenius IV. Angered by the ill success of his mission, he wrote against the curia, after his return, his *Admonitio de injustis usurpationibus paparum*. When Æneas Sylvius was elected pope in 1458, his antipapal spirit became even more aggressive. The new pope convoked a meeting of the German princes at Mantua in 1459, at which Gregory was present as the representative of Sigismund of Austria to oppose the crusade projected by Pius against the Turks, and where he even delivered a mocking discourse against the pope. Pius soon found an opportunity to take vengeance. When Duke Sigismund of the Tyrol had fallen out with Nicholas of Cusa, cardinal bishop of Brixen, and had been excommunicated by the pope (June 1, 1460), Gregory pleaded his cause. Pius II. now excommunicated Gregory also, and, in a brief dated Oct. 18, 1460, requested the city council of Nuremberg to expel the offender and to confiscate his property. Gregory replied in a stern appeal to a future council. In 1464 Nicholas of Cusa and Pius II. died. Sigismund had made his peace with the pope shortly before and had obtained absolution, but Gregory remained under the ban, which obliged him to leave the court of the duke of Austria. He went to Bohemia to King George Podiebrad, in whose interest he continued to oppose the papacy in controversial writings. The death of his protector drove Gregory from Bohemia, and he now fixed his residence in Saxony, whose dukes had asked his advice on former occasions. When Sixtus IV. ascended the papal throne, he obtained absolution, and died in the same year. His polemical works were published under the title *Scripta nervosa justitiæque plena* (Frankfort, 1608).

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GREGORY THE ILLUMINATOR. See Armenia, III., § 2.

GREGORY OF MONTELONGO: Patriarch of Aquileja; d. at Cividale (70 m. n.e. of Venice), in Friuli, Italy, Aug. 31, 1269. He is mentioned first in 1213 as canon of the church of Vercelli, then in 1231 as subdeacon in the March of Ancona. In 1238 he appears as a Roman notary and subdeacon, first as papal nuncio, then as apostolic legate for Lombardy, Romagna, and Treviso. Montelongo was a bitter opponent of the house of Hohenstaufen and contributed not a little to the downfall of Frederick II. and his partizans. After Frederick was excommunicated in 1239, Montelongo frustrated his attack upon the city of Milan, and here laid the foundation of his military fame. The capture of Ferrara in the following year was also essentially the work of Montelongo. He alienated the city of Vercelli in 1243 from the margrave of Montferrat, and later the neighboring Novara from the emperor. In 1247 he captured Parma, led its defense with great ability, and by a sudden attack dispersed the imperial army. By this victory the supremacy of the papal party in Lombardy was restored. In 1251 Montelongo was appointed patriarch of Aquileja, and it became his task to defend his extensive diocese against the Hohenstaufens, the counts of Görz, Tyrol, and Carinthia, against Eccelino II. of Romano, and the Venetians, though his expeditions against them were not always successful. At the same time he kept a watchful eye on Lombardy. In 1252 he aided Parma against Uberto Pellavicini; in 1256, with the archbishop of Ravenna, he took possession of Padua, which thus far had been under the sway of Eccelino. After the death of Eccelino in 1259, Treviso, Vicenza, and Bassano joined the papal party owing to the efforts of Montelongo, and the adherents of Eccelino in his patriarchate also submitted to his rule. The latter years of Montelongo's life were darkened by continual dissensions with the counts of Görz, the bai-

liffs of the chapter of Aquileja. In 1267 Count Albert of Görz, the bishop of Feltre, and the citizens of Capo d'Istria conspired against him, and he was imprisoned in the castle of Görz. After his release, hostilities were continued until his death.

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GREGORY NAZIANZEN.

Early Life (§ 1). Works (§ 3).
Episcopate (§ 2). Theological Attitude (§ 4).
Christological Attitude (§ 5).

Gregory Nazianzen or Gregory of Nazianzus (in s.w. Cappadocia, 24 m. s.e. of Archelais, perhaps the modern Nenizi, six hours east of Ak Serai), one of the leading theologians of the Eastern Church, was born at Arianzus, near Nazianzus, probably in 329; d. there probably in 389 or at least 390. His father, also called Gregory, was a man of some importance. Even before he was a Christian, he was an upholder of a monotheistic morality, and a member of the sect known as Hypsistarians (q.v.). He was converted to Christianity by his wife, Nonna, who came of Christian stock, and was baptized at the time of the opening of the Council of Nicæa by the Bishop of Nazianzus, whom he succeeded in his office in 328 or 329. Nothing positive is known of his attitude in the first generation of the Arian controversy; in the sixties he may be reckoned, with most of the bishops of Asia Minor, among the Homoiousians, but later, with his son and the latter's friend Basil (see BASIL THE GREAT), whom he helped to raise to the see of Cæsarea, he accepted the *homoousios.* He and his wife had long wished for offspring; and Gregory seems to have been the eldest of the three children who were born to them when they were already advancing in years. The foundations of his education were laid at Nazianzus; but his higher training in literature and rhetoric he probably received with his brother Cæsarius, in the Cappadocian Cæsarea, where his friendship with Basil began. To pursue his studies he then went to Palestine, to Alexandria, and finally to Athens, where he seems to have spent some years in close association with Basil. Leaving Athens, probably in 357, and passing through Constantinople, where his brother had already begun a successful worldly career from which Gregory tried in vain to turn him to the ascetic life, he returned home on account of his duty to his parents, and spent some time there, partly in meditation and partly in the administration of the family property. It was at this time that he seems to have been baptized. After the return of Basil from his journey through the monastic settlements of Palestine and Egypt, in 358 or 359, Gregory joined him in his retreat on the River Iris in Pontus. By 360, however, he must have been once more with his parents. During the

1. Early Life.

next five years he was ordained priest against his own will but at the request of the faithful; after trying to escape the duties of the office, he returned and delivered the orations numbered i. and ii. in his works; after Julian's death (363) he wrote, apparently on Basil's advice, the two invectives directed against Julian (iv. and v.); when court pressure had forced his father to sign a formula which the monks of Nazianzus considered heretical, and they broke off communion with both father and son, he succeeded in reconciling them to their bishop (oration vi., *De pace*); when Basil and his monks had fallen out with Eusebius, chosen Bishop of Cæsarea in the summer of 362, he took Basil to Pontus with him, and then effected a reconciliation (probably in 365). During the next seven years Gregory assisted his father, cooperated with him in 370 in procuring the elevation of Basil to the bishopric of Cæsarea, and stood by the side of the new bishop in his struggle with Valens in the beginning of 372.

The old friendship seems, however, to have grown less warm after Basil was promoted to the metropolitan see, and suffered a harder blow when Basil, apparently soon after Easter, 372, forced Gregory to accept the bishopric of Sasima, an insignificant place between Nazianzus and Tyana, in order to hold it against Anthimus, bishop of Tyana, who infringed upon Basil's dignity by claiming and actually exercising metropolitan rights over a portion of Cappadocia. Gregory retired from his bishopric to the solitude of the mountains before he had entered upon its duties, declining to take up the struggle with Anthimus. He rejected his father's entreaties that he should return to his post; but when he was asked to come and help at Nazianzus, filial duty and appreciation of a larger field prevailed upon him in the same summer of 372. After his father's death, he continued to officiate there, but only as his father's representative. When, however, the neighboring bishops showed no signs of appointing another incumbent, he again fled in 375, this time to Seleucia. There he seems to have remained until, after the death of Basil (Jan. 1, 379), he was called to undertake a task sufficiently important to tempt him from his retirement. This was no less than to represent the Nicene faith in Constantinople, heretofore abandoned to Arianism. When in the spring of 379 he began to preach in the capital, he was undoubtedly considered as an aspirant for the bishop's throne; but his natural wavering between the attraction of usefulness in the world and that of the hermit life hindered him from considering himself consistently in that light. Still, it would appear from the whole history of his conflict with Maximus, a false friend who now came forward as a rival, and of the council of 381 that he had definitely put forward his candidacy. He was practically bishop there from the time (Nov. 26, 380) when the cathedral church of the Apostles was placed in his charge; officially he held the position only for a short time during the session of the council in the following year. After his renunciation of the office he left the capital, probably in June, before the close of the council, and retired to Cappadocia. His interest in the dio-

2. Episcopate.

cese of Nazianzus, then troubled by the Apollinarians, induced him to give some measure of attention to its needs; but after he had succeeded (probably in 383) in procuring the appointment of his kinsman Eulalius as bishop, he lived in seclusion, apparently at Arianzus. When Jerome wrote his *Catalogus* in 392, he had been dead nearly three years, and so must have passed away in 389 or at latest 390.

3. Works.

The works of Gregory fall into three groups—45 orations, 243 letters, and a considerable number of poems. The orations seem all to have been actually delivered except the two invectives against Julian, and the second oration, at least in its present form. The most famous are the five "Theological Orations" (xxvii.—xxxi.) delivered in Constantinople. Of historical interest are several of the memorial orations, especially those on Basil (xliii.) and on his father (xviii.). Among those written for festivals, the most noteworthy are the Easter sermon of 363 (commonly assigned to 362), and three (xxxviii.–xl.) preached in Constantinople on Dec. 25, 379, and Jan. 6 and 7, 380; the first of these three is the earliest Christmas sermon known to have been preached in Constantinople, or, for that matter, in the East. Only one (xxxvii.) has the nature of a homily; in fact, the exposition of Scripture, or in general what is usually meant by preaching, is entirely subordinate to rhetorical declamation. The letters, most of which belong to the last six or seven years of Gregory's life, are as a rule short and not to be compared for interest or historical importance to those of Basil. Of dogmatic value are the two anti-Apollinarian epistles to the presbyter Cledonius (ci., cii.) and the last of those addressed to Gregory's successor at Constantinople, Nectarius (ccii.). The concluding letter, or rather treatise, "To the Monk Evagrius on Divinity," which is ascribed by the manuscript variously to Gregory Nazianzen, to the other Gregories, Thaumaturgus and of Nyssa, and to Basil, can scarcely belong to Gregory Nazianzen. The poems are good examples of the artificial poetry of the rhetorical school, but to a modern mind most of them have very little that is poetical. The autobiographical poems (book ii., section 1) comprise about a third of the whole. The drama known as "The Suffering Christ" has long been known to be not Gregory's, but a Byzantine production of the eleventh or twelfth century.

4. Theological Attitude.

Though Gregory Nazianzen is called "the Theologian" by the Greek writers, he has given no systematic exposition of the Christian faith; and an examination of the doctrinal positions taken by him in his orations would be profitable only if it were connected with an investigation, here impossible, of the question how far he displays the result of the process of giving an ecclesiastical form to the thoughts of Origen; though the Origenistic tradition has certainly not in him come down to the level of the popular catholicism of his day, as is clearly evidenced by his views on sin, the fall of man, Paradise, inequality on earth as a result of the fall, the doctrine of angels, and eschatology. His general doctrine of God is Platonic metaphysics rather than Christian teaching. It is noteworthy what a contrast there is between the way in which, against Eunomius, he maintains the unknowableness of God and the certainty with which he develops the details of the doctrine of the Trinity. In this latter field he is not, indeed, the founder of the school known as sub-Nicene, for before he took any prominent part in the discussion, during the reign of Julian, the transition from the *homoiusios* to the *homoousios* had taken place in the Meletian group at Antioch (see Meletius of Antioch); and the analogous development in many homoiousians of Asia Minor, at least in regard to the consubstantiality of the Son, was certainly in the main independent of Gregory's influence. Still, Gregory was the oldest of the theologically important representatives of that school, and its special teaching comes out clearly in him at a time when Basil was yet on friendly terms with Eustathius and when Gregory of Nyssa was a layman. This is true even of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit; although Gregory was all his life a little cautious about defining the consubstantiality, from a feeling that the consequences would lead beyond what was contained in Scripture, even though he never excluded the necessity of these consequences. To state his doctrine in its technical terms, it is based upon the distinction between the One Godhead, Substance, or Nature (*mia theotēs*, *ousia*, or *physis*) and the Three Persons (*treis hypostaseis* or *idiotētes*). The term *ousia* means more than the generic essence of several individuals; but none the less the *treis hypostaseis* are numerically three, and the One God is one because the *mia theotēs* is common to the three, because the Son and the Spirit have their origin in the Father outside of time, and because the will of the three is the same. The things which distinguish the three—"that the Father is unbegotten, that the Son is begotten, that the Holy Ghost is sent forth" (oration xxv.)—are not, therefore, differences of substance, but expressions of the mutual relation of the *hypostaseis*. That the reproach of tritheism might be brought against this teaching with more justice than that of Sabellianism against Athanasius is obvious. Gregory was fully conscious of the divergence between the older and later Nicene theology, but he considered it purely one of terminology.

5. Christological Attitude.

That Gregory should have been able to coin standard formulas in Christology also (the Council of Ephesus and that of Chalcedon cite his first epistle to Cledonius, and under Justinian he was one of the principal witnesses to the orthodox view on this question) was due to the process through which he passed in his last years. The casual expressions of his orations are the obscure utterances of a curtailed Origenistic tradition. His terminology did not become clear and precise until after he had taken his stand in opposition to Apollinarianism, and felt the need of rejecting the Antiochene tradition (opposed also by Apollinaris) of the existence of two subjects in the historic Christ. He is now clear on the point of the completeness of the human nature in Christ,

though he holds firmly that the historic Christ is nothing but the Logos-subject made man. His formulas, though even then they were perhaps not fully thought out, suited the needs of later orthodoxy; and in fact to some extent he anticipated the differentiation which took place in Christology also between the terms *physis* and *hypostasis*. The orthodoxy of Justinian's reign needed but to point to his assertion that the trinitarian formula was the converse of the Christological—that where in the former there were three hypostases and one nature, in the latter there were two natures and but one hypostasis.

In the matter of Christology, Gregory owes his reputation as "the Theologian" for the greater part to chance. His position is somewhat better merited in regard to theology in the narrower sense —though even here it can not be denied that he who complained at unnecessary length in his lifetime of misconception and ingratitude has since his death, and especially since the sixth century, been more richly indemnified than he really deserved. (F. Loofs.)

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Sources for a Life are his own *Carmina de se ipso* and *Carmina de vita sua;* a *Vita Gregorii* by Gregory the Presbyter, in *MPG*, xxxv. 243–304; and the church historians of the fifth century. The two later biographies which are essential are C. Ullmann, *Gregorius von Nazianz, der Theologe*, Darmstadt, 1825, Eng. transl., London, 1851, and A. Benoit, *S. Grégoire de Nazianze*, 2 vols., Paris, 1885. Consult, *ASB*, May, ii. 373–428; Tillemont, *Mémoires*, ix. 305–360, 692–731; W. Cave, *Lives of the Fathers*, iii. 1–90, Oxford, 1840; A. Grenier, *La Vie et les poésies de S. Grégoire de Nazianze*, Paris, 1858; J. H. Newman, *Church of the Fathers*, London, 1868; idem, *Historical Sketches*, vol. iii., chaps. iii.–iv., ib. 1873; H. Weiss, *Die grossen Kappadocier Basilius, Gregor von Nazianz . . . als Exegeten*, Leipsic, 1872; L. Montaut, *Revue critique de quelques questions historiques se rapportant à S. Grégoire . . . et à son siècle*, Paris, 1878; C. Cavaillier, *S. Grégoire de Nazianze, par l'abbé A. Benoit. Étude bibliographique*, Montpellier, 1886; F. W. Farrar, *Lives of the Fathers*, i. 491–582, New York, 1889; J. Dräseke, in *TSK*, lxv (1892), 473–512; J. R. Asmus, in *TSK*, lxvii (1894), 314–339; O. Bardenhewer, *Patrologie*, Freiburg, 1901; Ceillier, *Auteurs sacrés*, v. 172–363, cf. iv. passim; Neander, *Christian Church*, ii. 462–466 et passim; Schaff, *Christian Church*, iii. 908–921; Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chap. xvii.; *DCB*, ii. 741–761 (elaborate); *KL*, v. 1160–66.

From the standpoint of dogma, consult: J. Hergenröther, *Die Lehre von der göttlichen Dreieinigkeit nach dem heiligen Gregor von Nazianz*, Regensburg, 1850; H. Weiss, ut sup.; F. K. Hümmer, *Des heiligen Gregor . . . Lehre von der Gnade*, Kempten, 1890; Harnack, *Dogma*, vols. iii.–iv.

GREGORY OF NYSSA: Gregory of Nyssa, a leading Greek theologian of the fourth century and younger brother of Basil the Great (q.v.), died after 394. The date of his birth is unknown, as are the details of his early life, except that he attended pagan schools. That he seems for a while in his youth to have officiated as a lector makes it probable that he was baptized at an early age; but it does not necessarily follow that he was always destined for a clerical career. Later, perhaps between 360 and 365, he was apparently devoting himself to secular business to an extent that gave scandal to some. He certainly married; the Theosebia on whose death Gregory Nazianzen condoles with him (after 381) was evidently his wife, with whom he seems to have lived in continence after he became a bishop. The assertion frequently made that he gave up his calling as a rhetorician and retired to a contemplative life is possible but not demonstrable; nor are the circumstances known under which he became bishop of the small Cappadocian town of Nyssa, on the river Halys and the road from Cæsarea to Ancyra. This occurred, indeed, before Gregory Nazianzen became bishop of Sasima, and thus before Easter, 372; and he is said to have accepted the episcopal office under pressure. As a bishop, he was one of the Homoousians who had to undergo personal unpleasantness in that difficult time—probably because his orthodoxy gave the court party a handle against him which they used in order to get possession of his see for one of their own kind. When Demosthenes, the imperial vicar of the province of Pontus, came to Cappadocia in the winter of 375, an obscure person appeared before him with charges against Gregory of malversation of church property, coupled with doubts as to the validity of his appointment. Gregory was arrested and ordered to be brought before Demosthenes; but his sufferings on the way were so great that he decided to escape. He was condemned in absence by a synod of Pontic and Galatian bishops in the following spring, and was unable to return to Nyssa until after the death of Valens (Aug. 9, 378). In the autumn of 379 he was present at a synod in Antioch, and in 381 at the Council of Constantinople, where he preached at the enthronization of Gregory Nazianzen as bishop of that see, and also at the funeral of Meletius of Antioch. His prominence among the members of the council appears from the fact that the imperial edict of July 30, 381, names him among the bishops with whom others must be in communion if they wish to be left undisturbed in the administration of their churches. This position of importance entailed difficulties and struggles, and probably led to the journey to Arabia for the purpose of setting in order the ecclesiastical conditions there. He was most likely present at the conferences of 383 in Constantinople, and in the autumn of 385 or 386 preached at the funeral of the little princess Pulcheria and shortly after at that of the Empress Flacilla. He was present once more at the synodal discussion of an Arabian matter in Constantinople in 394; but no further facts of his life can be traced.

Life.

No final discussion of Gregory's works is possible until more critical labor has been expended upon them than they have yet received. References to the personal history of the author demonstrate the authenticity of a considerable number of them, including, besides several letters, the "Hexaemeron," the "Making of Man," the "Life of Moses," "Against Usurers," "Against Eunomius," "On the Soul and the Resurrection," "Eulogy of Basil," "Letter to Peter," and the "Life of the Holy Macrina." Ancient external testimony comes to the support of internal evidence in the cases of others, such as "On the Song of Songs," "On Prayer" (five homilies, the last four a careful exposition of the Lord's Prayer), "On the Beatitudes," the "Great Catechetical Oration," "Against Apollinaris," and the "Antirrhetic against Apollinares." But, on the other hand, the works either omitted or marked as doubtful by Migne are by no means all the spurious ones which have passed under Gregory's name.

Works.

Among his dogmatic works special attention is deserved by the "Great Cathechism," an apologetic-dogmatic treatise on the Trinity and the Incarnation with instructions on baptism and the Lord's Supper; the "Soul and the Resurrection"; the treatise against Eunomius, his most extensive work; and the "Antirrhetic," the most important of the extant anti-Apollinarian treatises. Of the exegetical writings, the "Hexaemeron" and the "Making of Man" are the most sober and valuable; in the ethically interesting "Life of Moses" and "On the Superscriptions of the Psalms" the allegorizing tendency runs riot. Among the sermons, those on the lives of Basil and Macrina are the most interesting.

The personality of the man Gregory is difficult to grasp; his works are too rhetorical and too little individual to give a clear conception of it. As far, however, as is determinable, he seems to have had a more harmonious, calm, and self-controlled character than his brother or Gregory Nazianzen, and to have been less forceful but more amiable than either of them. His theological position stands out more clearly than his personal character, though it, too, is lacking in distinction. He has few new thoughts, and the form which he gives to the old bears little mark of genius. But he was an accomplished theologian, who succeeded in reconciling to a certain extent the Origenistic traditions with the demands of a theology which had grown narrower and more realistic. He had sufficient acuteness to work among his formulas with technical correctness while satisfying the tendencies of a mystical nature by avoiding precise definition at the right time and rising above the terminology in which the dogmatic controversies of his age expressed themselves. His teaching on the Trinity is so similar to that of Basil and Gregory Nazianzen that in the case of three works it is safe to predicate the authorship of one of the three men, but impossible to determine which. For his doctrine of the Lord's Supper, see Lord's Supper, II. His Christology also is substantially the same as that reached by Gregory Nazianzen in his later life. A fuller investigation of his whole Christological doctrine would need to go deeply into the connection of his thought with those of Origen and Athanasius. It is worth mentioning that he held the Origenistic belief in the final restoration of all things, so that the patriarch Germanus of Constantinople in the eighth century imagined his "Soul and the Resurrection" to have been interpolated by the heretics, instead of containing, as it does, genuine Origenism; and here, as with Origen, the foundation of this doctrine is to be sought not in the "generic" conception of the humanity of Christ but in his idea of God. (F. Loofs.)

Personality and Teaching.

Bibliography: The earlier Latin editions of the *Opera* were Cologne, 1537, Basel, 1562 and 1571, Paris, 1573, all surpassed by that of Paris, 2 vols., 1603. The Greek text, with Lat. transl., appeared 2 vols., Paris, 1615, with appendix, 1618, 2d ed., ib. 1638, the 2d edition inferior, however, to the first in many respects (contents are given in Hauck-Herzog, *RE*, vii. 146–147). New material was discovered and included in the collection in A. Gallandi, *Bibliotheca veterum patrum*, vi. 515–716, Venice, 1770. *MPG*, xliv.–xlvi. included all that had then been discovered except what the editor rejected as of doubtful authenticity. An excellent edition, with critical apparatus, was begun by G. H. Forbes, but only two parts appeared, Burntisland, 1855–61. A selection of the works has been edited by F. Oehler, with Germ. transl., Halle, 1864, and in the *Bibliothek der Kirchenväter*, vols. i.–iv., Leipsic, 1858–59. An Eng. transl. of selected treatises and letters, with a sketch of the life, activities and characteristics, is in *NPNF*, 2d ser., vol. v., and the *Catechetical Oration*, ed. J. H. Srawley, appeared London, 1903.

Consult: J. Rupp, *Gregors des Bischofs von Nyssa Leben und Meinungen*, Leipsic, 1834; E. W. Möller, *Gregorii Nysseni doctrinam de hominis natura*, Halle, 1854; J. N. Stigler, *Die Psychologie des heiligen Gregor von Nyssa*, Regensburg, 1857; J. Huber, *Die Philosophie der Kirchenväter*, Munich, 1859; L. Kleinheidt, *Sancti Gregorii . . . doctrina de angelis exposita*, Freiburg, 1860; P. Bouedron, *Doctrines psychologiques de S. Grégoire*, Paris, 1861; F. Böhringer, *Die Kirche Christi und ihre Zeugen*, vol. viii., Stuttgart, 1876; S. P. Heyns, *Disputatio . . . de Gregorio Nysseno*, Leyden, 1885; F. W. Farrar, *Lives of the Fathers*, ii. 57–82, New York, 1889; A. Krampf, *Der Urzustand des Menschen nach der Lehre des . . . Gregor von Nyssa*, Würzburg, 1889; F. Hilt, *Des . . . Gregor von Nyssa Lehre vom Menschen*, Cologne, 1890; W. Meyer, *Die Gotteslehre des Gregor von Nyssa*, Leipsic, 1894; F. Diekamp, *Die Gotteslehre des . . . Gregor von Nyssa*, Münster, 1896; F. Preger, *Die Grundlagen der Ethik des Gregor von Nyssa*, Leipsic, 1897; W. Vollert, *Die Lehre Gregors von Nyssa vom Guten und Bösen*, ib. 1897; F. Loofs, *Eustathius*, Halle, 1898; Ceillier, *Auteurs sacrés*, vi. 119–258, cf. iv. passim and v. passim; *DCB*, ii. 761–768; Neander, *Christian Church*, vol. ii. passim, cf. Index; Schaff, *Christian Church*, iii. 903–908 et passim.

GREGORY THAUMATURGUS ("the Wonder-Worker"): Bishop of Neocæsarea in Pontus and an important ecclesiastical writer of the Eastern Church; d. about 270. His name was originally Theodore, and he came of a prominent heathen family in Neocæsarea, becoming acquainted with Christianity only after his father's death, when he was fourteen. With his brother Athenodorus, he studied law in the famous school at Berytus, but on a visit to Cæsarea he came under the spell of Origen, who had arrived there a short time before, and became his enthusiastic disciple, first in philosophy and then in theology. The oration in which he expresses his gratitude to his teacher is valuable as affording an insight into Origen's methods of teaching, and as the first attempt at a Christian autobiography. Returning to Neocæsarea with the in-

tention of pursuing the legal career for which he had been educated, Gregory was consecrated bishop of his native city about 240 by Bishop Phædimus of Amasia. According to tradition, there were then only seventeen Christians in the town, and Gregory is considered the founder of the Church there. Of the marvels which were believed to have accompanied his labors, there are three or, it may be said four, accounts. These are the "Life and Eulogy" by Gregory of Nyssa (*MPG*, xlvi.); Rufinus' account of the miracles (*Hist. eccl.*, vii. 25); and the Syrian "Narrative of the Glorious Deeds of the Blessed Gregory," preserved in a manuscript of the sixth century, besides the account contained in Basil, *De Spiritu sancto*, lxxiv. The differences seem to exclude the hypothesis of a common written source, as the similarities make for that of a common oral tradition. The personal and local knowledge of Gregory of Nyssa makes his version apparently the most trustworthy; but the legendary element is strong in all of them. Gregory governed his diocese for thirty years, took part in the first, and probably the second, council held against Paul of Antioch, and, according to Suidas, died in the reign of Aurelian, leaving, it is said, only as many pagans in Neocæsarea as he had found Christians.

A memorial of his work is found in his *Epistola canonica*, on the regulation of church life in Pontus after it had been troubled by the invasion of the Goths. Apparently, however, the demands of practical life left him little time for literary activity. His "Exposition of the Faith" was evidently written to meet practical needs. A "Metaphrase of Ecclesiastes" is attributed by some manuscripts to Gregory Nazianzen, the most famous Eastern bearer of the name; but Jerome (*De vir. ill.*, lxv.; *In Eccl.*, iv.) definitely ascribes it to Gregory Thaumaturgus. It is more difficult to decide the question of authorship in the case of two treatises ascribed to him in their Syriac translation, "To Theopompus on the Impassibility of God" and "To Philagrius on Consubstantiality." The former offers striking points of resemblance with the undoubted works of Methodius, both in general structure and in detail. The Greek original of the latter is found among the works of Gregory Nazianzen, and also of Gregory of Nyssa. The "To Tatian on the Soul," a philosophical discussion of the nature of the soul, found also in the Syriac, is ascribed to Gregory in a passage of Nicholas of Methone. The treatise commonly known as *Anathematismoi*, on the other hand, is certainly not his, whether it belongs to Vitalis or, as is more likely, is an anti-Apollinarian work of the latter half of the fifth century. Caspari has proved the *Kata meros pistis* to be a work of Apollinaris; and the complaint is made as early as 500 that such works were interpolated among the genuine writings of Gregory. Of the fragments found in the Greek, Syriac, and Armenian catenæ, some are genuine and some spurious. (N. Bonwetsch.)

Bibliography: Lists of literature are given in *ANF*, bibliography, pp. 65–66; Fabricius-Harles, *Bibliotheca Græca*, vii. 249 sqq., Hamburg, 1801; Krüger, *History*, pp. 226 sqq.; P. Batiffol, *Anciennes littératures chrétiennes*, pp. 180–181, Paris, 1897. Editions of the *Opera* were published in Latin, ed. F. Zinus, Venice, 1574, Rome, 1594; ed. G. Vossius, Mainz, 1604; in Greek, ed. F. Ducæus, Paris, 1622; and in *MPG*, x. Works were published separately, the *Epistola canonica*, in Routh, *Reliquiæ sacræ*, iii. 251–283, 5 vols., Oxford, 1846–48; the *Metaphrasis*, Greek and Latin, by A. Schott, Antwerp, 1613; the *Expositio fidei*, in Greek and English, in W. Cave, *Lives of the Primitive Fathers*, ii. 267, London, 1683, cf. C. P. Caspari, *Alte und neue Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols*, pp. 10 sqq., Christiania, 1879; F. Kattenbusch, *Das apostolische Symbol*, i. 338 sqq., Leipsic, 1894; A. and G. L. Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln*, pp. 253 sqq., Breslau, 1897; a Syriac transl. of one of his works is in A. S. Lewis, *Studia Sinaitica*, pp. 19 sqq., London, 1894; Eng. transl. of the works is in *ANF*, vi. 7–74.

Consult: V. Ryssel, *Gregor Thaumaturgus, sein Leben und seine Schriften*, Leipsic, 1880; idem, in *Theologische Zeitschrift aus der Schweiz*, 1894, pp. 228–254; F. W. Farrar, *Lives of the Fathers*, i. 326–330, New York, 1889; J. Dräseke, in *JPT*, vii (1881), 379 sqq., 724; E. Nestle, *Bengel als Gelehrter*, pp. 21 sqq., Tübingen, 1893; O. Bardenhewer, *Patrologie*, pp. 167 sqq., Freiburg, 1894; F. X. Funk, in *TQS*, 1898, pp. 81 sqq.; P. Kötschau, in *ZWT*, 1898, pp. 211 sqq.; Neander, *Christian Church*, i. 716–720; Schaff, *Christian Church*, ii. 796–800; Harnack, *Dogma*, ii.–iv. passim; *DCB*, ii. 730–737; Krüger, *History*, pp. 226 sqq.; *KL*, v. 1184–88.

GREGORY OF TOURS: Frankish bishop and historian; b. at Arverna, the present Clermont-Ferrand (250 m. s.s.e. of Paris), 538 or 539; d. at Tours Nov. 17, 593 or 594. He came of a noble Roman family, and originally bore the name Georgius Florentius, which he changed afterward out of veneration for his great-grandfather, Gregory, bishop of Langres. A dangerous illness in 563 induced him to make a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Martin at Tours, and his recovery fixed the religious tendency of his earlier years. On the death of Bishop Euphronius of Tours, in 573, he was chosen to fill the vacancy, and obliged by Sigibert I., at whose court he had been living, to accept. He devoted himself zealously to his episcopal duties, and also looked after the temporal welfare of the people of Tours. Tours had belonged to Charibert, on whose death (567) it came into Sigibert's possession, though it was incessantly contested by Chilperich, who, after Sigibert's murder in 576, ruled it until his own death in 584. Gregory took no active part in this conflict; but Chilperich and his partizans hated him, until his firm and wise behavior, when brought to trial on a false charge of having slandered Queen Fredegunde, made such an impression on the king that he maintained more friendly relations with him. These were continued by his successors, Guntchramnus and Childebert II., under whom he was frequently consulted on affairs of state. His literary activity began with a book (never completed) on the miracles of St. Martin in 575. Next came the history of Julian, a local saint. The *Liber in gloria martyrum* was written after 587; it, as well as the *In gloria confessorum*, celebrates by choice the deeds of Gallic saints. More important is the *Liber vitæ patrum*, which gives information concerning a number of Gallic leaders of the period following the fall of the empire and the foundation of the Germanic states. But his best-known work is his *Historia Francorum*, which he began not long after his consecration and continued down to 591, with some fragmentary additions in his later years. It be-

gins with a synopsis of the history of the world, and at the end of the first book comes down to the beginning of the Frankish conquest and the death of St. Martin. The treatment grows more extended as it comes down, the last seven years alone filling four books. From the fifth book on it has the character of contemporary memoirs. Without graces of style, it has accuracy of statement and an earnest endeavor to be impartial, though theological and moralizing tendencies are sometimes obtruded on the reader. Gregory wrote also a commentary on the Psalms, of which only a few fragments remain, and *De cursu stellarum*, which served the practical purpose of helping to fix the time for the night offices by the position of the stars. (A. Hauck.)

Bibliography: The *Historia Francorum* and other writings were first published at Paris, 1511–12, then at Basel, 1568; the *Opera* were edited by T. Ruinart, Paris, 1699; a new critical ed. by W. Arndt, with the *Miracula* by B. Krusch is in *MGH, Script. rer. Merov.*, i (1885), 450–878; the *Historia*, ed. H. Omont, appeared Paris, 1886, and by G. Collon, ib. 1893. Ruinart's ed. is also in *MPL*, lxxi. and in Bouquet, *Recueil*, vol. ii. Mention should also be made of the great edition by H. L. Bordier, 4 vols., Paris, 1857–64, containing the *Vitæ* by Odo and Jean Gilles, the latter of small value.

The *Vita* by Odo follows the preface in Ruinart's ed., ut sup., and is in *MPL*, lxxii. 115–126; cf. Ceillier, *Auteurs sacrés*, x. 809, xi. 365–409. Consult: J. W. Löbell, *Gregor von Tours und seine Zeit*, Leipsic, 1839; A. Thierry, *Récits des temps mérovingiens*, Paris, 1840; A. Dupuy, *Vie de S. Grégoire*, ib. 1854; A. Jacobs, *Géographie de Grégoire de Tours*, ib. 1858; L. B. Des Francs, *Études sur Grégoire de Tours*, ib. 1861; C. Chevalier, *Les Origines de l'église de Tours*, Tours, 1871; L. F. Jéhan, *Les Légendes vengées, ou S. Grégoire de Tours*, ib. 1871; Holder-Egger, in *NA*, i (1876), 268–276; A. Ebert, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur des Mittelalters*, i. 566–579, Leipsic, 1889; M. A. Bonnet, *Le Latin de Grégoire de Tours*, Paris, 1890; *Histoire littéraire de France*, iii. 372–397; Neander, *Christian Church*, consult the Index; Schaff, *Christian Church*, iii. 658–661; *DCB*, ii. 771–776.

GREGORY OF UTRECHT: An early Frankish missionary; b. 707 or 708; d. at Utrecht Aug. 25, 775 or 776. He was educated at the court school and in the monastery of Pfalzl (diocese of Treves), where in 722 he met Boniface, whose constant companion he became. Toward the end of his life he appears as a priest and head of the minster school of St. Martin's in Utrecht. After the death of Boniface, he was charged by Pope Stephen III. and King Pepin with the evangelization of the Frisians. His own work was mostly confined to central Frisia, with his headquarters either at Utrecht or at Wijk, though his influence extended much further through his scholars. He refused promotion to the episcopate, but in his later years had the assistance of the Anglo-Saxon Aluberht, who was consecrated bishop at his request by the archbishop of York in 767. (A. Hauck.)

Bibliography: The *Vita* by Liudger is in *ASB*, Aug., v. 241–264 (cf. June, i. 483–487), in *MPL*, xcix. 752–770, and, ed. Holder-Egger, in *MGH, Script.*, xv (1887), 63–79. Consult: A. Ebert, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur des Mittelalters*, ii. 106–108, Leipsic, 1889; G. F. Maclear, *Apostles of Mediæval Europe*, London, 1888; Rettberg, *KD*, ii. 531; Hauck, *KD*, ii. 344 sqq.; Moeller, *Christian Church*, ii. 65.

GREGORY, CASPAR RENÉ: Lutheran; b. at Philadelphia, Pa., Nov. 6, 1846. He was educated at the University of Pennsylvania (A.B., 1864), the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia (1865–67), Princeton Theological Seminary (1867–73), and the University of Leipsic (Ph. D., 1876). After the completion of his studies in Germany, he was appointed subeditor of the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, and held this position until 1884, being also pastor of the American Chapel at Leipsic in 1878–79. In 1884 he became privat-docent of theology in the University of Leipsic and was appointed associate professor three years later, being promoted full professor in 1889, after having declined an appointment as professor of New Testament Greek at Johns Hopkins University in 1885. He has written the *Prolegomena* (3 parts) to the eighth major edition of K. von Tischendorf's *Novum Testamentum Græce* (Leipsic, 1884–94); *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes* (2 vols., 1900–02); *Canon and Text of the N. T.* (New York, 1907); and *Das Freer Logion* (1908). He has also translated C. E. Luthardt's *Das johanneische Evangelium* under the title *St. John the Author of the Fourth Gospel* (Edinburgh, 1875) and the same scholar's commentary on the Gospel of John (3 vols., 1876–1878), in addition to assisting Charles Hodge in the preparation of his *Systematic Theology* (3 vols., New York, 1871–73).

GREGORY, DANIEL SEELYE: Presbyterian; b. at Carmel, N. Y., Aug. 21, 1832. He was educated at the College of New Jersey (A.B., 1857) and Princeton Theological Seminary (1860). He was instructor in rhetoric in the College of New Jersey (1858–60), and held pastorates at the South Church, Galena, Ill. (1860–63), Second Presbyterian Church, Troy, N. Y. (1863–66), Third Congregational Church, New Haven, Conn. (1866–69), and South Salem, N. Y. (1869–71). He was then professor of metaphysics, logic, and English literature in Wooster University, Wooster, O. (1871–78), and president of Lake Forest University, Ill., (1878–1886). He was managing editor of the *Standard Dictionary* from 1890 to 1894, and from 1895 to 1904 was editor of *The Homiletic Review*. Since 1904 he has been secretary of the American Bible League and managing editor of the *Bible Student and Teacher*. He has written *Christian Ethics* (Philadelphia, 1875); *Key to the Gospels* (New York, 1877); *Practical Logic* (Philadelphia, 1881); *Christ's Trumpet Call to the Ministry* (New York, 1896); *The Church in America and its Baptisms of Fire* (in collaboration with S. B. Halliday, 1896); and *The Crime of Christendom* (Philadelphia, 1900).

GREGORY, OLINTHUS GILBERT: English mathematician; b. at Yaxley (13 m. n. of Huntingdon), Huntingdonshire, Jan. 29, 1774; d. at Woolwich (7 m. e.s.e. of St. Paul's, London) Feb. 2, 1841. He received his training under Richard Weston, the Leicester botanist, and in 1796 settled in Cambridge, where he devoted himself chiefly to tutorial work. In 1802 he became mathematical master at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, and in 1807 professor of mathematics there, a position which he held till 1838. He was editor of the *Gentleman's Diary* 1802–19, and of the *Ladies' Diary* 1819–40. He published a number of

books on astronomy, mathematics, and mechanics, and three noteworthy works of religious interest, viz., *Letters to a Friend on the Evidences, Doctrines, and Duties of the Christian Religion* (2 vols., London, 1811; 9th ed. in *Bohn's Standard Library*, 1851); *Memoirs of . . . John Mason Good* (1828); and *A Brief Memoir of the Rev. Robert Hall* (prefixed to an edition of Hall's *Works*, 1832; printed separately, 1833).

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GRELLET, grel''lê', **STEPHEN** (**Étienne de Grellet du Mabillier**): Missionary of the Society of Friends; b. at Limoges (88 m. w. of Clermont), France, Nov. 2, 1773; d. at Burlington, N. J., Nov. 16, 1855. The son of a wealthy French nobleman, he attended the military college at Lyons and at seventeen entered the body-guard of Louis XVI. During the Revolution he and his brothers were captured and sentenced to be shot. He escaped to Demerara in 1793, came to New York in 1795, and joined the Society of Friends. He preached extensively in the United States and Canada, also in Haiti, and made four visits to Europe, preaching in England, France, Germany, Norway, Sweden, Russia, Greece, and Italy. He enlisted the friendship of Alexander I. of Russia and induced him to introduce into the Russian schools Biblical selections prepared by himself and his friend, W. Allen. He also preached before Pope Pius VII. and urged Protestantism upon him. In 1834, on his return from a three years' tour of Europe, he retired to Burlington. On his missionary journeys he scrupulously defrayed all his expenses, being enabled to do so through successful business ventures in New York City.

Bibliography: B. Seebohm, *Memoirs of Stephen Grellet*, Philadelphia, 1868.

GRENFELL, BERNARD PYNE: Church of England layman; b. at Birmingham Dec. 16, 1869. He was educated at Clifton College and Queen's College, Oxford, where he has been fellow since 1894, having already been Craven Fellow in 1893–1894. Since 1895 he has been excavator and joint editor to the Greco-Roman branch of the Egypt Exploration Fund (q.v.), and in this capacity has discovered papyri of the utmost importance, including the famous *Logia Jesu*. He has edited *Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (Oxford, 1896); *An Alexandrian Erotic Fragment and other Greek Papyri, chiefly Ptolemaic* (1896); *Uncanonical Gospel* (1907) and, in collaboration with A. S. Hunt, *New Classical Fragments and other Greek and Latin Papyri* (Oxford, 1897); *Sayings of Our Lord* (1897); *Menander's Georgos* (1897); *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (5 parts, London, 1898–1907); *Fayum Towns and their Papyri* (1900); *The Amherst Papyri* (2 parts, 1899–1900); *The Tebtunis Papyri* (2 parts, 1902–07); *Greek Papyri in the Cairo Museum* (Cairo, 1903); *New Sayings of Jesus and a Fragment of a Lost Gospel* (London, 1904); *The Hitch Papyri, i.* (1906).

GRESSMANN, grês'mān, **HUGO:** German Protestant; b. at Mölln (17 m. s. of Lübeck) Mar. 21, 1877. He was educated at the universities of Greifswald, Göttingen, Marburg, and Kiel (Ph.D., Göttingen, 1900), and since 1902 has been privat-docent for Old Testament exegesis and Syriac at the University of Kiel. He has written *Ueber die in Jesaia 56–66 vorausgesetzten zeitgeschichtlichen Verhältnisse* (Göttingen, 1899); *Studien zu Eusebs Theophanie* (Leipsic, 1903); *Ursprung der israelitischjüdischen Eschatologie* (Göttingen, 1905); and *Das Evangelium Markus* (1907; in collaboration with E. Klostermann).

GRESWELL, EDWARD: English chronologist and harmonist; b. at Denton (5 m. e.s.e. of Manchester), Lancashire, Aug. 3, 1797; d. at Oxford June 29, 1869. He was educated at Brasenose College and Corpus Christi College, Oxford (B.A., 1819; M.A., 1822; B.D., 1830), and was a fellow of Corpus Christi College 1823–69 and vice-president of the college 1840–69. He took part in the controversy precipitated by the appointment, in 1836, of Renn Dickson Hampden to the regius professorship of divinity at Oxford; but otherwise his life at Oxford was uneventful. Some of his works are of high value, the most important being: *Dissertations upon the Principles and Arrangement of a Harmony of the Gospels* (3 vols., Oxford, 1830; 2d ed., 4 vols. in 5, 1837); *Harmonica evangelica* (1830; 5th ed., 1855); *An Exposition of the Parables* (5 vols. in 6, 1834–35); *Prolegomena ad harmoniam evangelicam* (1840); *Fasti temporis catholici and origines kalendariæ* (4 vols., 1852), followed by two volumes of *Fables* (1852); *Origines Kalendariæ Italicæ* (4 vols., 1854); *Origines Kalendariæ Hellenicæ* (6 vols., 1862); and *The Three Witnesses, and the Threefold Cord* (London, 1862).

Bibliography: *DNB*, xxii. 156.

GRETER, grê'ter (**GRETTER, GRAETER**), **KASPAR:** German Lutheran; b. at Gundelsheim (30 m. s.s.w. of Heidelberg) c. 1501; d. at Stuttgart Apr. 21, 1557. In 1519–20 he studied at Heidelberg where he took his bachelor's degree in 1522, and then accepted the position of tutor in the house of Dietrich von Gemmingen. After the latter's death in 1526 he went to Brenz at Hall, and was recommended by him in 1527 to the town council of Heilbronn as a teacher. Here Johann Lachmann (q.v.) entrusted to him the spiritual instruction of the children, and Greter accordingly prepared in 1528 his *Catechesis oder underricht der Kinder* (enlarged ed., 1530). Against the conservative and libertinist party in Heilbronn he wrote *Das der Christlich Glaub der einich gerecht und wahrhaftig sey* (Nuremberg, 1530). He also published *Drei schoen Psalmen* (Ettlingen, 1531), and translated into Latin the work of Brenz on matrimonial questions, under the title *Tractatus casuum matrimonialium* (Ettlingen, 1536).

On Dec. 8, 1531, Greter was commissioned to treat with the Carmelites on the question of accepting the Reformation, but, feeling the need of more knowledge, he went in Oct., 1533, to Heidelberg, where he took his master's degree on Feb. 10, 1534. He intended at this time to study law, but the Reformation in Württemberg (1534) gave his life a new turn. In the fall he was called to the Herrenberg parish, where, in 1536, he prepared a catechism which attempted to reconcile those of Luther and Brenz. Together with other prominent theo-

logians, he was summoned to Urach (Sept. 10, 1537), to discuss the abolition of images, in regard to which he took a moderate line. Soon after he was called to Cannstadt and had a voice in the matrimonial court and in the theological examinations in Stuttgart, where he was made court preacher in 1540. A sermon which he delivered in the spring of 1542 so exasperated Duke Ulrich that Greter had to flee. He went to his former pupil, Philip von Gemmingen, and took up his abode in Neckarmühlbach. The town of Wimpfen called him as pastor, and at the same time, he was recommended to the Margrave George of Brandenburg for the vacancy at the collegiate church of Ansbach. Meanwhile, however, he was recalled by Ulrich. He now enjoyed the fullest confidence of the duke, who sought his advice in all important questions pertaining to the Church of Württemberg. It was due to his quick influence that the period of the Interim in Württemberg did little harm, and that the duke took care of the victims of the imperial policy, such as Alber and Brenz. Greter rendered further assistance to the latter by publishing in 1548 the *Explicatio psalmorum xciv. et cxxx.*, which Brenz had written in the fortress of Wittlingen, under the name of Gamaliel Gratius, and in 1552 the *Catechismus pia et utili explicatione illustratus*, composed by Brenz for the private use of his friends.

After the death of Ulrich (Nov. 6, 1550) Greter had the full confidence of the next duke, Christopher, with whom he lived at Tübingen from 1551 to 1553, and whom he no doubt advised to appoint Brenz to the highest ecclesiastical office in his gift. He warmly defended Brenz in the answer of the Swabians to the Thuringians for his position in the Osiandrian controversy. G. Bossert.

Bibliography: L. M. Fischlin, *Memoria theologorum Wirtembergensium*, i. 3 sqq., 40 sqq., 261 sqq., 313 sqq., Ulm, 1709; C. F. Schnurrer, *Erläuterungen der wirtembergischen Kirchen-Reformations und Gelehrten-Geschichte*, pp. 183 sqq., Tübingen, 1798; C. Jäger, *Mittheilungen der schwäbischen und fränkischen Reformationsgeschichte*, pp. 80 sqq., 256, Stuttgart, 1828; J. Brenz, *Anecdota Brentiana*, pp. 306, 309, 363, 434 sqq., Tübingen, 1868; *ADB*, ix. 599; *Beschreibung des Oberamts Heilbronn*, 2 vols., Stuttgart, 1901–1903; *Monumenta Germaniae paedagogica*, vol. xxi., Berlin, 1900; J. M. Reu, *Quellen zur Geschichte des kirchlichen Unterrichts*, Gütersloh, 1904.

GRETSCHER, grêt'sher **(GRETSERUS), JACOB:** Jesuit controversialist; b. at Markdorf (11 m. e.n.e. of Constance) 1562; d. at Ingolstadt Jan. 29, 1625. He joined the Society of Jesus in 1578, and became professor in the University of Ingolstadt. Here he polemized indefatigably in all departments of theology and history against Protestantism. In his most important work, *De sancta cruce*, he treats of the cross in its historical and liturgical aspects. On account of his polemic zeal he was highly esteemed by Roman Catholic princes and ecclesiastical dignitaries. Constant fighting made his manner of speaking decidedly unpolished. His collected works (229 separate volumes in print) appeared in 17 vols., Regensburg, 1734–39; the first volume contains a biography. See Flagellation, Flagellants, II., § 6. Paul Tschackert.

Bibliography: *Bibliothèque des écrivains de la compagnie de Jésus*, ed. C. Sommervogel, vol. i., Brussels, 1890; *KL*, v. 1199–1200.

GREVING grê'ving, **KARL MARIA NIKOLAS JOSEF:** German Roman Catholic; b. at Aachen (40 m. w. of Cologne) Dec. 24, 1858. He was educated at the universities of Bonn and Munich (D.D., 1893), and at the theological seminary at Cologne (1893–1894). He was then chaplain successively at Essen (1894–96) and Cologne (1896–99), and since 1899 has been privat-docent for church history at the University of Bonn. He has written *Pauls von Bernried Vita Gregorii VII. Papæ* (Münster, 1893).

GRIBALDI, MATTEO: Italian anti-Trinitarian of the sixteenth century; d. at Farges, not far from Geneva, Sept., 1564. He studied law at Padua, and when visiting Geneva gave offense by anti-Trinitarian utterances made in a meeting of the Italian community. He was persecuted in Padua, and began a restless, vagrant life. In 1555 he was in Zurich, in Tübingen (where he was appointed teacher at the recommendation of Vergerio), then at Farges, whence he was sent to Bern. A partially satisfactory confession of faith assured him permission to reside on his estate at Farges, in spite of the objections of the Geneva theologians to his orthodoxy. K. Benrath.

Bibliography: J. M. Trechsel, *Die protestantischen Antitrinitarier*, ii. 277 sqq., Heidelberg, 1844; Fazy, in *Mémoires de l'institut Genevois*, vol. xiv., 1878–79; J. H. Allen, *Hist. of the Unitarians*, p. 61, New York, 1894.

GRIESBACH, grîs'bāh, **JOHANN JAKOB:** German New Testament scholar; b. at Butzbach (11 m. s. of Giessen) Jan. 4, 1745; d. at Jena Mar. 24, 1812. He was educated at Tübingen, Halle, and Leipsic, and after a tour through Germany and Holland to London, Oxford, Cambridge, and Paris, he entered the theological faculty of Halle as privat-docent in 1771. Two years later he was appointed professor, but in 1775 was called to Jena, where he taught until his death. He was a deputy to the diet, and took a keen interest both in political and in academic affairs. As a textual critic Griesbach marks a new epoch in this department of study. He commenced his investigations by collecting and sifting variant readings, devoting special attention to the citations of the Greek Church Fathers and to various versions which had hitherto been little studied, such as the Philoxenian, the Armenian, and the Gothic. He then investigated the history of the text in antiquity, and on the basis of this history he constructed his theory of criticism which was intended to determine the choice and value of each individual reading, and which rested essentially on a combination of historic fact and logical principle. He was the first to print the text of the New Testament as modified by the results of his criticism. Before him there had been but two forms of the text, both products of the sixteenth century, the so-called *Textus receptus* of Stephens and Elzevir, which represented unimpeachable orthodoxy in the eyes of the Lutherans, and that of the Complutensian Polyglot (see Bibles, Polyglot, I.) and Plantin, which had been adopted by the Roman Catholics and, in part, by the Reformed. Griesbach's editions of the New Testament, which aroused conservative opposition, appeared in the following order: *Libri Novi Testamenti historici* (2

parts, Halle, 1774; the first three Gospels synoptically arranged); *Epistolæ omnes et Apocalypsis* (1775; containing also a second, non-synoptic, edition of the historical books). The synoptic edition has been frequently reprinted. The chief edition of the entire work is that published at Halle in two volumes in 1796–1806 with a complete critical apparatus and important prolegomena. The text in all editions, however, is not identical. See Bible Text, II., 2, § 4.

The other critical works of Griesbach are as follows: *De codicibus quatuor Evangelistarum Origenianis* (Halle, 1771); *Curæ in historiam textus Epistolarum Paulinarum* (Jena, 1777); *Symbolæ criticæ ad supplendas et corrigendas varias Novi Testamenti lectiones* (2 parts, Halle, 1785–93); and *Commentarius criticus in textum Græcum Novi Testamenti* (2 parts, Jena, 1793–1811; also containing his *Meletemata de vetustis Novi Testamenti recensionibus*). His other writings are of minor importance, being chiefly academic addresses collected by J. P. Gabler under the title *Opuscula academica* (2 vols., Jena, 1824–25). As a theologian, Griesbach assumed an intermediate position, conservative at heart, yet gradually yielding to the spirit of the times. Here his most important work was his *Anleitung zum Studium der populären Dogmatik* (Jena, 1779), while his *Vorlesungen über Hermeneutik des Neuen Testaments*, edited after his death by J. C. S. Steiner (Nuremberg, 1815), is a product of the grammatico-historical school which was in vogue during its author's lifetime.

(E. Reuss†.)

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GRIFFIN, EDWARD DORR: American Presbyterian, president of Williams College; b. at East Haddon, Conn., Jan. 6, 1770; d. at Newark, N. J., Nov. 8, 1837. He was graduated at Yale in 1790, studied theology under Jonathan Edwards, and began to preach at New Salem, Conn., in Jan., 1793. In 1795 he became pastor of the Congregational Church at New Hartford, in 1801 associate pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Newark, and pastor in 1807. He was professor of rhetoric at Andover Theological Seminary from 1809 to 1811. In 1811 he became pastor of the Park Street Church, Boston, but returned to his former pastorate in Newark in 1815. In 1821 he was elected president of Williams College. On resigning this office in 1836 he returned to Newark. He achieved success and distinction as preacher, educator, and author. His principal works are: *Lectures Delivered in the Park Street Church* (Boston, 1813); *The Extent of the Atonement* (New York, 1819); and *The Doctrine of Divine Efficiency Defended* (1833).

Bibliography: W. B. Sprague prefixed a *Memoir* to the *Sermons*, 2 vols., Albany, 1838, cf. idem, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, iv. 26–43, New York, 1858; R. E. Thompson, in *American Church History Series*, vol. vi. passim, New York, 1895.

GRIFFIS, WILLIAM ELLIOT: Congregationalist; b. at Philadelphia, Pa., Sept. 17, 1843. He was educated at Rutgers College (A.B., 1869), after serving in the Civil War with the Forty-Fourth Pennsylvania Volunteers during Lee's invasion of his native State. In 1870 he went to Japan for the purpose of organizing schools, and was successively superintendent of education in the province of Echizen (1871) and professor of physics in the Imperial University of Tokyo (1872–74). Returning to the United States in 1874, he was graduated from Union Theological Seminary (1877), and served as pastor of the First Reformed Church, Schenectady, N. Y. (1877–86), Shawmut Congregational Church, Boston (1886–93), and the First Congregational Church, Ithaca, N. Y. (1893–1903), but in 1903 he resigned from the active ministry to devote himself to authorship and lecturing. He was a member of the committee of the Boston Congregational Club to erect a Pilgrim memorial at Delfshaven, Holland, and has traveled extensively in that country. In theology he is liberal, and distinctly subordinates doctrine to personal belief in Christ. He has written *The Mikado's Empire* (New York, 1876); *Japanese Fairy World* (Schenectady, N. Y., 1880); *Asiatic History; China, Corea, and Japan* (New York, 1881); *Corea, the Hermit Nation* (1882); *Corea, Without and Within* (Philadelphia, 1885); *Matthew Calbraith Perry* (Boston, 1887); *The Lily among Thorns* (1889); *Honda the Samurai* (1890); *Sir William Johnson and the Six Nations* (New York, 1891); *Japan in History, Folk-Lore, and Art* (Boston, 1892); *Brave Little Holland and What she Taught us* (1894); *The Religions of Japan* (1895); *Townsend Harris, First American Envoy in Japan* (1895); *Romance of Discovery* (1897); *Romance of American Colonization* (1898); *The Pilgrims in their Three Homes* (1898); *The Student's Motley* (New York, 1898); *The Romance of Conquest* (Boston, 1899); *The American in Holland* (1899); *America in the East* (New York, 1899); *Verbeck of Japan* (Chicago, 1900); *The Pathfinders of the Revolution* (Boston, 1900); *In the Mikado's Service* (1901); *A Maker of the New Orient* (Chicago, 1902); *Young People's History of Holland* (Boston, 1903); *Sunny Memories of Three Pastorates* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1903); *Dux Christus: An Outline Study of Japan* (New York, 1904); *Japan in History, Folk-lore and Art* (1906); *Japanese Nation in Evolution* (1907); and *The Fire-fly's Lovers and Other Fairy Tales of Old Japan* (1908).

GRILL, JULIUS VON: German Protestant; b. at Gaildorf (32 m. n.e. of Stuttgart) July 10, 1840. He was educated at the universities of Tübingen (1858–62; Ph.D., 1873) and Heidelberg (1865–66), and visited London, Oxford, and Paris for purposes of study (1865–66). He was lecturer at the theological seminary at Tübingen (1867–70), deacon in Calw (1870–76), and a deputy member of the Halle conference for the revision of Luther's translation of the Old Testament (1871). In 1876 he was appointed professor at the seminary of Maulbronn, and four years later was made ephor of the same institution. Since 1888 he has been professor of Old Testament exegesis at Tübingen.

He has written *Der achtundsechzigste Psalm erklärt* (Tübingen, 1883); *Untersuchungen über die Entstehung des vierten Evangeliums, i.* (1902); *Die persische Mysterienreligion im römischen Reich und das Christentum* (1903); and *Das Primat des Petrus* (1904); and has edited the Sanskrit drama of Narayana Bhaṭṭa entitled *Veṇīsamhāra* (Leipsic, 1871) and translated *Hundert Lieder des Atharva-Veda* (Stuttgart, 1889).

GRIMM, JOSEPH: German Roman Catholic; b. at Freising (20 m. n.e. of Munich) Jan. 23, 1827; d. at Würzburg Jan. 1, 1896. He studied at the University of Munich, became a teacher in 1852, and a chaplain two years later. In 1856 he was appointed professor of Old and New Testament exegesis in the royal lyceum at Regensburg, but in 1879 was called to Würzburg as professor of New Testament exegesis. He was the author of *Die Samariter und ihre Stellung in der Weltgeschichte* (Regensburg, 1854); *Die Einheit des Lukasevangeliums* (1863); *Die Einheit der vier Evangelien* (1868); *Das Leben Jesu nach den vier Evangelien* (5 vols., 1876–85); and *Das alte Israel und die bildenden Künste* (1889).

Bibliography: H. Schell and A. Ehrhard, *Gedenk-Blätter zu Ehren des Dr. Joseph Grimm*, Würzburg, 1897.

GRIMM, KARL LUDWIG WILIBALD: Professor of theology at Jena; b. at Jena Nov. 1, 1807; d. there Feb. 22, 1891. He studied from 1827 to 1831 at Jena, where he became privat-docent in 1833. He was appointed extraordinary professor in 1837, and honorary professor in 1844. Most of his life was spent at Jena, where he labored (church councilor from 1871, privy church councilor 1885) until, in 1888, at the age of eighty-one, he lost his eyesight. His was the quiet life of a scholar, reverenced by his many pupils as *præceptor Thuringiæ*.

Grimm's field of labor was the New Testament, although he also treated in his lectures theological encyclopedia (cf. *ZWT*, xxv., 1882, pp. 1–24), symbolics, and dogmatics—the latter on the basis of his *Institutio theologiæ dogmaticæ* (Jena, 1848; 2d ed., 1869), which was composed in excellent Latin. Grimm broke his work up into various essays, which he published in periodicals, treating, in part, historical and critical questions of isagogics, in part, again, in an exegetical way, detached Biblical passages. His two principal works are the *Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apokryphen des Alten Testaments*, in collaboration with O. F. Fritzsche, for which he prepared the Books of the Maccabees (Leipsic, 1853–57) and Wisdom (1860; cf. *ZWT*, xvii., 1874, pp. 231–238; xix., 1876, pp. 121–132; xxiv., 1881, pp. 38–56); and his *Lexicon græco-latinum in libros Novi Testamenti* (Leipsic, 1867, 1878, 1888), which he prepared on the basis of Wilke's *Clavis Novi Testamenti philologica* (Eng. transl., with valuable additions, by J. H. Thayer, New York, 1886, 1889). What the older philological labor had achieved for the New Testament is here coordinated; and although the progress of modern times calls for a New Testament lexicon upon totally new foundations, Grimm's work will always retain an honorable place in the history of sacred philology (cf. Grimm's *Kritisch-historische Uebersicht der neutestamentlichen Verballexica seit der Reformation*, in *TSK*, 1875, pp. 479–515, and 1877, pp. 512–513; also his review of *Wahl's Clavis*, *TSK*, 1858, pp. 368 sqq., and of Cremer's *Biblisch-theologisches Wörterbuch*, *TSK*, 1884, pp. 581–589). Grimm also took part in the revision of Luther's translation of the Bible (cf. his *Lutherbibel und ihre Textesrevision*, Berlin, 1874; *Kurzgefasste Geschichte der Lutherischen Bibelübersetzung*, Jena, 1884; *ZWT*, xv., 1872, pp. 521–528; *TSK*, 1883, pp. 375–400). His theological standpoint was one of circumspect supernaturalism, while all his works were characterized by great painstaking, breadth of scholarship, and rare philological acumen. E. von Dobschütz.

Bibliography: *Protestantische Kirchenzeitung*, 1883, nos. 19–20, 1891, nos. 9–10; H. J. Holtzmann, *Einleitung in das N. T.*, passim, Freiburg, 1892.

GRIMME, HUBERT: Swiss lay Orientalist; b. at Paderborn (75 m. n.e. of Elberfeld), Germany, Jan. 24, 1864. He was educated at the University of Berlin (Ph. D., 1887), and, after teaching at the real-school of Lippstadt in 1888–89, accepted a call to the newly founded University of Freiburg as privat-docent. Since 1892 he has been full professor of Semitic languages and literatures in the same institution. He has written *Mohammed* (2 vols., Münster, 1892–95); *Grundzüge der hebräischen Akzent- und Vokallehre* (Freiburg, 1896); *Psalmenprobleme* (1902); *Die weltgeschichtliche Bedeutung Arabiens* (Munich, 1904); and *Das israelitische Pfingstfest und der Plejadenkult*, Paderborn, 1907.

GRINDAL, EDMUND: Archbishop of Canterbury; b. near St. Bees (26 m. s.w. of Carlisle), Cumberland, c. 1519; d. at Croydon (10 m. s. of London Bridge) July 6, 1583. He was educated at Magdalen College, Christ's College, and Pembroke Hall, Cambridge (B.A., 1538; M.A., 1541, D.D., 1564), where he was made a fellow in 1538, proctor of the university in 1548, and Lady Margaret's preacher in 1549. He was selected to argue on the Protestant side in one of the disputations held at Cambridge in 1549 and was afterward employed in such disputations elsewhere. In 1850 he became chaplain to Nicholas Ridley, bishop of London, in 1551 precentor of St. Paul's and chaplain to Edward VI., and in 1552 prebendary of Westminster. On the accession of Queen Mary he abandoned his preferments and took refuge in Germany, spending his exile at Strasburg, Wasselheim, Speyer, and Frankfort. He returned to London in Jan., 1559, took part in revising the liturgy, and also in the disputation held at Westminster to silence the Roman divines. In July, 1559, he was elected master of Pembroke Hall, and in the same month bishop of London. His sympathy for the Puritans unfitted him for the government of the diocese of London, the main stronghold of Puritanism, and in 1570, through the influence of Archbishop Parker, he was translated to the see of York. Early in 1576, when Queen Elizabeth was temporarily leaning toward Puritanism, Grindal succeeded Parker as archbishop of Canterbury; but immediately after his elevation Elizabeth, who

had now begun to court the favor of the Roman Catholic powers, found him in her way and sought to get rid of him. For refusing to put down "prophesyings," meetings of the clergy to discuss the Scriptures, he was sequestered for six months in June, 1577, by order of the Star Chamber. His sequestration was subsequently prolonged to several years, and he was not fully restored to his office till 1582. His writings will be found in *The Remains of Edmund Grindal* (ed. for the Parker Society by W. Nicholson, Cambridge, 1843).

Bibliography: J. Strype, *Life and Acts of . . . Edmund Grindal*, 2 parts, London, 1710; idem, *Annals of the Reformation*, 4 vols., Oxford, 1824; W. Nicholson's Preface to the *Remains*, ut sup.; C. H. Cooper, *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, i. 470–480, London, 1858; W. F. Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, new ser., vol. v., 12 vols., ib. 1860–76; W. Clark, *The Anglican Reformation*, pp. 315–324 et passim, New York, 1897; J. H. Overton, *The Church in England*, i. 448–472, London, 1897; W. H. Frere, *The English Church . . . 1558–1625*, passim, ib. 1904 (very full); *DNB*, xxii. 261–264.

GRISWOLD, SHELDON MUNSON: Protestant Episcopal missionary bishop of Salina, Kan.; b. at Delhi, N. Y., Jan. 8, 1861. He was educated at Union College (A.B., 1882) and at the General Theological Seminary, from which he was graduated in 1885. He was then rector at Union, N. Y. (1885–88), Emmanuel, Little Falls, N. Y. (1888–90), and Christ Church, Hudson, N. Y. (1890–1903), being also archdeacon of Albany (1898–1902). In 1903 he was consecrated missionary bishop of Salina.

GROEN, grōn, VAN PRINSTERER, GUILLAUME: Conservative Dutch statesman and religious leader; b. at Voorburg, an eastern suburb of The Hague, Aug. 21, 1801; d. at The Hague May 19, 1876. He studied classical philology and law at the University of Leyden, where he belonged to the circle which gathered around the poet Bilderdijk, from whom he received an impulse that led him to break with liberalism; but while Bilderdijk was a pronounced reactionary, Groen became the father and leader of the "antirevolutionary" party. In 1827 the king appointed him referendary of the cabinet; in 1829 he became secretary. In 1828 he went to Brussels, where he learned to know the Revolution, and also, through the "awakening" under the influence of Merle d'Aubigné, of the Gospel. His watch-word now became, "against revolution, the Gospel!" A severe illness forced Groen to resign his position as secretary, but in 1833 he became director of the royal archives, devoting himself principally to historical studies and the edition of the *Archives ou correspondance inédite de la maison d'Orange-Nassau* (14 vols., Leyden, 1855–62). In 1840 he was elected member of the "Double Chamber," which had been convened for the purpose of revising the constitution. With power and ability he defended and recommended his antirevolutionary principles. During the following eight years he kept aloof from practical politics, delivering before a select audience a famous course of historical lectures, which he published under the title *Ongeloof en revolutie* ("Unbelief and Revolution," Leyden, 1847)—a powerful testimony against both evils and for Groen himself a confession of faith.

The period of his most vigorous activity now began. In 1849 the district of Harderwijk sent him to the Second Chamber, of which he was a member until 1857. When he entered, he stood alone in his views, yet he did not hesitate to take up a vigorous campaign against Thorbecke, the leader of the liberal party. In spite of his strenuous activity, he found time from 1850 to 1855 to edit a daily paper, *De Nederlander*, for the propagation of his religious and political principles and supported it entirely from his own means. But everywhere he met either open or underhand resistance. He opposed with great zeal a bill advocating the emancipation of the school from the Church, and when it was passed in spite of his protests, he resigned his position as member of the Second Chamber. Later he entered it again for a short time, but in 1865 he turned his back on parliamentary life forever. His influence was still potent, however. He gave the impulse to the organization of the "Association for Christian-National Instruction in Schools" (1861) and took an active part in its leadership. He worked for his conservative principles until his death, firmly believing that his ideas would in the end prevail among the people, in spite of the continual triumph of the parties opposed to him.

Groen was a faithful Christian, a Calvinist, and a Netherlander who knew and understood the history of his people. These circumstances explain his principles and actions. Faith and subjection to God were to him the highest ideals. Without them, he held, there is no salvation for a people. God's sovereignty must be acknowledged in the political sphere as well. Reason is corrupted by sin. Whoever enthrones the principle of reason is "revolutionary." The "revolutionary" principle in Church and State, school and science, must be opposed by the Gospel. He stood upon the ground of Christian history, and in church matters advocated the confessional tendency, being a decided opponent of the liberty of doctrine as it was advocated by the School of Groningen (q.v.). The influence of Groen's ideas is perceptible in the political and ecclesiastical tendencies in the Netherlands of the present, but owing to the fact that he did not succeed in uniting his thoughts in a compact system, there is no harmony among the different parties. His most important works not already mentioned are: *Handboek der Geschiedenis van het Vaderland* (Amsterdam, 1852), *Maurice et Barneveld, étude historique* (1875), and a number of pamphlets on canon law. Beside his daily paper *De Nederlander*, he published also a political journal entitled *Nederlandsche Gedachten*. (S. D. van Veen.)

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GRONINGEN, gron'ing-en, SCHOOL: A school of Dutch theologians and scholars, deriving its name from the university town of Groningen, where its founders and principal representatives lived and

worked, though it originated at the sister university of Utrecht, under the influence of Philip Willem van Heusde, a Platonist, who was professor there of history and Greek from 1804 to his death, in 1839, and exerted much influence. He studied Christianity, according to his own statement, by reading the Bible and "then only Plato." Christianity was to him a doctrine of love, "which by its very nature is, by the fear of God, to reconcile men with men as children of the same Father." A number of disciples gathered around Van Heusde, who all aimed at reaching a deeper and independent knowledge of Christianity and the truth by the study of the Gospel. At Groningen there existed a similar circle of students who were not satisfied with the orthodox doctrine of the Reformed Church of Holland. The leading spirit of this circle was Petrus Hofstede de Groot (q.v.). They pursued before everything else the study of the New Testament, but were also greatly influenced by German theologians like Usteri, Twesten, and Ullmann. They too began to study Plato and soon became acquainted with Van Heusde. From Benjamin Constant's *De la religion* (6 vols., Paris, 1824–32) they adopted the idea—to them wholly new —"that religion has its source in a special religious feeling which is innate, natural." The two circles of students came into closer contact when certain of them were called from Utrecht to Groningen as professors (J. F. van Oordt in 1829; L. G. Pareau, 1831; W. Muurling, 1840). Hofstede de Groot became professor in 1829; and his friends, C. H. van Herwerden and M. A. Amshoff, gained wider influence as pastors in Groningen. They met together once a week to read the New Testament, and it became evident to them that the older Reformed theologians had understood the Gospel better than they. In 1835 a theological society came into existence, which met once every month. This society, called *Waarheid in Liefde* ("Truth in Love"), in 1837 began to publish a magazine which bore the same name and spread the fruit of the studies of its members in larger circles. The "Groningen School" then began to be talked about, and while violent opponents arose, its influence among the churches spread farther and farther.

Origin.

The great merit of the Groningen School consisted in the fact that its system centered in the personality, work, and example of Christ. In this way it set a check to the intellectualistic orthodoxy which overemphasized the teachings of Christ. According to the school, Christ is subordinated to God. He is not God and man at the same time. He has in his heavenly as well as in his earthly life only one nature, namely the divine or spiritual nature, which is possessed by both God and man. God has given his revelation in Jesus Christ in order that mankind may become more and more similar to himself. In regard to its form, the revelation of God in Christ was new and peculiar, and accordingly was confirmed by miracles; but in regard to its content, it was the development and perfection of what God granted from the beginning. It must be conceived and explained as a historical phenomenon that was prepared by everything which God did before the birth of Christ, especially among the Greeks and Romans, and, in an extraordinary degree, in Israel; it was realized by the sending of Jesus, by his activity among men, and the end to which he was destined; it is continued by his rule of the faithful, whose head he is, next to God. The entire theology of the Groningen School was naturally closely connected with these Christological views, and it is self-evident that the School had decisively to oppose Reformed dogmatics and to depart from the confessional standards. The dogma of the Trinity was rejected. The doctrine of predestination was restricted to the acceptance of election, while reprobation was rejected and its sense was changed. Christ did not die in order to satisfy God's justice which demands punishment; the death of Christ is a revelation of God's love which impels and guides man to crucify his sensual life and rise to the spiritual life. The Groningen School denied the infallibility of the Bible, and attributed higher authority to the New Testament than to the Old. It declared itself decisively against restrictions on liberty of doctrine, and against the obligation of the teachers of the Church to agree with the confessional standards.

Distinctive Doctrines.

In 1835 the General Synod of the Reformed Church of Holland approved of liberty of doctrine in the sense of the representatives of the Groningen School. In 1842 a new dispute arose concerning its theology, but the synod adopted no measures against the school. Although the opposition to the new tendency did not cease, for a time it seemed as if the influence of the Groningen School would continue dominant. Its adherents filled various chairs in universities, and thus many future theologians were won for its views. Among its preachers it counted many adherents who distinguished themselves by scholarship and ability to popularize their ideas—A. Rutgers van der Loeff of Zutphen and Leyden, L. S. P. Meyboom of Amsterdam and Groningen, A. T. Reitsma of Groningen, J. Donwes of Leens, and others. The periodical *Waarheid in Liefde* lasted many years. In 1867 a second periodical, *Geloof en Vrijheid* ("Faith and Freedom") was started and is still in existence. The adherents of the school distinguished themselves also by their practical labors for home and foreign missions, circulation of the Bible, schools for children, etc. For a long time they constituted the majority of synods. But conditions have changed. In the judgment of many, the Groningen School did not go far enough; it was not sufficiently negative for the more modern tendencies; and, on the other hand, it did not satisfy others because it was not positive enough. The older Reformed principles, which give Christian life a firmer basis, revived. The founders of the school are dead, and their successors in professorial chairs represent other views. Of the nineteen members of the synod, only one or two can now be classed with the Groningen School.

Growth and Decline.

(S. D. van Veen.)

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Vijftig jaar in de Theologie, ib. 1872; G. J. Vos Azn, *Groen van Prinsterer en zijn tijd*, i. 67–85, passim, Dort, 1886; J. H. Gunning, *Het protestantsche Nederland onzer dagen*, pp. 25–30, Groningen, 1889. The teachings of the school were embodied in *Series compendiorum theologicorum in usum scholarum academicarum*, 7 vols., 1835–61, embracing treatises on theological encyclopedia, hermeneutics, church history, Christian ethics, practical theology and dogmatics, and apologetics.

GROOTE (Groot, Groet, Groete, de Groete), GEERT (Gerrit, Gerhard): Founder of the Brethren of the Common Life (see COMMON LIFE, BRETHREN OF THE); b. at Deventer (8 m. n. of Zutphen), Holland, Oct., 1340; d. there Aug. 20, 1384. He was educated at the cathedral school of his native place, after which he studied theology, philosophy, medicine, canon law, astronomy, magic, and Hebrew at the University of Paris. He

Life.

then went to Cologne, and even to Prague (1360), and visited the papal court of Urban V. at Avignon in 1366. Two canonries and his private fortune enabled him to lead a gay and luxurious life, but while seriously ill in 1374 his early friend, Henry of Kalkar (q.v.), became the agent of his sincere and deep conversion. Groote now resigned his income, retaining only as much as was necessary for a modest living; in shabby attire he wandered about as a preacher of repentance, but he kept his books, and spent much of his time in study and prayer, associating only with his friends of like sentiments, Jan Coele, Henry of Kalkar, and Jan van Ruysbroeck, whom he had visited as early as 1377. For a time he retired to the monastery of Mönnikhuizen, but after three years he came forward as public preacher of repentance. He declined ordination, and wished only to labor as a missionary preacher with episcopal permission. Before entering upon his work, he devoted the last part of his possessions to a dwelling for virgins and widows without monastic profession.

From place to place Groote went, preaching in the vernacular at Deventer, Zwolle, Kampen, Amersfoort, Amsterdam, Haarlem, Gouda, Leyden, Delft, and Zutphen. The churches were too

His Preaching.

small to hold his hearers, on whom he impressed the vital question of the salvation of the soul. He revealed the iniquities of clergy and laity, preaching against avarice, simony, and unchastity, while his fiercest invectives were launched against "focaristæ" (priests living in concubinage) and against heretics (the Brethren of the Free Spirit, q.v.). His influence upon the laity and clergy was profound and lasting, his followers including Florentius Radewyns, Johannes Voss, Johannes a Kempis (brother of Thomas), Heinrich Wilde, Berthold ten Have, Johannes Waater, and the priests Johannes Scutken, Johannes Klingerbiel, Werner Keyenkamp, as well as Hendrik van Wilsen, burgomaster of Kampen, and the physician Everhard of Almelo or Eza. Groote's life and words influenced his auditors deeply. His bishop often invited him to preach, once before the General Synod, and urged him especially to inveigh against concubinage (1383). The secular clergy, on the other hand, attacked him for his castigation of their luxury, simony, and usury, while the monks assailed him on account of his diatribes against their idleness and assumed poverty. The magistrates and laymen sided with them, even accusing him of heresy, and the bishop was induced to forbid preaching by those who had not been ordained, this prohibition naturally including Groote with the rest. In refutation of the charge of heresy he wrote his *Publica protestatio*, while to offset the prohibition of preaching he referred unsuccessfully to the canon law. His influence was not diminished by these attacks, however, but showed itself especially in the school through which he wished to educate a better and wiser clergy, while his prestige was still more evident at Deventer and Zwolle, where the houses of the Brethren and Sisters of the Common Life and the congregation of Windesheim were founded.

In his teaching, Groote was in full accord with his Church, though his mode of life showed a certain legalistic trait. His day's work was strictly regulated. He slept seven hours, ate only once, and declined every invitation from outside. Prayer, meditation, and reading of the Bible and the Church Fathers filled the day. He heard mass each day, and also ministered constantly to his fellow men, besides conducting an extensive correspondence. His control of the school was exercised chiefly through his devoted teachers, although he aided the pupils, whom he employed to copy manuscripts, and influenced them profoundly. He had preached but three years and a half when he died of the plague.

Groote's literary activity was essentially practical and pastoral. The most complete lists of his writings, some of which are still unpublished, are

His Sermons.

given by Bonet-Maury (pp. 91 sqq.) and Anger (p. 272). Among his sermons special mention may be made of the following: *De focaristis* (reprinted in the *Archief voor kerkelijke geschiedenis*, i., Leyden, 1829, pp. 365–379); *Sermo in festo palmarum de paupertate* (ed. W. Moll, in *Studien en bijdragen op 't gebied der historische theologie*, ii., Amsterdam, 1872, pp. 432–469); an informal sermon (ed. J. Van Vloten, in his *Versameling van nederland prozastukken*, Leyden, 1851, and again in the *Nieuw archief voor kerkelijke geschiedenis insonderheid van Nederland*, ii., Leyden, 1854, pp. 299 sqq.); *De vijf poente, die Meester G. de Groot in den volke t' Utrecht predicte*, discovered in a Vienna manuscript of the year 1393 by F. Hellwald (ed. W. Moll in *Studien en bijdragen*, i., Amsterdam, 1870, pp. 404–411); *Sermo de septem verbis Domini pendentis in cruce* (not yet published); *Sermo de nativitate Christi*, mentioned by J. Foppens; *Publica protestatio de veridica evangelii prædicatione*, written before he was forbidden to preach (ed. J. Clarisse from a Utrecht manuscript in *Archief voor kerkelijke geschiedenis*, i., Leyden, 1829, p. 359); *Conclusa et proposita, non vota in nomine Domini a Mag. Gerardo edita*, in the *Vita* by Thomas à Kempis, comprising rules of life and admonitions, often with slight relevance; *Consilium cuidam juveni datum, cui collata fuit ecclesia quædam, curata ad instantiam sororis suæ* (ed. J. Clarisse, in *Archief*, iii., Leyden, 1831, supplement 3, pp. 13 sqq.); *Tractatus de matrimonio* (ed.

J. Clarisse, in *Archief*, viii., 1836, pp. 129 sqq.), a eulogy of celibacy; and *De locatione ecclesiarum*, a discussion on leases of livings.

Groote's personality is reflected in his epistles. Twelve are given by Jan Busch in his *Chronicon Windeshemense* (ed. K. Grube, Halle, 1886; ed., with other letters of Groote, J. Clarisse, in *Archief*, iii., Leyden, 1831, supplement 2, pp. 5 sqq.; ed. J. Acquoy, *Gerardi Magni epistolæ XIV.*, Amsterdam, 1857); eight were edited by P. de Ram in *Compte rendu des séances de la Commission . . . belgique* (Brussels, 1860), pp. 66 sqq.; seven by Nolte in *TQ*, 1870; one in German addressed to a nun, by W. Moll in *Studien en bijdragen*, iii., Amsterdam, 1876, pp. 434 sqq.; and sixteen by W. Preger in *AMA*, iii., class xxi., part 1 (Munich, 1894). Many of his epistles were copied as independent treatises, such as the *De matrimonio* and *De institutione noviciorum* (the latter ed. L. Schulze, in *ZKG*, xi. 577).

His Letters.

Groote also rendered three works of his friend Ruysbroeck from Dutch into Latin: *Ornatus spiritualium nuptiarum; De septem gradibus amoris; De duodecim virtutibus;* and translated from Latin into German for the sister houses several brief treatises (ed. W. Moll, *Geert Groote's dietsche vertalingen*, Amsterdam, 1880).

The theological standpoint of Groote was that of Thomism. Accepting the theological teachings of his time, he rejected the mystic concepts of Ruysbroeck, although he shared the ascetic doctrine of renunciation of the world, even while opposing it since the new devotion established and advocated by him was to be promoted and spread in the world. All his efforts were intended to lead souls to God, but he can be called a Reformer before the Reformers only in a relative sense. He sought to carry out his principles in the community of brethren and sisters, by the common life of clergy and laity, by work (especially copying), and by the rejection of mendicancy and monastic vows. He never opposed the Church, but assailed the abuses among the clergy and laity, and strongly advocated the reading of the Scripture in the monasteries and schools, and by the members of his communion, also urging the need of a translation of the Bible into the vernacular for the benefit of the laity. L. Schulze.

His Theology.

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GROPPER, JOHANN: Roman Catholic church politician of the Reformation period; b. in Soest (65 m. n.e. of Cologne) Feb. 24, 1503; d. in Rome Mar. 13, 1559. After being made keeper of the seal of the archbishopric of Cologne, he was appointed scholasticus of St. Gereon in 1527. Gropper was an adherent of Erasmus, and aided the reform efforts of Hermann von Wied, archbishop of Cologne (see Hermann von Wied). This led him, after having completed his legal studies at Cologne in 1525, to devote himself to theological study. He edited the *Landrecht* of Cologne, and also the canons of the provincial council at Cologne held in 1536 (both published in 1538, together with a detailed manual of Christian doctrine [*Enchiridion*] which he had composed). In both of these Gropper's Erasmian tendency showed itself; in both he took pains to make the Bible and the Church Fathers his point of departure. In many matters, especially in the doctrine of justification, he approximated Protestant views, but he did not approve of the doctrine of the Reformers concerning the concept and the organization of the Church. He championed the seven sacraments and the veneration of images and relics. He rejected the doctrine of the priesthood of believers, he defended the hierarchical order of the Middle Ages and the primacy of the pope, though on these very points his differences with the representatives of the papal system were apparent. Protestant and Jesuit writers alike censured the book.

At First a Follower of Erasmus.

Gropper took a zealous part in the negotiations for church union and in the religious colloquies held in 1540 and 1541 in Hagenau, Worms, and Regensburg. In the latter place he secured agreement on the formulation of the doctrine of justification; but he and his sympathizers could not reach an understanding with the Protestants about the organization of the Church. When, therefore, Archbishop Hermann felt himself committed to a far-reaching reform of ecclesiastical affairs in his archdiocese, and invited the Strasburg Reformer Martin Butzer for that purpose, Gropper came forward as the spokesman of the clergy of Cologne in opposition to the plans for Evangelical reform proposed by his former patron; as a representative of the cathedral chapter he sought in the Landtag of March and July, 1543, to persuade the Estates to oppose Hermann and Butzer. As he was unsuccessful, he prepared an answer to the memorial for reformation which the archbishop laid before the latter Landtag. The answer was approved by a committee of the cathedral chapter and was published in 1554 in its name, in German and Latin. When even this document did not convert the archbishop, Gropper and the members of his party lodged complaints against him with the emperor and the pope. Gropper now negotiated eagerly with imperial counselors. He addressed to the emperor his *Wahrhaftige Antwort* against what he claimed were false accusations by Butzer, but the latter proved the falsehood of Gropper's allegations. In connection with this fight against the heretics, Gropper came to favor the settlement of the Jesuits in Cologne. Canisius, who was especially advanced by him, praises in the

Later Opposes the Reformation in Cologne.

highest terms Gropper's merits in saving Romanism within the archdiocese of Cologne. When the victory was won, and in place of Hermann the previous coadjutor, Adolf von Schaumburg, had been enthroned with his assistance, Gropper received the provostship in Bonn formerly held by a brother of Hermann. Under the new archbishop, Gropper worked by word and pen against the Protestants; he likewise acted as imperial commissioner for the carrying out of the Interim in his native city of Soest.

Disappointment of his Later Years.

How little in accordance with his wishes, however, ecclesiastical affairs developed in the next years, he himself states in a letter of 1556, in which he sets forth the reasons why he did not wish to accept the dignity of the cardinalate which had been offered to him. A letter of the following year betrays a still gloomier mood; he begged Canisius not to be suspicious of him if he held aloof from the religious colloquy soon to be held in Worms. In 1558 he saw new dangers arise for those near him, when Johann Gebhard von Mansfeld was chosen archbishop of Cologne. In order to prevent his confirmation by the pope, Gropper decided to make the journey to Rome, whither Paul IV. had formerly invited him in vain. The pope received him with honor and demanded his opinion in weighty matters; nevertheless not only did he not accomplish that which he wished in the Cologne affair, but he was denounced to the Inquisition by the Venetian Delfino. On Mar. 13, 1559, he died in poverty, and was buried in the church of Maria dell' Anima. The pope, probably convinced by Gropper's defense that he was innocent, spoke before a consistory on Mar. 15 in praise of the services of the deceased and transferred his benefices to his brother Kaspar. As a papal nuncio Kaspar was later the zealous servant of the Counterreformation, which directed its efforts against the Erasmian tendency which Gropper had once represented; with the result that in 1596 Gropper's *Enchiridion*, "the most detailed and most important pre-Tridentine dogmatic of the Reformation period," was put upon the Index.

K. Varrentrapp.

Bibliography: The writings of Gropper and the literature on him are recorded in a careful article in Ersch and Gruber, *Encyclopädie*, section I., vol. xcii., 1872. For later investigations consult *ZKG*, xx (1899), 37 sqq.; *KL*, v. 1239 sqq. Consult also: F. H. Reusch, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher*, i. 318, 468 et passim, Bonn, 1883; A. Hasenclever, *Die Politik der Schmalkaldener vor Ausbruch des schmalkaldischen Kriegs*, pp. 25 sqq., Berlin, 1901.

GROSSETESTE, grōs'test, **ROBERT:** Bishop of Lincoln; b. in Suffolk c. 1175; d. at Buckden (4 m. s.w. of Huntingdon), Huntingdonshire, Oct. 9, 1253. He was of humble birth, but studied at Oxford and Paris. On his return to England he entered the service of William de Vere, bishop of Hereford, on whose death in 1199 he went to Oxford as teacher, becoming later *rector scolarum*, and in 1224 the first rector of the Franciscans at Oxford. During the Oxford period he held several preferments, including two prebends in Lincoln, and the archdeaconries of Wilts., Northampton, and Leicester.

In 1235 he became bishop of Lincoln, then the most extensive see in England. His episcopal administration was marked by zeal in advancing its spiritual interests, and not seldom by the use of arbitrary and high-handed measures. He attacked the corruption and condemned the incompetency of the clergy, and instituted a systematic visitation of his diocese. With the monastic institutions he was especially severe, removing in the first year seven abbots and four priors. His vigorous course aroused such opposition that in 1237 an attempt was made to poison him. In 1239 began his long quarrel with the Lincoln chapter, which denied him the right of visitation. Finally he suspended the dean, excommunicated the prior, and went to Lyons to secure a papal decision of the case, which was decided entirely in his favor by a bull of Innocent IV., Aug. 25, 1245. Grosseteste returned to England as an obedient agent of the pope; but his attitude toward papal claims soon underwent a complete change. In 1250 he again visited the pope at Lyons. Here on May 13 he delivered a celebrated sermon, in which he declared that the papal court was the origin of all the evils in the Church, and urged the necessity of appointing competent pastors. On his return to his diocese he assailed the Italian ecclesiastics who were fleecing English parishes. He found by computation that the annual incomes of the foreign clerks in England appointed by Innocent amounted to seventy thousand marks, more than three times the clear revenue of the king. For refusing to admit an Italian ignorant of English to a rich benefice in his diocese he was suspended temporarily in 1251. Early in 1253 he refused pointblank to induct Frederick of Lavagna into a canonry at Lincoln, to which he had been appointed by his uncle, Innocent IV. In a plain but respectful letter the bishop told the pontiff that it was his duty to make appointments for the edification, not for the destruction, of the Church (*Epist.*, cxxviii.). This letter has done more to perpetuate Grosseteste's fame than any of his other works.

Grosseteste's relation to the state was one of independence. He rebuked ecclesiastics for holding civil offices, and asserted that to St. Peter belonged both swords, and that a bishop did not in any sense derive his authority from the civil power. He not only dared to refuse to execute the royal commands in his diocese, as the one regarding the legitimization of children born before wedlock, but told the king the plainest truths, and on more than one occasion refused to install his appointees in office, threatening even to excommunicate the royal offender.

Like Luther, previous to the Diet of Worms, Grosseteste had trusted in the pope, and hoped for relief from Rome for the ecclesiastical corruption of England. Once undeceived, he was drifting rapidly away from all veneration for the pontiff, when death overtook him. In a conversation on his death-bed with the scholarly cleric and physician, John of St. Giles, he gave a definition of heresy, and asked whether the pope did not fulfil it. "He was the open rebuker of both the pope and the king, censor of prelates, corrector of monks, instructor of clerks, and unwearied examiner of the books of Scrip-

ture, a crusher and despiser of the Romans," reports the chronicler Matthew Paris. He was buried with great pomp at Lincoln, the archbishop of Canterbury and several bishops being present at the funeral. This seems to disprove the statement that the pope had excommunicated him. Miracles were reported at his grave, but in vain did prelates and King Edward I. (1307) apply for his canonization.

Grosseteste has been called a "harbinger of the Reformation," and he was the first link in the chain of the Reformation in this sense, that Wyclif appealed to him, and quoted his protest against Rome, as, later, Luther quoted Huss, and Huss learned from Wyclif. In his impetuous and fearless temper he resembles Luther. Not only Wyclif, but others, like Bishop Hall, delighted to find in the Bishop of Lincoln a support for their Scriptural views, or, like Richard Field, to use his name against the claims of the pope to supreme authority in the Church (*Of the Church*, iv. 384 sqq.).

Grosseteste was one of the most learned men of his time and a voluminous author. His writings include works on theology, commentaries on Aristotle and Boëthius, essays on physical and mental philosophy, translations from Greek authors, also French poems, and even works on husbandry. A list of his works given in Pegge's *Life* covers twenty-five closely printed quarto pages.

D. S. Schaff.

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GROSSMANN, CHRISTIAN GOTTLOB LEBERECHT: German Lutheran; b. at Priessnitz, near Naumburg (17 m. s.s.w. of Merseburg), Nov. 9, 1783; d. in Leipsic June 29, 1857. He was educated at the University of Jena, and was appointed assistant minister, then pastor, and in 1822, teacher and deacon at Schulpforta. In 1823 he became general superintendent of Altenburg, in 1829 pastor at St. Thomas' Church, superintendent, consistorial assessor, and professor of practical theology at Leipsic. He applied himself to the study of Philo and the Apostles' Creed, and was active in reconstructing the constitution and reorganizing the administration of the State Church of Saxony. He was one of the founders of the Gustav-Adolf-Verein (q.v.). On occasion of the bicentennial commemoration of the death of Gustavus Adolphus, Nov. 6, 1832, he proposed a foundation for the support of poor Evangelical congregations, and after the main society was established he belonged to its governing board and presided over its general conventions.

Georg Müller.

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GROSSMANN, LOUIS: American rabbi; b. at Vienna Feb. 24, 1853. He came to the United States at the age of eleven and was educated at the University of Cincinnati (B.A., 1884) and the Hebrew Union College in the same city, receiving his rabbinical diploma in 1884. In the same year he was called to Detroit, Mich., as rabbi of Temple Beth El, where he remained until 1898, when he was chosen to succeed I. M. Wise as rabbi of Congregation B'nai Yeshurun, Cincinnati, and also as professor of ethics, theology, and pedagogics in the Hebrew Union College. In theology he is an adherent of Reformed Judaism. He has written *Judaism and the Science of Religion* (New York, 1889); *Maimonides* (1890); *Hymns, Prayers, and Responses* (Detroit, Mich., 1894); *The Jewish Pulpit* (1894); and an edition of *The Selected Writings of Isaac M. Wise* (Cincinnati, 1900).

GROTIUS, grō'shi-us **(DE GROOT), HUGO:** Dutch statesman, lawyer, and theologian; b. at Delft Apr. 10, 1583; d. in Rostock Aug. 28, 1645. He owed his first instruction to his learned father and to the minister Jan Uytenbogaert (q.v.). When he was twelve years old he became a pupil of Scaliger at the Leyden academy.

Early Life. In 1598 he accompanied Oldenbarnevelt and Justinus van Nassau to Paris where the fame of his learning was already publicly known. On his return he was promoted doctor in law at Orléans. After having established himself as a lawyer at The Hague, the States appointed him advocate-general at the Court of Holland and charged him with writing the history of the rebellion against Spain, which was not published till after his death. Abroad he was known as a Latin poet by his *Adamus exul* and his *Christus patiens*, and as a lawyer by his *Mare liberum*, which led to an extensive correspondence with the learned men of his age.

Political Career. Theological Controversies. His political career began with his being appointed pensionary of Rotterdam in 1613. From this time he attended the sessions of the States of Holland and the States-General, but was at the same time entangled in the quarrel between the Remonstrants (q.v.) and Contra-Remonstrants. He was the defender of Oldenbarnevelt's ecclesiastical policy, which was intended to prevent a rupture in the Church. He took an active part in extraordinary measures to maintain peace in different places and was opposed to the convocation of a National Synod. During the revolution of 1618 he was put in prison and condemned to be shut up for life at the castle of Loevenstein. Here he occupied himself for two years with philological and theological studies, then escaped on Mar. 22, 1621, and fled to Paris. There he lived till 1631 with his wife and children.

Under the mild government of Frederik Hendrik he at length ventured to return to his native country, but he was disappointed in his expecta-

tions and went to Hamburg. Arrived there he was invited by Gustavus Adolphus to enter the Swedish service. Before the matter was arranged, the prince died in the battle of Lützen, but Oxenstierna carried on the negotiations and soon after Grotius made his appearance as Swedish ambassador at Paris. After having occupied this post for ten years, he went to Stockholm, where the Queen Christina received him with much distinction. She offered him a place of honor, but he secured release from further service. On his return he was shipwrecked and arrived at Rostock seriously ill and died there.

Swedish Ambassador in Paris.

Hugo Grotius was also an excellent theologian. His natural disposition and the religious agitation of his age led him involuntarily to theological studies. Few men were so well versed in Christian literature of earlier and later times. At Loevenstein as well as in Paris he occupied himself with writing expositions of the Bible, which were published under the titles *Explicatio trium utilissimorum locorum Novi Testamenti*, Amsterdam, 1640; *Commentatio ad loca Novi Testamenti quæ de Antichristo agunt*, 1640; *Explicatio Decalogi*, 1642. His writings were not a *commentarius perpetuus* but *annotationes*, explaining difficult passages in a few words. He declared that the Bible had nothing to do with dogmatism, and dealt with the books of the Bible as with literary writings according to grammatical rules, and explained the words of Jesus and the apostles by quoting passages from Greek and Latin authors. According to his opinion the books of the prophets contained real prophecies, but concerning Israel only. He was the first to deny the Solomonic authorship of Ecclesiastes. His *Annotationes*, afterward also incorporated in the London Polyglot and *Critici sacri*, excelled by their impartiality. To him belongs the honor of first having applied the historical-philological method to the explanation of the Scripture. He was the precursor of Ernesti.

Grotius as Theologian.

Grotius's book *De Veritate religionis Christianæ* is no less celebrated. At Loevenstein he wrote a Dutch didactic poem as a manual for sailors to help them refute pagans and Mohammedans; later he worked it over in Latin prose at Paris and published it there 1627. This book was published again and again, and translated into many languages, including Arabic and Urdu. It shows how little Grotius esteemed the dogmas of the severe Lutherans and Calvinists, and caused him to be considered the founder of the scientific apology and gives him a place next to Pascal.

In more than one writing Grotius has shown his irenic tendency—e.g., *Via ad pacem ecclesiasticam*, Amsterdam, 1642; *Votum pro pace ecclesiastica*, 1642. He wanted peace in the Church and a Christianity without religious discord. He would admit in one ecclesiastical alliance not only Remonstrants and Contra-Remonstrants, but also Lutherans and Socinians, even Roman Catholics. In his time, however, he was misunderstood. With Arminius he believed in the universality of divine grace, but he did not want to be taken for a Pelagian (*Disquisitio an Pelagiana sunt ea dogmata quæ nunc sub eo nomine traducuntur*, Paris, 1622). As to the doctrine of reconciliation he differed from Augustine and Anselm, but in his *Defensio fidei catholicæ de satisfactione Christi adversus F. Socinum*, 1614, he defended the doctrine of the Church. He regretted that the Reformation had brought so much quarreling among Christians. It was his conviction that the English Church had done better than Calvin, taking from Catholicism what was not repugnant to the Gospel and suffering the ancient organization of the Christian Church to remain. His *Annales et historiæ de rebus Belgicis*, 1657, and his *Historia Gothorum, Vandalorum et Longobardorum*, 1655, are not without importance for church history. His *Dissertatio de cœnæ administratione ubi pastores non sunt*, 1638, belongs to liturgics. His *De imperio summarum potestatum circa sacra*, Paris, 1647, to canon law. Although he had chosen a political career, he deserves a place of honor among the theologians of his age, and also among the world's greatest benefactors; for he laid the foundations of the modern international law in his great book, *The Rights of War and Peace*.

His Irenic Tendency.

His *Opera* appeared, 4 vols., Basel, 1732. In English translation there have appeared: *Two Tracts: 1. Whether the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper May be Administered Where There are no Pastors? 2. Whether it be Necessary at All Times to Communicate with the Symbols?* (London, 1700); *The Mourner Comforted* (1652); *A Poem on the Holy Sacrament* (Edinburgh, 1732); *Adamus Exul; or, the Prototype of Paradise Lost* (London, 1839); *Annals and History of the Low-Countrey Wars* (1665); *The Whole Duty of a Christian* (1711); *Christ's Passion, a Tragedie* (1640); *A Treatise of the Antiquity of the Commonwealth of the Battavers* (1649); *The Right of the State in the Church* (1651); *The Rights of War and Peace* (1738; abridged transl., 1853); *The Truth of the Christian Religion* (new ed., 1859); *A Defence of the Catholic Faith, Concerning the Satisfaction of Christ against Faustus Socinus* (Andover, Mass., 1889); *Joseph, a Tragedy* (London, 1652); *A Letter to the States Ambassador* (1675); *Politick, Maxims and Observations* (1654).

(H. C. Rogge†.)

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GROVES, ANTHONY NORRIS: English missionary; b. at Newton (20 m. n. of Winchester), Hampshire, 1795; d. at Bristol May 20, 1853. He studied chemistry in London, took up dentistry under his uncle, James Thompson, and at the same time studied surgery in the London hospitals. In Feb., 1813, he settled as a dentist at Plymouth, but removed to Exeter in 1816, and in 1825 took charge of a small church at Poltimore, near Exeter.

With a view to taking orders he studied at Trinity College, Dublin, where he associated with John Nelson Darby and other early Plymouth Brethren (see Darby, John Nelson; and Plymouth Brethren). His proposal in 1828 that Christians meet together in brotherhood, with no other tenets than faith in Christ, entitles him to be regarded as one of the founders of this sect. In 1829 he went as an independent missionary to Bagdad, whence he proceeded to Bombay in Apr., 1833. With the exception of two visits to England to secure recruits for the missionary cause, he spent the next nineteen years in effective missionary work in India. Of interest are his *Journal . . . During a Journey from London to Bagdad* (London, 1831); and his *Journal of a Residence at Bagdad During the Years 1830 and 1831* (1832).

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GROVES AND TREES, SACRED: In all stages of religious development the use of groves as places of worship is attested. These groves were not the result of deliberate choice, but marked the locality in which some superhuman being was supposed to be or to have been manifest. It is most probable that sacred groves in populated regions and in historical times were survivals of parts of the early forest around the spot where a divinity had revealed itself, since the area thus honored was protected by taboo (see Comparative Religion, VI., 1, c). It often happened, however, that these groves were in part the result of man's assistance of nature, that trees were planted and carefully reared and protected, as in the case of the great sacred park at Antioch; but where this was the case it was always because tradition, generally a very ancient one, regarded the place as hallowed by some supposed theophany or like manifestation. Not seldom the tradition suggests the actual divinity of the grove itself or of some individual tree in it (as when a part of the sacred oak was built into the Argo in the expedition of the Golden Fleece). The progress in the development of regard for a sacred grove may be stated in this way: in the animistic period the tree itself was divine and gave omens or warnings, in a later period the tree was the home of a spirit or deity, while still later a deity used the tree to indicate his will.

Among the Semites the tree cult was indigenous, so that the Hebrews on coming into Canaan found the practise established. The Semites regarded certain trees as connected with the fructifying powers of nature, and in many cases with female deities—and this is doubtless one cause of the severe denunciations of the prophets of Israel (see below). So the moon was brought into this connection, especially as giving moisture in the shape of dew (see Asherah; Ashtoreth; and Moon); and in the Astarte-Aphrodite circle of cult, the cypress, myrtle, palm, and pomegranate were sacred to this deity. But a large portion of the great region inhabited by the Semites is characterized by a scarcity of tree growth. As a consequence, among Semites it is much more common to hear of the sacred tree than of the grove. Hence the passages in the Old Testament where the A. V. speaks of groves the R.V. either changes the translation or, where proper, correctly transcribes the Hebrew original "Asherah" (see Asherah).

Aside from the Asherah, which was probably a survival of tree-worship (cf. G. A. Barton, *Semitic Origins*, pp. 87 sqq., New York, 1902), the traces of a tree cult in the Old Testament are quite numerous. Abraham built an altar to Yahweh at "the tree of the seer" (Gen. xii. 6–7, Hebr. *'elon moreh*, A.V. "plain of Moreh," R.V. "oak of Moreh," margin, "terebinth"; cf. Judges iv. 5, according to which Deborah dwelt under "the palm-tree of Deborah"). Moreover, Abraham took up his residence, built an altar, and witnessed a theophany by the terebinths of Mamre (Gen. xiii. 18, xiv. 13, xviii. 1, Hebr. *'elonim*, Septuagint *tēi druï*, A.V. "plain," R.V. "oaks," margin "terebinths"). He planted a tamarisk (Hebr. *'eshel*, A.V. "grove") at Beersheba and "called there on the name of Yahweh" (Gen. xxi. 33), and this place was held sacred by Isaac (Gen. xxvi. 25) and by Jacob (xlvi. 1), and apparently by Joshua, who set up the stone of witness "under the oak (Hebr. *'allah*) that was by (in) the sanctuary" at Shechem (Josh. xxiv. 26); but cf. Judges ix. 6, where the terebinth (Hebr. *'elon*) seems to have been sacred to Baal-berith, while in Judges ix. 37 it is called (R.V. margin) "the augurs' terebinth," and note II Sam. v. 24, where the signal for marching is given by rustling in the mulberry-trees. Jacob buried the rejected idols under the terebinth (Hebr. *'elah*) which was by Shechem; Deborah, Rebekah's nurse, was buried beneath "the oak of weeping" below Bethel (Gen. xxxv. 8), and the ashes of Saul and his sons were buried under the tamarisk in Jabesh (I Sam. xxxi. 13). The theophany of Ex. iii. 2 is connected with a bush. Gideon witnessed a theophany under the terebinth at Ophrah (Judges vi. 11 sqq.) and built an altar there. Possibly Saul's place of encampment under "the pomegranate" (I Sam. xiv. 2) and his place of judgment under the tamarisk on the height (I Sam. xxii. 6; cf. Judges iv. 5 sqq.) were sacred spots. The "green tree" as a place of idolatry is noted in I Kings xiv. 23; II Kings xvi. 4; II Chron. xxviii. 4. In later times, just as the worship at the high places and at the numerous altars came under the ban of the prophets, though these altars seem to have existed with the approval of earlier prophets (cf. I Kings xix. 14, "altars" in the plural), so this worship under "oaks, poplars, and terebinths" was regarded as sinful (Hos. iv. 13; cf. Isa. i. 29, lvii. 5, lxv. 3, lxvi. 17; Deut. xii. 2; Jer. ii. 20, xvii. 2). Ezek. vi. 13 (cf. xx. 28) is quite decisive of the trees as places where idolatry was practised. Barton (ut sup., p. 90) thinks that the story of Judah and Tamar (Gen. xxxviii.; note that Hebr. *tamar* means "palm") indicates that a palm clan was incorporated into the tribe of Judah, the palm in this case being a totem (cf. the place name Baal-tamar, Judges xx. 33). The same authority sees sanctity in the mention (Ex. xv. 27) of seventy palm-trees and twelve springs (possibly a combination of sacred trees and springs). It is not unlikely that Jericho, the city of palm-trees (Deut. xxxiv. 3; Judges i. 16, iii. 13),

was once a sacred city. It is noteworthy that the pomegranate and the palm-tree formed part of the adornment both of Solomon's temple (I Kings vi.–vii.) and of Ezekiel's (Ezek. xli. 18), and the cherubim are connected with both. In elucidation of the last fact Barton, in a striking passage (ut sup., pp. 91–92), quotes Tylor as suggesting that the cherubim were personifications of the wind which was so important in fertilizing the male date palm. The two trees, originally perhaps only one, in Gen. ii.–iii. were explained in the Book of Enoch (chap. xxiv.) and by the rabbis generally as date palms, and the two varieties of palms, male and female, were associated with the discovery of sexual distinction in man. GEO. W. GILMORE.

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GRUENEISEN, grün-ai'sen, CARL: Theologian, preacher, art patron, and poet; b. at Stuttgart Jan. 17, 1802; d. there Feb. 28, 1878. His parents educated him in the spirit of true religion, and also that of genuine artistic liberality. He studied at the gymnasium of Stuttgart and in 1819 entered the University of Tübingen, where he studied theology. In 1824 he visited the principal cities of Germany, and was attracted by the theology of Schleiermacher in Berlin. Then he traveled to Italy where he showed a deep interest in the treasures of ancient and medieval art. King William I. of Württemberg appointed him court chaplain and field chaplain of the guards. In 1835 he entered the consistory; in 1846 he became court preacher. He took a prominent part in reforms of liturgy, hymn-book, and church constitution, and awakened a sense for art in the Church. In 1847 with Immanuel Faisst he organized a "Society for Classical Church Music," and in 1857 a "Society for Christian Art in the Evangelical Church of Württemberg." In 1846 the king sent him to the first German Evangelical Church Conference in Berlin which had been convened for the purpose of bringing about a closer union between the German state churches, from which sprang, in 1852, chiefly under the influence of Grüneisen, the Church Conference of Eisenach which elected him its president regularly from 1852 to 1868 (see EISENACH CONFERENCE). On account of his Prussian sentiments he incurred the displeasure of King Charles, the successor of William. In 1868 he was forced to resign his position, but the consistory appointed him honorary member. In 1870 he retired altogether from official activity, and devoted himself to art, chiefly in the service of the Church. He published *Predigten für Gebildete in der Gemeinde* (anonymously, Stuttgart, 1835); *Die evangelischen Gottesdienstordnungen in den oberdeutschen Landen* (1839); *Christliches Hausbuch in Gebeten und Liedern* (1846; 7th ed., 1883); and five collections of *Christliche Reden* (1856–63). In the sphere of Christian art he published: *Ueber bildliche Darstellung der Gottheit* (1828); *Ueber das Sittliche in der bildenden Kunst bei den Griechen* (1835); *De protestantismo artibus haud infesto* (1839); *Ulms Kunstleben im Mittelalter* (with E. Mauch, 1846); and (his most important work) *Niklaus Manuel, Leben und Werke eines Malers und Dichters, Kriegers, Staatsmanns und Reformators im 16. Jahrhundert* (1837). He also edited an art journal, *Christliches Kunstblatt für Kirche, Schule und Haus.* (H. MOSAPP.)

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GRUENSLEDER, grüns-lê'der, (GRUENLEDER, GRUENSLEDERER), ULRICH: German Hussite; burned as a heretic at Regensburg Mar. 31, 1421. He came from Vohenstrauss (near Weiden, 32 m. s.e. of Baireuth) in the Upper Palatinate, was educated at Regensburg, was ordained priest, and, about 1420, occupied the post of chaplain in Regensburg. The Hussite doctrines, toward which a portion of the Bavarian clergy just then inclined, found a zealous adherent in Grünsleder. He translated sundry writings of Huss into German, disseminating the same in lay circles, and by clandestine sermons sought to gain a following for Hussite ideas. In May, 1420, he was seized as a heretic. Notwithstanding prolonged custody under the Inquisition, he could not be induced to abjure his heretical persuasion. Consequently he was put to death. HERMAN HAUPT.

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GRUETZMACHER, GEORG: German Protestant: b. at Berlin Dec. 22, 1866. He was educated at the universities of Lausanne, Berlin, and Halle (Ph. D., Heidelberg, 1892), and in 1892 became privat-docent for church history and New Testament exegesis at Heidelberg, where he has been associate professor of church history since 1896. He has written *Untersuchung über den Ursprung der in Zacharja 9–14 vorliegenden Prophetien* (Berlin, 1892); *Die Bedeutung Benedikts von Nursia und seiner Regel in der Geschichte des Mönchtums* (1892); *Pachomius und das älteste Klosterleben* (Leipsic, 1896); *Die evangelische Landeskirche des Grossherzogtums Baden* (Freiburg, 1898); and *Hieronymus: biographische Studien zur alten Kirchengeschichte* (2 vols., Leipsic and Berlin, 1901–06).

GRUETZMACHER, RICHARD HEINRICH: German Protestant; b. at Berlin Dec. 3, 1876. He was educated at the universities of Heidelberg and

Berlin (lic. theol., 1901), and in 1902 became privatdocent at Greifswald. In the following year he was appointed to his present position of associate professor of systematic theology at Rostock. He has written *Wort und Geist, eine historische und dogmatische Untersuchung zum Gnadenmittel des Wortes* (Leipsic, 1902); *Weltweites Christentum* (Hamburg, 1904); *Studien zur systematischen Theologie* (2 parts, Leipsic, 1905); *Moderne positive Vorträge* (1906); and *Ist das liberale Jesusbild modern?* (1907).

GRUNDEMANN, PETER REINHOLD: German Protestant; b. at Bürwalde (48 m. n.e. of Berlin) Jan. 9, 1836. He was educated at the universities of Tübingen, Halle, and Berlin (1854–58), and was assistant pastor at Pouch, near Bitterfeld (1861–1863). He was then prison chaplain at Frankfort-on-the-Oder for two years, after which he was a chartographer in the establishment of Justus Perthes, Gotha, for four years, preparing a missionary atlas. Since 1869 he has been pastor at Mörz, near Belzig. In 1882 he founded the Brandenburg missionary conference, of which he has since been the president. In addition to his work as editor of G. E. Burkhardt's *Kleine Missionsbibliothek* (4 vols., Bielefeld, 1876–81) and of the *Jahrbuch der nordostdeutschen Missions-Konferenz*, he has prepared *Allgemeiner Missions-Atlas* (Gotha, 1868–1871); *J. F. Riedel, ein Lebensbild* (Gütersloh, 1873); *Kleiner Missions-Atlas* (Calw, 1883); *Zur Statistik der evangelischen Mission* (Gütersloh, 1886); *Die deutschen Schutzgebiete in Afrika und in der Südsee* (1886); *Die Entwicklung der evangelischen Mission im letzten Jahrzehnt, 1878–1888* (Bielefeld, 1890); *Missions-Studien und Kritiken* (2 vols., Gütersloh, 1894–98); *Neuer Missions-Atlas* (Stuttgart, 1896); and *Kleine Missionsgeographie und Statistik* (1901). He also contributed ten parts to the *Dornen und Aehren vom Missionsfelde* (Berlin, 1887–1904).

GRUNDTVIG, grūnt'vig, **NICOLAI FREDERIK SEVERIN:** Danish bishop, poet, and hymn-writer, was born at Udby, near Vordingborg (on the s. coast of the island of Seeland, 52 m. s.w. of Copenhagen), Sept. 8, 1783; d. at Copenhagen Sept. 2, 1872. In 1800 he entered the University of Copenhagen and passed his theological examination in 1803. From his mother he inherited an inclination to history and poetry, and his active mind took a deep interest in the events of his own time, and he became interested also in the songs of the Edda and the medieval chronicles of Snorre Sturleson and Saxo Grammaticus. In 1805 he became private tutor upon the small island of Langeland. Later he occupied himself in the study of Shakespeare, Goethe, Schiller, Schelling, and Fichte; translated some of the German masterworks into Danish; and published at Copenhagen in periodicals treatises on the fundamental thought of northern mythology, on the reform of the liturgy in the Danish Church, and on the lack of solid scientific education which he found among the students and officials of the country. In 1808 he went to Copenhagen as schoolteacher, and published the same year a peculiar poetical book, *Nordens Mythologie* ("Mythology of the North"). Other literary works of this period were a dramatization of the Icelandic saga of the Jomsvikings under the title, *Optrin af Kæmpelivets Undergang i Nord* ("Scenes from the Decline of North Vikingism," Copenhagen, 1809), and a compilation of the Wölsungsaga, *Optrin of Norners og Asers Kamp* ("Scenes from the Struggle between Norns and Æsir," 1811).

Early Life and Works.

A change in Grundtvig's life ensued when his aged father summoned him to become his assistant at Udby. His trial sermon treated the theme that the unity of history must be sought in the effect of Christianity upon the nations. Shortly after it was published in 1810, six influential clergymen of Copenhagen addressed a complaint to the ministry of public affairs, alleging that the sermon contained a series of insulting charges against the whole clergy. Grundtvig was reprimanded, but his sermon spread among the laity in Denmark and foreign countries. About this time he underwent experiences like those of Luther in the monastery, seriously asking himself whether he was a Christian and whether his sins were forgiven. This mental suffering was aggravated by physical weakness due to overexertion. In June, 1811, he was ordained and devoted himself with great zeal to his duties as pastor. But he also felt that the gifts which he possessed as poet and historian should be employed for the renewal of old Lutheran Christianity in his vocation. He asked prominent men of his country to cooperate in the revival of the Danish State Church, but repelled many of his friends by his admonitions. In 1812 appeared his *Verdens Krönike* ("World History") in which he openly criticized men who were still alive and active. At a convention of ecclesiastics in 1814 Grundtvig offended again by his denunciations of the clergy. From 1813 he had lived in Copenhagen and had frequently preached there; but after this offense pastors hesitated to admit him to their pulpits. Before 1811 he had broken with that part of the educated world which stood on the ordinary ground of the eighteenth century. Those who had been influenced by Steffens had almost all separated from him between 1812 and 1814. Now he was deprived even of the opportunity to preach.

Ordination; Conflict and Mental Struggles.

To occupy his time and energies he turned to literary work. He began to translate Snorre's history of Norway, which had been written in Icelandic, and Saxo's *Historia Danica*. A rich Dane induced him to publish a Danish translation of the Anglo-Saxon poem Beowulf. For seven years (1815–21) translations filled up all his time. Christianity had taught him to see a brother in the lowliest of his fellow men, and he intended his translations principally for the common people. He aimed to revive the northern heroic spirit for the performance of Christian deeds in a manner adapted to the needs and conditions of his time. For this purpose he considered it necessary to adapt his written word to the understanding of the plain people and to find a genuinely Danish mode of expression as he heard it among

Resumption of Literary Work.

peasants and read it in the old rimed chronicles of the Middle Ages and in collections of popular proverbs and heroic songs. Many found his new language too artificial and affected, and for some years Grundtvig's activity as a poet ceased, but when he resumed his pen, he had mastered his mother tongue as never before. From this later period of his life principally have proceeded the folk-songs and hymns which are now sung in Danish schools and churches and have exercised such a strong influence upon Danish national and ecclesiastical life.

In 1821 he resumed his clerical activity as pastor of Præstö, a small town in southern Seeland, and the next year he was called to the chaplaincy at the Church of our Savior in Copenhagen. He looked with anxiety at the growing doubt of the learned concerning the origin and authenticity of the Bible, and was disturbed by assertions that the fundamental doctrines of the Church—the Trinity, the divinity of Christ, and the Atonement—are not in the Bible at all. He sought for a sure, universal, and powerful testimony, valid for the layman and the scholar alike, and found it in the Apostles' Creed. In 1825 he became involved in a controversy with H. N. Clausen, professor in Copenhagen, the representative of the reigning rationalism, in which his violent language occasioned a civil suit as a result of which he was sentenced to pay a fine, and forbidden to publish without permission of the royal censor. From that day a party of "Grundtvigians" existed in the Danish Church.

Later Clerical Activity.

In 1828 Grundtvig's second retirement began. He now devoted himself to the study of the history of the world. He published *Krönike-Riim til Börne-Lærdom* ("History in Rime for Children," Copenhagen, 1829), and *Haandbog i Verdenshistorien* ("Handbook of the World's History," 3 parts, 1833). In 1829, 1830, and 1831 he visited England to study the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, and gave a powerful impulse to the study of Anglo-Saxon there. The individual liberty in England made a deep impression upon him, and after his return to Denmark he worked for its realization in his own country and advocated the erection of schools "for popular scientific training and civil education." He visited England again in 1843, and his travels deeply influenced his views concerning the Danish Church. The great problem for him became to preserve the State Church and yet allow the life of the church to develop as freely as possible. He advocated liberty of doctrine and rite among the pastors, and maintained that laymen should be at liberty to sever their parochial connection and join another parish, to legalize which a law was enacted in 1855 and amplified in 1868. In 1839 Grundtvig was made chaplain of the Vartov (a home for aged indigents) in Copenhagen. It was essentially a free congregation within the national Church. He translated certain Psalms as well as Greek, Latin, Anglo-Saxon, English, and German hymns, and also made slight changes in the expression of the Danish hymns. In this way originated his *Sang-Værk til den Danske Kirke* ("Hymn-Book for the Danish Church," Copenhagen, 1837), which gave to song in the Danish churches a new and very original character. Although Grundtvig never had support among the leading bishops of Denmark, his influence upon the Church increased greatly during the last thirty years of his life. At the fiftieth anniversary of his ordination (1861) the king conferred upon him the title of bishop with the rank of the bishop of Seeland.

Second Retirement. Later Work and Interests.

(L. Schröder.)

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GRUSCHA, grū'shā, **ANTON JOSEF:** Roman Catholic cardinal; b. at Vienna, Austria, Nov. 3, 1820. After the completion of his studies he was in charge of various parishes and instructor in religion at the Theresianum gymnasium of his native city. He was then cathedral preacher and for many years was the confessor of the Archduchess Sophie. In 1863 he was appointed professor of pastoral theology at the University of Vienna and fifteen years later was made apostolic chaplain of the Austrian army and consecrated titular bishop of Carrhae. In 1890 he was enthroned prince archbishop of Vienna, and in the following year was created cardinal priest of Santa Maria degli Angeli. Throughout his life he has been deeply interested in the cause of the working men, and is a member of the Roman Congregations of the Propaganda, Index, Discipline, and Indulgences.

GRYNÆUS, gri-nî'us **(GRYNER):** A family of Swabian origin which produced several celebrated Reformed theologians.

1. Simon Grynæus was born at Vehringen (40 m. s. of Stuttgart), Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, 1493; d. at Basel Aug. 1, 1541. He studied at Pforzheim and at the University of Vienna and became professor of Latin (1524) and of Greek (1526) at Heidelberg. In 1529 he was summoned to Basel to succeed Erasmus, who had left the city upon the introduction of the Reformation. Delay in the reorganization of the university, which was not effected till 1531, afforded him opportunity for a journey to England, where he was entrusted by Henry VIII. with the task of obtaining the sanction of the Reformed theologians to the king's desired divorce from Catherine of Aragon. This favorable attitude to Henry's plans, which he shared with the majority of Swiss theologians, he was induced to change by the influence of Butzer. After the death of Œcolampadius in 1531 Grynæus refused to contend with Myconius for the post of antistes of the church in Basel, but received in addition to his chair in Greek the appointment of extraordinary professor in theology, in which capacity he delivered lectures on New Testament exegesis. In 1534 he was entrusted by Duke Ulrich of Württemberg with the establishment of the Reformation in his territories and the reorganization of the University of Tübingen. In 1536 he took part in the drawing up of the so-called First Helvetic (Second Basel) Confession and in 1540 was the only Swiss represent-

ative at the Conference of Worms. He died of the plague in the following year. Grynæus was one of the greatest scholars of his time; in Greek especially few were his rivals. As a theologian he distinguished himself by his broad knowledge, clear insight, and repugnance for controversy.

2. Johann Jakob Grynæus, grandnephew of Simon, was born at Bern Oct. 1, 1540; d. at Basel Aug. 13, 1617. He studied at the universities of Basel and Tübingen, and in 1565 succeeded his father in the pastorate at Rotelen near Basel, whence he went to the city, in 1575, as professor of the Old Testament at the university. At this time he definitely abandoned his Lutheran views on the Eucharist. In 1584 he was entrusted by the Elector Palatine John Casimir with the reorganization of the University of Heidelberg, but returned to Basel in 1586 as successor to Sulzer in the post of antistes of the church. Connected with this office were the duties of pastor at the cathedral, president of the city clergy, archdeacon of the territory of Basel, and professor of theology at the university. In the internal history of the church at Basel his administration is important as marking the downfall of the movement toward Lutheranism fostered by Sulzer and the assimilation of the doctrines of the church of Basel with that of the other Swiss churches. The Basel Confession of 1534, set aside by Sulzer, was reissued by Grynæus in 1590. Blindness, which overtook him in 1612, did not prevent him from continuing his duties as pastor and professor.

3. Johann Grynæus (1705–44) was an Orientalist of note and one of the founders of the Frey-Grynæan Institute at Basel.

4. Simon Grynæus (1725–99), the last of the name, is known as a translator of antideistic writings from French and English, and as the author of a Bible version in the taste of his time (Basel, 1776). (R. Stähelin†.)

Bibliography: 1. The *Literæ*, with an index of the works of Simon Grynæus, were edited by G. T. Streuber, Basel, 1847, who in the *Basler Taschenbuch* for 1853 wrote a sketch of the life. Consult also R. Thommen, *Geschichte der Universität Basel 1532–1632*, Basel, 1889.

2. The *Epistolæ familiares* of J. J. Grynæus, ed. S. A. Apinus, appeared Frankfort, 1715; a *Vita*, by J. J. and H. a Brun, gathered from his own writings, was published Basel, 1618. Consult K. R. Hagenbach, *Kritische Geschichte . . . der ersten Basler Confession*, pp. 137–156, Basel, 1827; idem, *Die theologische Schule Basels*, pp. 16–17, ib. 1860; R. Thommen, ut sup., pp. 117–131.

GUALBERTO, gwäl-bär'to, **GIOVANNI:** Florentine nobleman, founder of the Order of Vallombrosa; b. in Florence 985; d. July 12, 1073. According to tradition, his father sent him to avenge the murder of a kinsman, and on Good Friday he found the assassin in a defile. The murderer, however, in his prayer for mercy, raised his arms in the form of a cross, whereupon his life was spared. Gualberto then hastened to the church of the Benedictine monastery of San Miniato near Florence, where he knelt in prayer before the crucifix. In recognition of his act of mercy, the head of Jesus bowed to him, and he then resolved to consecrate himself to the Church and the service of God. In 1038 he became a monk, but before long joined the hermits of Camaldoli (see Camaldolites), only to leave them shortly afterward with the intention of founding an order of his own for contemplative piety. With two other hermits, he began the execution of his plans in the valley of Aquabella or Vallombrosa (whence his order was to take its name) near Camaldoli, and there he was soon joined by others. Gualberto's order won such approval that it soon attained considerable strength, and was divided by its founder into religious, lay brothers, and laity, the second class being apparently first introduced by him. At the time of the founder's death, the order possessed seven monasteries, and when he was canonized by Celestine III. in 1193 they had increased to about sixty, all in Italy, except the French abbey of Corneillac near Orléans. A reform in the discipline of the order, which had become lax, was begun by Eugenius IV. and completed by Pius II. in 1463, while from 1662 to 1680 the monks were united with the Sylvestrians. The original habit of the monks of Vallombrosa was gray, but under Abbot Blasius of Milan they assumed a brown habit, which was temporarily changed to black during their union with the Sylvestrians. In the thirteenth century Rosana Altimonte (Sister Humilitas; d. 1310) founded at Faenza a female branch of the order of Vallombrosa, whose last cloister of San Salvi existed in Florence until 1869. (O. Zöcklerf.)

Bibliography: The early *Vitæ*, with the *Miracula* and commentary, are in *ASB*, July, iii. 311–458. Consult also: F. Ughelli, *Italia sacra*, iii. 294, 10 vols., Venice, 1717–22; O. Delarc, in *Revue des questions historiques*, xliii (1888), 5–60; E. Acerbi, *Vita di S. Giovanni Gualberto*, Florence, 1889; Neander, *Christian Church*, iii. 398–399. On the order consult: Helyot, *Ordres monastiques*, v. 298–321; Heimbucher, *Orden und Kongregationen*, i. 408–414.

GUALTHER, gū-ältär **(WALTHER), RUDOLF:** Third antistes of the Church of Zurich; b. at Zurich Nov. 9, 1519; d. there Dec. 25, 1586. From 1538 to 1541 he studied at Basel, Strasburg, Lausanne, and Marburg, and in 1542 was appointed pastor of St. Peter in Zurich and remained in that position until his death. His sermons represented the transition from the free homily of the Reformers to the more artistic manner of later times. As assistant of Bullinger he rendered great services in the leadership of the Zurich Church and in the cultivation of active relations with the Reformed Churches of all countries. In 1575 he succeeded Bullinger as antistes. Of his literary works may be mentioned especially his homilies and expositions of the Bible, which appeared in great number and many editions, almost yearly. He edited vols. i.–iii. of the first edition of the works of Zwingli (his father-in-law), translated more than thirty of his German writings into Latin, and prefixed an *Apologia pro Zwinglio et operum eius editione* (also published separately). Another work was Οἰκέτης *seu servus ecclesiasticus, de officio ministrorum ecclesiastico oratio* (1548). He wrote poems on Simon Grynæus and Margaretha Blaurer (qq.v.), a work on metrics entitled *De syllabarum et carminum ratione libri ii* (1542); *Argumenta omnium tum Veteris tum Novi Testamenti capitum elegia cocarmine conscripta* (1543); and even attempted a drama, *Nabal comœdia sacra* (1562).

(Emil Egli.)

Bibliography: His letters and writings are in great part collected in J. H. Hottinger, *Schola Tigurinorum Carolina*, pp. 115 sqq.. Zurich, 1664. Consult: G. R. Zimmermann, *Die Zürcher Kirche 1518–1819*, pp. 73–103, Zurich, 1878; *ADB*, x. 239; S. M. Jackson, *Huldreich Zwingli*, pp. 360–361, New York, 1903.

GUARDIAN: The usual title of the superior of a Franciscan convent.

GUASTALLINÆ, gwās″tal-li′nî *or* -nê. See Angelicals.

GUATEMALA. See Central America.

GUDEA. See Babylonia, VI., 3, § 3.

GUEDER, gē′der, **EDUARD:** Swiss clergyman and theological writer; b. at Walperswyl, near Nidau (16 m. n.w. of Bern), June 1, 1817; d. at Bern July 14, 1882. He was educated at Bern and Berlin, and after acting as vicar and pastor at Bienne, where as a representative of orthodox dogma and practise he came into conflict with the prevalent revolutionary ideals, he became pastor of the Nydeck church at Bern and attained repute as an eloquent preacher and an active participant in church politics. From 1859 to 1865 he lectured on the New Testament at the university, assuming, in contrast to the majority of his colleagues, the standpoint of dogmatic orthodoxy. In the theological controversies that followed the publication of Langhans' *Heilige Schrift* in 1866, Güder showed himself consistently the champion of the traditional interpretation of the Scriptures, and was successful in winning over the synod to his views. The law of 1874 effecting the separation of church and state encountered in him an uncompromising opponent, but the high esteem in which he was held by friends and opponents alike induced him to remain in the service of a church which, crippled as he conceived it to be, was still dear to him. Of his theological publications the principal are *Die Lehre von der Erscheinung Christi unter den Toten* (Bern, 1853) and an edition of Schneckenburger's *Vergleichende Darstellung des lutherischen und reformierten Lehrbegriffs* (Stuttgart, 1855). (P. Güder†.)

Bibliography: P. Güder, *E. Güder, sein Leben und Wirken*, Bern, 1886.

GUÉNÉE, gê″nê′, **ANTOINE:** French Roman Catholic controversialist; b. at Étampes (35 m. s.s.w. of Paris) Nov. 23, 1717; d. at Fontainebleau (37 m. s.s.e. of Paris) Nov. 27, 1803. He studied in Paris and for twenty years was professor of rhetoric at the Collège du Plessis there. To learn modern languages he traveled extensively in England, Germany, and Italy. He translated several works from the English and wrote among other works of less importance, *Lettres de quelques Juifs portugais, allemands et polonais à M. de Voltaire* (4 vols., Paris, 1769; Eng. transl., *Letters of Certain Jews to Monsieur de Voltaire*, 2 vols., Dublin, 1777), a refutation of Voltaire's attack on the Bible, and the best book produced by the Roman Catholics against the French skepticism of the eighteenth century. For this work Guénée was made a canon in the cathedral of Amiens and afterward was attached to the chapel of Versailles by Cardinal de la Roche-Aymon.

Bibliography: A biographical preface by Dacier is to be found in the ed. of Paris, 1815, cf. Voltaire, *Œuvres complètes*, vol. x., Paris, 1863; Lichtenberger, *ESR*, v. 756–758.

GUENTHER, gwen′ter, **ANTON:** Roman Catholic philosopher and theologian; b. at Lindenau, near Leitmeritz (34 m. n.n.w. of Prague), Bohemia, Nov. 17, 1783; d. at Vienna Feb. 24, 1863. He studied philosophy and jurisprudence at Prague and theology in the academy at Raab, Hungary. In 1820 he received consecration as a priest and in 1822 entered the Jesuit cloister of Starawies, in Galicia. After a two years' noviciate he went to Vienna, where he spent the rest of his life as a private priest and (till 1848) censor of philosophical and juridical books. When his own works were placed on the Index in 1857 he submitted to the ecclesiastical authority. As a philosopher his aim was to effect a reconciliation between knowledge and faith, and place the dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church on a firm philosophical foundation. For current pantheism he substituted dualism, on the basis of which he sought to show that God exists outside of the world, that he can not be identified with his creation. The two opposing principles in the world, which is objectified by God, are nature and spirit, and man is the synthesis of both of these. Of his works the more important are: *Vorschule zur spekulativen Theologie des positiven Christentums* (2 vols., Vienna, 1828–29; 2d ed., 1848); *Peregrins Gastmahl* (1830); *Süd- und Nordlichter am Horizonte spekulativer Theologie* (1832); *Thomas a Scrupulis. Zur Transfiguration der Persönlichkeits-Pantheismen der neuesten Zeit* (1835); and *Die Juste-Milieus in der deutschen Philosophie gegenwärtiger Zeit* (1838).

Bibliography: P. Knoodt, *Anton Günther*, 2 vols., Vienna, 1881; F. H. Reusch, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher*, ii. 1121–1125, Bonn, 1885.

GUERICKE, gê-rî′ke, **HEINRICH ERNST FERDINAND:** German Lutheran theologian; b. at Wettin (15 m. n.e. of Elberfeld) Feb. 25, 1803; d. Halle Feb. 4, 1878. He studied at the University of Halle and in recognition of his biography of August Hermann Francke (Halle, 1827), and his *Beiträge zur historisch-kritischen Einleitung ins Neue Testament* (1828–31) he was appointed associate professor at Halle in 1829. He was a zealous student of the history of theology, and published several works which attained much popularity. Among these may be mentioned: *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte* (Halle, 1833; Eng. transl., *A Manual of Church History*, Andover, 1857); *Allgemeine christliche Symbolik* (Leipsic, 1839); *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (1843; 3d ed., entitled *Neutestamentliche Isagogik*, 1867); and *Lehrbuch der christlich-kirchlichen Archäologie* (1847; Eng. transl., *Manual of the Antiquities of the Church*, London, 1851). In 1834 he was ordained pastor of a small congregation at Halle, but when this congregation emigrated to America a few years later he returned to his professorship, and in 1840 he founded, together with Dr. Rudelbach, the *Zeitschrift für die gesammte lutherische Theologie und Kirche*, of which he was associate editor until his death. His life of Francke was translated into English, London, 1837.

GUERRY, ger'ĭ, **WILLIAM ALEXANDER:** Protestant Episcopal bishop of South Carolina; b. at Fulton, S. C., July 7, 1861. He was educated at the University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn. (M.A., 1884; B.D., 1888), and after being rector of St. John's, Florence, S. C., from 1888 to 1893, was chaplain and professor of homiletics and pastoral theology in the University of the South until 1907, when he was consecrated bishop coadjutor of South Carolina, and in 1908, on the death of the bishop, became full diocesan.

GUETZLAFF, gūts'lāf, **KARL FRIEDRICH AUGUST:** German Protestant missionary; b. at Pyritz (24 m. s.e. of Stettin), Pomerania, July 8, 1803; d. at Hongkong, China, Aug. 9, 1851. In 1821 he entered the mission established in Berlin by Johann Jänike. In 1823 he entered the service of the Netherlands Missionary Society. During 1826–28 he was located at Batavia where he learned the commonest Chinese dialects. In 1828 he went to Bangkok as an independent missionary, and in 1831 he proceeded to China, residing first at Macao, afterward at Hongkong, whence he made numerous journeys to various parts of the Chinese empire. He assisted W. H. Medhurst and Robert Morrison in translating the Bible into Chinese, wrote in Chinese several tracts of useful information, edited a monthly magazine in Chinese, and in 1844 founded at Hongkong an institution for the training of native missionaries. After 1835 he held the office of interpreter and secretary to the English commission, and by his knowledge of the people and country rendered valuable aid to the English during the Opium War. He wrote: *Journal of Three Voyages along the Coast of China* (London, 1834); *A Sketch of Chinese History* (2 vols., 1834); *China Opened* (2 vols., 1838); *Geschichte des chinesischen Reichs* (Stuttgart, 1847); *Die Mission in China* (Berlin, 1850); and *The Life of Taou Kwang* (1851).

Bibliography: J. C. Cosack, *Leben und Heimgang C. F. A. Gützlaff*, Berlin, 1851.

GUIANA: A district of northeastern South America between the Atlantic Ocean, Brazil, and Venezuela. Colonization began about 1620 by the French and Dutch, and, more permanently, by the English in 1650. The present division into the three colonial governments of British, Dutch, and French Guiana was established by the Treaty of Breda (1667) and the Peace of Paris (1815).

British Guiana, the westernmost of the three colonies, was organized as a crown colony in 1831. The area is 90,277 square miles; population (1904), 301,923, chiefly negroes, East Indian coolies, and half-breeds; there are about 8,000 Indians living in the settled regions. The greater portion of the colored population had been won to at least a nominal Christianity through the missionary activity of the Anglican Church, which early adopted an organized mode of procedure, though the bishopric of Guiana was not created till 1842. The see is at the capital, Georgetown, or Demerara, and the diocese forms part of the province of the West Indies, having as metropolitan the archbishop of Jamaica. It now contains 120,000 souls. There is also a synod of the Church of Scotland with fifteen ministers, and a Wesleyan Methodist district with twenty preachers. The Congregationalists have a few congregations, and the Moravians have planted settlements and congregations among the colored people in connection with their activity in the neighboring Dutch colony. The Coolie Mission Association and the Diocesan Mission Society are active in missionary work. The Roman Catholic Church had about 24,000 adherents, Irish immigrants and converts of the Jesuits, who have had general charge of the spiritual interests of those of their faith in the colony. The apostolic vicariate of British Guiana or Demerara was created in 1837.

Dutch Guiana or **Surinam,** east of British Guiana, has an area of 46,072 square miles and a population estimated at 90,000, about half of whom are descended from emancipated negro slaves. The largest number of adherents is accredited to the Moravians who settled in the colony as early as 1739, with missionary activity among the slaves primarily in view. They consecrated the first church for these Christians in 1796. At the abolition of slavery in 1863, some 20,000 of the 33,000 slaves belonged to the Brethren, and the total of their converts in 1902 amounted to 29,300. Next stands the Dutch Reformed Church, with seven congregations and about 5,000 souls; then the Anglican Church, the "Society for Free Evangelization," and two Presbyterian bodies with 4,000 followers all told. The Roman Catholic Church gained a footing in 1787 by opening a house of worship in the capital, Paramaribo, but closed it six years later, and Roman Catholic worship was not permanently reinstated until 1810. In 1842 the apostolic vicariate of Dutch Guiana was created for some 13,000 Catholics, the majority of whom are colored. They have pastors of the Redemptorist Order. There are upward of 1,200 Jews, mostly descendants of those expelled from Brazil in 1663; the first synagogue was built in 1730. Somewhat more numerous, 2,000 to 2,100, are the Mohammedans, and there are nearly 8,000 Brahmans who have come from India and supplanted the negroes on the plantations.

French Guiana or **Cayenne,** the easternmost of the three colonies, contains 27,027 square miles, with 33,000 inhabitants. The negro slaves (numbering at the time upward of 12,600) were emancipated in 1848. At the same time there were about 20,000 Indians in the sylvan interior of the country, about half of whom are still heathen. The Jesuits and the Capuchins who came as early as 1643, have labored among them, with but indifferent success Since 1816 this missionary activity has been continued by the Fathers of the Holy Ghost. The apostolic prefecture of French Guiana was created in 1643. There are two Protestant churches belonging respectively to the French Reformed and the Presbyterians. Wilhelm Goetz.

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French Guiana: F. Bouyer, *La Guyane française*. Paris, 1867; E. Nibaut, *Guyane française*, ib. 1882; P. Mury, *Les Jésuites à Cayenne*, Strasburg, 1895.

GUIBERT, gī″bār′, OF NOGENT: Abbot of Nogent (Nogent-sous-Coucy, near Laon, 75 m. n.e. of Paris); b. at Clermont (40 m. n. of Paris) 1053; d. at Nogent between 1121 and 1124. At the age of twelve he entered the monastery of Flay, where he received a classical and theological education, and came under the influence of Anselm, then prior of Bec. In 1104 he was made abbot of St. Mary's monastery at Nogent and remained there the rest of his life. He was first of all a moralist, and hence cultivated moralizing Scripture exposition, which seemed to him especially necessary in a time when faith was unshaken, but morals were much on the decline (*De vita sua*, i. 17, p. 876). He is not to be counted, however, among the enlighteners, but is rather a true child of his time, deeply sunk in its superstition. Of interest among his writings is the *Liber quo ordine sermo fieri debeat* which strenuously opposes the prevalent repugnance to preaching. Guibert advised placing the moral and psychological elements into the foreground of the sermon, and held that no manner of preaching was more salutary than that which presented man's own picture to his mind. The pretense of the monks of St. Medard that they had a tooth of Christ induced him to write *De pignoribus sanctorum*. He by no means attacks the worship of relics, but demands that one should first be convinced of the genuineness of the relics and the holiness of those from whom they come. He disapproves of the exhuming of the bodies of the saints and the dismemberment of these bodies. He denies entirely the existence of physical parts of Christ, since his earthly body has been completely transfigured. In the second book he defends most energetically the doctrine of transubstantiation, and the doctrine of the necessary *intentio* of the priest is here found. Guibert was also the first to write an extensive history of the first crusade—*Historiæ quæ dicitur gesta Dei per Francos sive historia Hierosolymitana*, from 1095 to the end of 1099, written about 1108; it was founded on an earlier narrative by a crusader, which Guibert enlarged from the oral communications of others and, as he thought, improved. His statements are not always reliable, but the book as a whole is an important historical source. Guibert also wrote a kind of autobiography, *Monodiarum sive de vita sua libri iii.* The first book only, which reaches to his election as abbot, is biographical; it is written after the plan of Augustine's "Confessions," and treats of his errors and his repentance through the divine grace. The second book contains historical material on the monastery at Nogent, relates Guibert's election, and tells monks' stories. The most interesting part is the third book, a description of the doings of the unworthy bishop Galderich of Laon and of the controversies between him and the community of Laon. S. M. Deutsch.

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GUIBERT OF RAVENNA: Archbishop of that city and antipope (Clement III.) 1080–1100; b. in Parma c. 1025; d. at Civita Castellana (19 m. s.e. of Viterbo) Sept. 8, 1100. He was the descendant of a noble Italian family, and entered political service as chancellor for Italy, officiating from 1057–1063. After the death of Nicholas II. in 1061 he openly separated from the curial party and induced the bishops of Lombardy to protest against the election of Alexander II. and to ally themselves with the secular court. The election of Bishop Cadalus of Parma as antipope at Basel, Oct. 1061, took place probably in his presence and corresponded to his conception of the situation. The resolution of the Synod of Augsburg which led to the acknowledgment of Alexander II. did not have his consent, and probably for this reason he resigned his chancellorship after that synod. For the next ten years he seems to have lived in Parma. Though his name was not prominent during this period, the German court did not lose sight of him. In 1072, at the intercession of the empress, Henry IV. made him archbishop of Ravenna. In the beginning of the pontificate of Gregory VII. Guibert seems to have cooperated with the pope, but probably as early as 1074 he took the side of the opposition. As he absented himself from the synod of 1075, Gregory VII. suspended him from his office. In 1080 the imperial party elected him antipope, but it was not till Mar. 24, 1084, that he reached Rome and was enthroned in the Lateran Church. The German episcopate acknowledged him as pope at the Synod of Mainz, April, 1085; but his elevation did not bring to the emperor that increase of power which he expected.

Personally Guibert was respected by friend and foe, but he lacked the initiative necessary for a champion of the imperial cause. He remained faithful to Henry IV., and on March 31, 1084, crowned him king, but was never able to exercise a decisive influence upon the condition of the Church.

(A. Hauck.)

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GUIDO, gī′dō, OF AREZZO: Benedictine; b. at Arezzo (55 m. s.e. of Florence) between 990 and 1000; d. about 1050. In the early part of the eleventh century he became a monk in the monastery of Pomposa, but the success of his method of teaching singing aroused such jealousy that he was expelled. He found refuge with the bishop of Arezzo, and at the invitation of John XIX. went to Rome. His abbot then urged him to return to Pomposa, but whether he did so or whether he is to be identified with the Prior Guido who died at the Camaldolite monastery of Avellana in 1050, is uncertain.

He applied the famous syllables "ut re mi fa sol la" to the notes of the scale, these being the initial syllables of the hemistichs of a hymn on John the Baptist. He improved the system which already existed by the use of additional lines and by availing himself of the spaces between them. The signs which he placed on and between the lines were not notes, but the old neumes. In addition to the works enumerated in the bibliography, he was probably the author of a letter against simony, addressed to Heribert, archbishop of Milan.

(R. Schmid.)

Bibliography: Guido's works on music, genuine and doubtful, were edited by Gerbert in *Script. eccl. de musica sacra*, vol. ii., St. Blas, 1784, in *MPL*, cxli., and in C. E. H. de Coussemaker, *Scriptorum de musica . . . novus series*, vol. ii., Paris, 1865. Consult: R. G. Kiesewetter, *Guido von Arezzo*, Leipsic, 1840; H. Niemann, *Studien zur Geschichte der Notenschrift*, ib. 1878; idem, *Musiklexikon*, ib. 1895.

GUIDO OF CREMA. See Paschal III.

GUIDO (GUY) DE BRAY (BRÈS). See Brès.

GUIDONIS, gwî-dō'nis, **BERNARDUS (BERNARD GUI):** Dominican, inquisitor in Toulouse; b. at Royères (department of Haute-Vienne, arrondissement of Saint-Yrieix, 27 m. s. of Limoges) about 1261; d. at Lodève (33 m. w.n.w. of Montpellier) Dec. 30, 1331. He entered the Dominican Order in 1279. From 1294 to 1305 he served as prior in convents at Albi, Carcassonne, Castres, and Limoges; in 1314 he was vicar of the province of Toulouse; and about 1316 became procurator general of his Order. In 1307 he was appointed inquisitor of Toulouse, where for nearly eighteen years he administered his office with zeal and took an active part in the extirpation of the Catharist heresy (see New Manicheans, II.). A fairly exhaustive narrative of his activity is supplied in the *Liber sententiarum inquisitionis Tolosanæ*, published by P. van Limborch in his *Historia inquisitionis* (Amsterdam, 1692). An official manual for the procedure of the officers of the Inquisition was prepared by Guidonis under the title: *Practica inquisitionis* (first issued by C. Douais, Paris, 1886), a volume furnishing valuable elucidations of the doctrines and peculiarities of the various heretical factions. That the Curia appreciated his eminent ability, appears from his repeated employment in the papal diplomatic service. Thus in 1317 he was despatched to Italy in behalf of pacification between the Guelphs and Ghibellines, and for the adjustment of partizan strifes at Genoa; and in 1318 he was commissioned to mediate a reconciliation between Philip V. of France and Count Robert of Flanders. In 1233 he became bishop of Tuy, in Spain; whence, in 1324, he was translated to the diocese of Lodève.

Along with his official activity, Guidonis exhibited a remarkably comprehensive literary industry. Of his historical works, the best known are his great history of the popes (*Flores cronicorum seu catalogus pontificum Romanorum*); his compendious account of the popes and emperors (*Catalogus brevis pontificum Romanorum et imperatorum*); and his annals of the French kings. Of importance, moreover, is the great work on the history of the Dominican Order, which Guidonis undertook in 1304; only parts have hitherto been published, but C. Douais has repeatedly made use of Guidonis' materials for the history of that Order. Guidonis' digest of the acts of the original chapter general of the Dominican Order has been edited by B. M. Reichert (*Monumenta ordinis fratrum prædicatorum*, vol. iii., Prague, 1898); the acts of the provincial chapter of the Dominican province of Provence (down to 1302) were made known by Douais in 1894. As yet unpublished are Guidonis' *Speculum sanctorale* (a valuable collection of legends of the saints) and *De temporibus et annis generalium et provincialium conciliorum*. Great confusion ensued formerly from the designation erroneously attributed to Guidonis: "de Castris S. Vincentii"; since his writings thus came to be partly ascribed to Bernardus de Castris S. Vincentii. He has also been confused with the Dominican Guido de Pileo of Vincenza (d. 1331), and is to be distinguished from his elder fellow Dominican, Bernardus Guidonis of Béziers (hence *Biterrensis*), who died in 1273.

(Herman Haupt.)

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GUILLON, gî″yōn′, **MARIE NICOLAS SYLVESTRE:** French Roman Catholic, Bishop of Morocco *in partibus infidelium;* b. in Paris Jan. 1, 1760; d. at Montfermeil (19 m. n.e. of Paris) Oct. 16, 1847. He studied at the Collège du Plessis and at the Collège Louis-le-Grand and acquired great proficiency in medicine, as well as in theology. He became almoner and librarian to the Princess Lamballe, but fled to Sceaux after her execution in 1792 and practised medicine there, and at Meaux, for several years under the assumed name of Pastel. After the Revolution he was made honorary canon and librarian of the cathedral of Paris. He accompanied Cardinal Fesch to Rome, and on his return became professor of rhetoric at the Lycée Bonaparte, and shortly afterward professor of sacred eloquence at the Sorbonne. He also became almoner of the Collège Louis-le-Grand, almoner to the Princess of Orléans, honorary canon of Saint Denis, bishop of Morocco (1833), dean of the theological faculty at the Sorbonne, and an officer of the Legion of Honor. He was a prolific writer, and some of his works are still of value, particularly his *Collection des brefs du Pope Pie VI.* (2 vols., Paris, 1798); *Bibliothèque choisie des pères grecs et latins* (26 vols., 1822); and his excellent translation of Cyprian's works (2 vols., 1837).

Bibliography: Lichtenberger, *ESR*, v. 792–793.

GUILT: The state resulting from the violation of law. In Christianity the presuppositions of guilt are the Christian view of Sin (q.v.), personal

freedom and moral law. Originally the word for guilt signified a debt, then the liability for debt, still later it stood for crime and the state of one who had violated custom or law without reference to the ideal nature of these, as liable to punishment. With reference to the law of God, guilt was the condition of one who having transgressed the law was liable to penalty. In the Old Testament guilt-offerings were coupled with sin-offerings, both of which assumed violation of the covenant relations which demanded atonement. It involved the assumption that legal requirement, not so much personal as arbitrary and external, had been disturbed and that satisfaction had to be made. This idea has its ethnic parallels. In Roman law *culpa* designates the transgression of law where no *dolus* can be attributed to the conscious intention. *Aitia*, which stood for cause, meant also guilt; even heroes lay under a burden of guilt which could not be ethically attributed to them; hence it appears as a fate—*haimarmenē*. The German Skulda was one of the fates. The earliest Christian term for guilt was not *aitia* but *opheilēma*, "debt" (cf. Matt. vi. 12).

Guilt thus appears in two relations—civil and personal. In civil affairs one may come under obligations to compensate for an action legally defective, by the payment of money or other equivalent. By a criminal act, in addition to the injury done, the criminal has violated a social order for which the only satisfaction is punishment; this, while not repaying the injured party, compels a recognition of the order violated. Here the relation is no longer external, involving debt and things, but personal, involving crime and persons. Thus the necessity of punishment cleaves to the transgressor. According to the New Testament guilt has the following relations: (1) to the object violated by the sin (I Cor. xi. 27; Jas. ii. 10); (2) to the sin with which it is connected (Mark iii. 29); (3) to the penalty to which the evil-doer is liable (Matt. xxvi. 66); (4) to the person to whose jurisdiction one is answerable on the ground of violated obligation (Rom. iii. 19).

Several theories have been proposed to account for the consciousness of guilt: (1) It is grounded in part in the participation of all men in Adam's sin, and in part in the corruption which is the punishment of that sin. (2) A blameworthy deed committed by each individual of the race in a prenatal state announces itself in the universal consciousness of guilt (Julius Müller). (3) The consciousness of guilt is an incident of human development; "in his direct and unformed condition, man is in a situation in which he ought not to be, and he must free himself. This is the meaning of the doctrine of original sin." This condition is therefore inevitable, but to be transcended, and with its disappearance guilt will also disappear (Hegel); or through the painful—guilty—consciousness of natural weakness as something that should not be, one becomes susceptible to redemption by which he attains perfection (Schleiermacher). (4) Guilt is a social phenomenon. All men are involved in the general consequences and sufferings caused by sin. This is the truth contained in the doctrine of original sin. Men may be only in part aware of this state and later they may be awakened from their indifference and lethargy and be led to confess and forsake their blameworthy share in a general immoral and irreligious condition. So far at least as they consent to those social conditions which violate the ideal moral order they are guilty. But the line between individual and social guilt is hard to define. (5) Guilt attaches only to those actions and to that character which are self-originated and for which one is therefore responsible. He has freely identified himself with the moral conditions in which he is found. Accordingly he is out of tune with the moral order of the world, society, and his own better self. His acts become habitual, his choice cumulative, registered in a permanent alienation from God. And the wrong act has not only its outer, but its inner consequences, and these latter cleave to the sinner and he is answerable to God. This constitutes his guilt. The prophets, in their revolt from the earlier Hebrew notion of sin as derived from social solidarity, carried the idea of individual sin and guilt to the very breaking-point (Jer. xxxi. 29, 30: Ezek. xviii. 2, 4, 9, xxxiii. 12–20). In personal life there may be guilt where there is no immediate consciousness of it. There are degrees of guilt, but no guilt is infinite. Strictly speaking, there is neither inheritance nor transfer of guilt.

C. A. Beckwith.

Bibliography: The subject is treated in the treatises on systematic theology (see Dogma, Dogmatics); in the works on Biblical Theology (q.v.); and in the commentaries on the passages cited in the text. Consult also the literature under Sin; J. Müller, *Die christliche Lehre von der Sünde*, 2 vols., Stuttgart, 1877, Eng. transl., Edinburgh, 1877; *DCG*, i. 696–698.

GUITMUND, gwit'mund, **CHRISTIAN:** Bishop of Aversa (13 m. n.n.w. of Naples); b. in Normandy, probably c. 1020; d. about 1095. He was instructed by Lanfranc at Bec. Later he was a monk in the monastery of La-Croix Saint-Leufroi in the diocese of Evreux (department of Eure, between Gaillon and Evreux). Thence William the Conqueror called him to England after the battle of Senlac (Oct. 14, 1066), with the intention of offering him later an English bishopric, but he could not induce Guitmund to remain. At the beginning of 1077 he was in Rome, where he entered a monastery under the name of Christianus. He soon gained great influence at the papal court. In an account of the events in Rome in Dec., 1083, he appears as the leader of the Gregorian party. After the death of Gregory he vehemently opposed the election of Victor III. (pope 1086–87), but was more favorably inclined toward Urban II. (1088–99). To him he owed his election as bishop of Aversa, about July, 1088.

Guitmund's fame rests upon his attack on Berengar of Tours and his formulation of the common doctrine of the Lord's Supper in his *Libri tres de corporis et sanguinis Domini veritate in eucharistia*. The work originated between 1073 and 1078, probably in La-Croix-Saint-Leufroi, and aims to refute Berengar's book *Des acra cœna*. Guitmund tries (1) to prove from the conception of divine omnipotence the possibility of the "essential" change; (2) to confute the esthetic objection to the idea of

a "chewing" of Christ. In this connection he argues (3) that in every particle of the elements the whole Christ is partaken, and (4) that the special manner of the change which takes place in the Lord's Supper corresponds exactly to the special manner of generation in the birth of Christ, and is as difficult to be understood by the intellect as it is easy to be grasped by faith. In the second book he refutes (5) the objection of Berengar that the incorruptible body of the heavenly Christ is, according to the doctrine of the Church, considered subject to the process of digestion, and tries (6) to invalidate Berengar's proofs from the Fathers. In the third book he attempts (7) to prove from the Fathers that the doctrine of transubstantiation is in accordance with the doctrine of the Church, and (8) to confute three similar heterodox views on the Lord's Supper that had originated with Berengar. Besides his principal work, Guitmund wrote also on the Trinity—*Confessio de sancta trinitate, Christi humanitate corporisque ac sanguinis Domini nostri veritate*, and *Epistola ad Erfastum* of which only a fragment is preserved. (H. Böhmer.)

Bibliography: The *editio princeps* of his work on the Eucharist was published by Erasmus, Basel, 1530; that and the *Confessio* were issued by Ulimmier, Löwen, 1561; these two and the *Epistola* are in *MPL*, cxlix. His life is in Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. eccl.*, iv. 8. Consult: *Histoire littéraire de la France*, viii. 553–572; J. Bach, *Dogmengeschichte des Mittelalters*, i. 586–587, Vienna, 1873; R. Seeberg, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, ii. 60, Leipsic, 1898; Harnack, *Dogma*, vi. 52; *KL*, v. 1359–60; Ceillier, *Auteurs sacrés*, ix. 759–760, xiii. 131, 175, 516–525.

GUIZOT, gî''zō', FRANÇOIS PIERRE GUILLAUME: French historian and statesman; b. at Nîmes (32 m. w.s.w. of Avignon) Oct. 4, 1787; d. at Val-Richer, a former Augustinian monastery near Lisieux (35 m. e. of Caen), Sept. 12, 1874. He was descended from a family of Huguenot pastors. His father, an advocate of liberal views, having been guillotined during the Reign of Terror, he was taken by his mother to Geneva and educated there under her care. In 1805 he went to Paris to study law, but soon devoted himself to literature, and in 1812 became professor of history at the Sorbonne. He belonged to the school of doctrinaires, who sought to unite liberalism and conservatism and retain under a limited monarchy the liberties won by the Revolution. His lectures found an enthusiastic reception; but for this very reason they were soon prohibited. From 1830 to 1848 he devoted himself to politics and held various posts including that of minister of public instruction (1832–34), and that of premier (1840–48). He reformed the educational system of France from top to bottom, introducing particularly valuable improvements in the primary and secondary schools. During the revolution of 1848 the popular indignation against him was so great that he sought safety in England. After his political fall he lived mostly in retirement and took an increasing interest in religious affairs. In 1852 he became president of the consistory, in which capacity he fought the liberals tooth and nail. Whether in the consistory, or the cabinet, or the professor's chair, he showed always the same firm and unyielding disposition. He was the chief support of orthodoxy in the Reformed Church in France and was largely responsible for the division of the Church which occurred at and after the Synod of 1872. He believed strongly in the necessity for authority and had no patience with criticism, either of religion or politics. For him religion was above all, the sanction of order and authority. Hence his great admiration for the Roman Catholic Church.

Guizot was thoroughly unselfish and a man of unimpeachable integrity. Though he filled the highest political offices and as premier had the entire power of France in his hands, he died a poor man. It may be added that he took part in founding the Société Biblique in 1826, and the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme, 1857. A few of his most important works are: *Histoire générale de la civilisation en Europe* (Paris, 1828), and *Histoire de la civilisation en France* (5 vols., 1829–32), both translated into English by W. Hazlitt under the title, *The History of Civilisation* (3 vols., London, 1856); *Histoire de la Révolution d'Angleterre* (2 vols., 1826–27, extended to 6 vols., 1850–56; Eng. transl., 2 vols., Oxford, 1838; also transl. by W. Hazlitt, London, 1856); *Vie, correspondance et écrits de Washington* (6 vols., 1839–40, Eng. transl., London, 1840); *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de mon temps* (8 vols., 1858–67; Eng. transl. in part, *Memoirs to Illustrate the History of My Time*, 4 vols., London, 1858–61); *L'Église et la société chrétienne* (1861; Eng. transl., *The Christian Church and Society in 1861*, London, 1861); *Méditations sur l'essence de la religion chrétienne* (1864; Eng. transl., *Meditations on the Essence of Christianity*, London, 1864), subsequently supplemented; *Les Vies de quartre grands Chrétiens français* (vol. i., 1868; Eng. transl., *Saint Louis and Calvin*, London, 1869); and *L'Histoire de France . . . racontée à mes petits-enfants* (7 vols., 1870–79; Eng. transl., *History of France . . . to the Year 1789*, 8 vols., London, 1872–81). Other works of his have appeared under English titles, and illustrate the range of his activities, e.g.: *Memoirs of George Monk, Duke of Albemarle* (London, 1838); *Democracy and its Mission* (1848); *On the Causes and Success of the English Revolution of 1640–1688* (1850); *Essay on the Hist. of the Origin of Representative Government* (1852); *The Fine Arts, their Nature and Relations* (1853); *Hist. of England* (3 vols., 1877–79). His *Life of Oliver Cromwell* (1854 and often) is an extract from his "History of the English Revolution." (C. Pfender.)

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GULICK, gū'lik, JOHN THOMAS: Congregationalist; b. at Waimea, Kauai, Hawaii, March 13, 1832. He was educated at Williams College (A.B., 1859) and Union Theological Seminary (1861). He then went as a missionary to China under the auspices of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and was stationed at Peking in 1864–65 and Kalgan in 1865–75. From 1875 to 1899 he was a missionary in Japan, being stationed at Kobé

in 1875–82 and Osaka in 1882–99, but in 1899 he returned to the United States and retired from active life. He has written *Evolution, Racial and Habitudinal* (Washington, 1905).

GULICK, LUTHER HALSEY: Congregationalist and missionary; b. in Hawaii, of missionary parents, June 10, 1828; d. in Springfield, Mass., Apr. 8, 1891. He was educated in Hawaii, and in medicine in the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York City, and in 1851 went as missionary of the American Board to Micronesia. There he labored successfully till 1860, when his health compelled him to retire. He went to Hawaii, and from 1863 till 1870 he was secretary of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association. He was then employed by the American Board to visit Spain and Italy with a view of establishing missions there, and was also under consideration as one of the secretaries of the Board; but from 1875 till 1890 was the agent of the American Bible Society, first of its work in both Japan and China, and after 1881 for China only; later Siam was added. Ill health compelled him to return to the United States in 1890, and he shortly thereafter resigned.

GUNDULF, gŭn'dulf: **1.** Heretical teacher of the first half of the eleventh century. About 1025 a number of heretics were arrested in Arras and committed to a synod convened in the city for final sentence. The defendants named as their teacher an Italian called Gundulf, who had escaped pursuit. It would appear that he had acquainted them with the precepts of the Gospels and the apostles, beside which no other source of faith was to be regarded. They rejected the church doctrine of the sacraments, and opposed zealously all liturgical developments, the veneration of saints (except the martyrs and apostles), and prayers for the dead. Ecclesiastical hierarchy was supplanted among them by sectarian preachers called from the laity, while the ecclesiastical means of grace were superseded by individual " election " to the state of justification. Their moral ideal consisted in forsaking the world, mortifying the flesh, subsisting by the labor of their hands, and showing love to all; the married estate appeared to them sinful. On declaring themselves ready to recant, the accused were allowed to make reconciliation with the Church. Undoubtedly Gundulf and his adherents may be classed with the Cathari, who were then spreading from northern Italy into the districts beyond the Alps.

HERMAN HAUPT.

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2. Bishop of Rochester; b. near Rouen, France, c. 1024; d. at Rochester Mar. 7, 1108. He received his education at Rouen, became a clerk of the cathedral there, and in 1059, on his return from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, became a monk in the monastery at Bec. Here he met Anselm of Canterbury in 1060, with whom he formed a lifelong friendship. Lanfranc, the prior at Bec, became greatly attached to him, took him to Caen in 1066, and on his appointment to the archbishopric of Canterbury, in 1070, he made Gundulf his proctor and placed him in charge of the estates of the archbishopric. Through Lanfranc's influence Gundulf was appointed bishop of Rochester, being consecrated in Christ Church, Canterbury, Mar. 19, 1077. Gundulf, who was a famous architect, at once rebuilt the church at Rochester and made his chapter monastic, substituting for the five canons sixty monks. He also built the White Tower in the Tower of London, a castle at Rochester for William Rufus, a nunnery at Malling, and the so-called St. Leonard's tower at West Malling. In 1078 he founded a hospital for lepers at Chatham. He was well liked by William Rufus, and by Henry I.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The *Vita* by a contemporary is in H. Wharton, *Anglia sacra*, ii. 273–292, cf. i. 336 sqq., London, 1691, and *MPL*, clix. 813–836. Consult: T. Wright, *Biographia Britannica literaria*, ii. 41–43, London, 1846; T. D. Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials*, p. 103, no. 156, in *Rolls Series*, ib. 1862–71; *Histoire littéraire de la France*, ix. 369; W. R. W. Stephens, *The English Church . . . 1066–1272*, pp. 25, 35, 104, 275, London, 1901; *DNB*, xxiii. 339–341.

GUNKEL, gun'kl, **JOHANN FRIEDRICH HERMANN:** German Protestant; b. at Springe (14 m. s.w. of Hanover) May 23, 1862. He was educated at the universities of Göttingen, Giessen, and Leipsic, and in 1889–94 was privat-docent at Halle. Since the latter year he has been associate professor of Old Testament exegesis at the University of Berlin. In addition to editing the *Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments* in collaboration with W. Bousset since 1903, he has written *Wirkung des heiligen Geistes* (Göttingen, 1888); *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* (1895); *Der Prophet Esra* (Tübingen, 1900); *Genesis übersetzt und erklärt* (Göttingen, 1900); *Die Sagen der Genesis* (1901; Eng. transl. by W. H. Carruth, *The Legends of Genesis*, Chicago, 1901); *Israel und Babylonien* (Göttingen, 1903; Eng.transl. by E. S.B., *Israel and Babylon; The Influence of Babylon on the Religion of Israel*); *Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Verständnis des Neuen Testaments* (1903); *Ausgewählte Psalmen* (1904); and *Literaturgeschichte Israels und des alten Judentums* (Leipsic, 1906).

GUNPOWDER PLOT: A conspiracy on the part of certain Roman Catholics in England to destroy the king, lords, and commons by blowing up the parliament house at the opening of parliament on Nov. 5, 1605, and thus overthrow the government in the interest of Roman Catholicism. The conspiracy grew out of the resentment felt toward James I. for his rigid enforcement of the old penal laws of Elizabeth against Roman Catholics. In order to facilitate his accession to the English throne he had promised a number of prominent Roman Catholics that fines against recusants would no longer be exacted. Spanish diplomacy having been tried upon James in vain, the Gunpowder Plot was hatched by Robert Catesby, John Wright, and Thomas Winter early in 1604. Thomas Percy and Guy Fawkes were soon sworn into the plot, and later several others, including Everard Digby,

Francis Tresham, and Ambrose Rookwood, all men of wealth and prominence. A building adjoining the parliament house was rented in Percy's name, and in Dec., 1604, the conspirators began to excavate a passage from their cellar. After they had bored about half way through the wall, which was nine feet thick, they were able the following March to rent, also in Percy's name, a cellar immediately under the House of Lords. Here they stored thirty-six barrels of powder, covering them with stones and bars of iron, and concealing all beneath lumber and fagots of various kinds. By May, 1605, all was in readiness; but parliament was not to meet till Nov. 5. While he did not originate the plan, Fawkes was the leading conspirator in all these preparations, and on account of his coolness and courage he was entrusted with the important work of firing the powder on Nov. 5. Ten days before the plot was to have been consummated, Lord Monteagle, a Catholic and a friend of several of the conspirators, received an anonymous letter warning him not to attend the opening session of parliament. He at once showed the letter to Lord Salisbury, who communicated the matter to the king. On Nov. 4 the lord chamberlain, while going over the parliament house, noticed a suspicious abundance of fuel in the cellar occupied by Fawkes. That night the cellar was searched, the powder was discovered, and Fawkes was arrested just as he was returning from a midnight conference with Percy. Under severe torture Fawkes made a full confession on Nov. 9; and on Jan. 27, 1606, all the conspirators were condemned to be drawn, hanged, and quartered. Fawkes, with three others, ascended the scaffold on Jan. 31, 1606. Four fellow conspirators had been executed on the preceding day. What part, if any, the Jesuits took in the plot is still a mooted question, though it is pretty certain that Henry Garnett, the head of the order in England, had a guilty knowledge of it. He was executed on May 3, 1606. On Jan. 21, 1606, parliament set apart Nov. 5 as a day of national thanksgiving. This act was not repealed for two hundred years. It was long customary on this day to dress up in rags an effigy of Fawkes, parade it through the street, singing rimes, and finally burn the effigy at night. The discovery of the plot was disastrous to the cause of the Roman Catholics in England, as thereafter the laws against them were enforced more rigidly than ever.

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GUNSAULUS, FRANK WAKELEY: Congregationalist; b. at Chesterville, O., Jan. 1, 1856. He was educated at Ohio Wesleyan University (A.B., 1875) and after being a Methodist Episcopal minister for four years joined the Congregational denomination. He held pastorates at Eastwood Congregational Church, Columbus, O. (1879–81), Newtonville, Mass. (1881–85), Memorial Congregational Church, Baltimore, Md. (1885–87), and Plymouth Church, Chicago (1887–89). After a few months as pastor at the Central Church in the same city in 1889, he was appointed to his present position of president of the Armour Institute of Technology. He has written *Metamorphoses of a Creed* (Chillicothe, O., 1879); *Transfiguration of Christ* (Boston, 1886); *The Man of Galilee* (1899); *Paths to Power* (1905); *Higher Ministries of Recent English Poetry* (1907); and *Paths to the City of God* (1907).

GURK, BISHOPRIC OF: An Austrian bishopric, named from the town of Gurk (49 m. n. of Laibach) in Carinthia, on the banks of a river of the same name. A convent for seventy nuns and twenty canons was founded on the river Gurk by Emma, wife of Count William of Styria, and consecrated probably in 1043. It soon decayed, however, and the idea of turning it into the seat of a bishopric was suggested by the great extent of the diocese of Salzburg, and carried out by Archbishop Gebhard (1060–88), who gained the assent of Pope Alexander II. in 1070 and of the emperor Henry IV. in 1072. In May of the latter year, Gunter of Chraphelt was consecrated bishop of Gurk. The boundaries of the small diocese were first settled by Archbishop Conrad (1106–47). Of the early bishops the most important were Hieronymus Balbus (1522–35?), the distinguished humanist, poet, and politician, and Urban "the Austrian" (1556–73). From the fifteenth century the incumbents of the see have had the title of prince bishop, but at first without a seat in the Council of Princes. Since 1827 they have resided not at Salzburg but at Klagenfurt, the capital of Carinthia.

GURNALL, WILLIAM: English clergyman; b. at Walpole (8 m. w. of Lynn), Norfolk, 1617; d. at Lavenham (16 m. w.n.w. of Ispwich), Suffolk, Oct. 12, 1679. He was educated at the Lynn grammar-school and at Emmanuel College, Cambridge (B.A., 1635; M.A., 1639). Nothing is known of his life after he left the university till the year 1644, when the living of Lavenham was conferred upon him by Sir Symonds D'Ewes. On Dec. 16 of that year parliament ordered that the "learned divine" should be "rector for life, and enjoy the rectory and tithes as other rectors before him." At the Restoration he signed the declaration required by the Act of Uniformity and continued at Lavenham till his death. For conforming he was severely attacked in a pamphlet, *Covenant-Renouncers Desperate Apostates* (London, 1665). He is known chiefly by his work, The *Christian in Complete Armour: or a Treatise of the Saint's War against the Devil* (3 vols., London, 1655–62; new ed., with a biographical introduction, by J. C. Ryle, 2 vols., 1864–1865), a series of sermons on Eph. vi. 6–20, characterized by their quaint fancy, epigrammatic style, and astonishing application of Scripture. The work passed through six editions during the author's lifetime and still enjoys a measure of popularity.

Bibliography: Besides the biographical introduction to *The Christian in Complete Armour*, ut sup., there is available H. McKeon, *Inquiry into the Life of William Gurnall*, London, 1830.

GURNEY, JOSEPH JOHN: Philanthropist and Friend; b. at Earlham Hall, near Norwich, Aug. 2, 1788; d. there Jan. 4, 1847. He attended lectures for a while at Oxford, and was recognized in 1818 as a minister by the Friends. In 1837–40 he preached in the United States and the West Indies. He aided his sister Elizabeth Fry (q.v.) in her measures for prison-reform, and was the associate with Clarkson, Wilberforce, and his brother-in-law, T. Fowell Buxton, in their efforts for the abolition of the slave-trade. He was also a prominent advocate of total abstinence, and his temperance tract, *Water is Best*, has been widely circulated. Among Friends, he led an orthodox movement both in England and America which profoundly affected his branch of the Society, and in the latter country produced a separation (see FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF, I., § 7; WILBUR, JOHN).

Gurney issued a number of tracts and pamphlets, with some larger works. Of these the principal are, *Essays on the Evidences, Doctrines and Practical Operations of Christianity* (London, 1827); *History, Authority, and Use of the Sabbath* (1831), and *Puseyism traced to its Root* (1845).

ISAAC SHARPLESS.

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GURY, gü″rî′, JEAN PIERRE: French Roman Catholic moralist; b. at Mailleroncourt, Franche-Comté, Jan. 23, 1801; d. at Vals (80 m. s. of Lyons) Apr. 18, 1866. He entered the Society of Jesus in 1824, studied at Rome 1828–32, and in 1833 became professor of morals at the Jesuit College in Vals. In 1847 he went to Rome as professor at the Collegium Romanum, but returned to Vals in 1848 and taught there till his death. Following Alfonse Liguori he revived the old Jesuit casuistry and probabilism. His teachings are embodied in *Compendium theologiæ moralis* (2 vols., Lyons and Paris, 1850; best ed., Rome, 1882), which quickly became a favorite text-book of ethics among Roman Catholics; and *Casus conscientiæ in præcipuas questiones theologiæ moralis* (2 vols., 1864, new ed., 1891). Both works have been variously edited and revised in numerous editions.

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GUSTAV-ADOLF-VEREIN ("GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS ASSOCIATION"): A society of German Protestants, aiming to give aid and support to Protestant families and congregations wherever needed, especially to succor the "Diaspora" (q.v.). The idea of the association was conceived by Dr. C. G. L. Grossmann of Leipsic in 1832 in connection with the celebration of the second centennial of the death of Gustavus Adolphus (q.v.) at Lützen. An association was formed by committees in Leipsic and Dresden, and on Oct. 4, 1834, its statutes were confirmed by the Saxon king. Success was slow; contributions were scarce; and the foundation was hardly known outside of Saxony. But it gradually developed and gained the acknowledgment and support of King Frederick William III. of Prussia and of King Charles XIV. of Sweden. Continual appeals for assistance, particularly from Austria, forced upon the leaders the idea of soliciting a larger participation by change of the statutes. Before this was done, however, a pastor of Basel named Legrand suggested at a conference of preachers an association to support poor Evangelical congregations, and on Oct. 31, 1841, Karl Zimmermann, court preacher at Darmstadt, propounded a similar plan, though neither knew of the existence of the Saxon association. Zimmermann's proposal was eagerly seized everywhere in Evangelical Germany and Switzerland. After an agreement with the leaders of the Saxon movement, the older and younger associations united. Leipsic remained the center of administration, and the association was now called *Evangelischer Verein der Gustav-Adolf-Stiftung* ("Evangelical Association of the Gustavus Adolphus Foundation"). At the second convention in 1843 at Frankfort, new statutes were adopted, twenty-nine associations being represented by delegates, including representatives of countries outside of Germany.

Origin and Earlier History.

Every country, every larger state, and every province has a main association with branch associations. At least every third year a general convention takes place. Since the general convention of Frankfort, the association has developed rapidly. Only Bavaria, the stronghold of the Roman Catholics, closed its doors, the introduction of the association into that country being prohibited by royal edict of 1844. A controversy arose in regard to the admission of preachers of "free congregations" as delegates, and the majority decided that only members of the Evangelical State Churches should be admitted. The confessional basis was considered necessary for the sound development of the association. Owing to the events of 1848 and 1849, the interest in the movement slackened, and the contributions decreased considerably; but the lost ground was soon recovered, and by an ordinance of 1849 Bavaria was also open to the work of the association. In 1851 at the suggestion of Dr. Jonas, preacher in Berlin, a new branch was added in the organization of women's associations. After 1852 associations originated also in Holland, Sweden, Austria, Transylvania, Hungary, and in 1859 an association for supporting Lutheran congregations was formed in Russia. At several universities students' associations were called into existence. Institutions like the Evangelical Society for Protestant Germans in North America at Barmen and Elberfeld, the Society for Pastoral Assistance in Berlin, the Rhenish Institute for Pastoral Assistance in Duisburg, the Jerusalem Association in Berlin, the *Lutherischer Gotteskasten* (q.v.), all originated under the influence of the Gustav-Adolf-Verein. Associations in foreign countries, working in the same spirit, but having no connection with the original German association, have been established in Belgium, France, Rumania, and Italy, though England, Denmark, and America do not possess them.

Later History.

Since its beginning, the Gustav-Adolf-Verein has

expended 33,094,069.74 marks and supported 4,518 congregations of which 2,729 belonged to the German Empire, 1,203 to the Austrian Monarchy, and 586 to other European countries and countries outside of Europe. To this sum must be added 424,334.33 marks for personal support and contributions in kind. The Association has built 1,972 churches and houses of prayer, 882 schoolhouses, 768 parsonages and established 80 cemeteries. It has paid special attention to Evangelical instruction in the Diaspora, and has also cared for widows and orphans of ministers and teachers and contributed to the erection and maintenance of asylums and teachers' seminaries. The principal periodicals published in the interests of the association are the *Darmstädter Bote* (since 1843), *Märkischer Bote, Thüringer Bote, Rheinisch-westfälisches Gustav-Adolf-Blatt, Oesterreichischer Protestant, Gustav-Adolf-Berichte aus Leiden*, and others.

(K. Zimmermann.)

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GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS. See Thirty Years' War.

GUSTAVUS VASA. See Sweden.

GUTHE, gū'te, HERMANN: German Protestant; b. at Westerlinde, a village of Brunswick, May 10, 1849. He was educated at the universities of Göttingen (1867–69) and Erlangen (1869–1870; 1873), and after being a private tutor in Livonia from 1870 to 1873 was a lecturer at Göttingen from 1873 to 1877. In 1877 he became a privat-docent at Leipsic, and seven years later was appointed to his present position of associate professor of Old Testament exegesis. In 1881 and 1904 he was in Palestine, engaged in scientific excavation. His theological standpoint is one of ethical supernaturalism with entire freedom in historical research. He has edited the *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins* from 1878 to 1896 and its *Mitteilungen und Nachrichten* since 1897, and has also written: *De fœderis notione Jeremiana* (Leipsic, 1877); *Ausgrabungen bei Jerusalem* (1883); *Palästina in Bild und Wort* (2 vols., Stuttgart, 1883–84; the German edition of *Picturesque Palestine* in collaboration with G. Ebers); *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (Freiburg, 1899); *The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah* in *The Polychrome Bible* (New York, 1901); *Jesaia* (Tübingen, 1907); and *Palästina* (Bielefeld, 1908). He likewise prepared a number of maps of Palestine and a *Kurzes Bibelwörterbuch* with the assistance of other scholars (Tübingen, 1903).

GUTHLAC, guth'lac, SAINT: Presbyter and hermit of Crowland (40 m. s.s.e. of Lincoln, Lincolnshire); b. in Mercia c. 673; d. at Crowland Apr. 11, 714. He was the son of a wealthy Mercian nobleman and in his youth came under the influence of the martial spirit of the time. For nine years he led a band of his fellow noblemen in a life of wild guerrilla warfare until his conversion in 697. He then became a tonsured monk in the monastery at Repton and in the next two years learned all the psalms, canticles, hymns, and prayers used in the choir service. In 699 he began his life as a hermit at Crowland, then a dreary island of the Welland, in the very heart of the fen. Here he spent the remainder of his life in religious devotion, subsisting on one meal a day, composed of barley bread and water, which he took after sunset. Like St. Anthony he was for years tormented by visions of demons, until he was rescued from them by his patron St. Bartholomew. His fame for piety spread far and wide, and pilgrims of all classes visited him. One of these was Hedda, bishop of Lichfield, who ordained him priest. He was buried in his oratory, and a year after his death his remains were placed in a shrine, which at once became an object of pilgrimage. In 716 Ethelbald, king of Mercia, reared over his relics the building which afterward grew into Crowland Abbey.

Bibliography: The *Vita* by Felix of Croyland, with other material, is in *ASB*, April, ii. 38–60; also in R. Gough, *History and Antiquities of Croyland Abbey*, pp. 131–153, London, 1783; is edited by W. de Gray Birch, Wisbeck, 1881, and an Eng. transl. with the Anglo-Saxon Version was edited by C. W. Goodwin, London, 1848. Consult: C. F. de T. Montalembert, *Les Moines d'occident*, v. 118–129, Paris, 1868; *DNB*, xxiii. 373–374.

GUTHRIE, THOMAS: Free Church of Scotland; b. at Brechin (60 m. n.n.e. of Edinburgh), Forfarshire, Scotland, July 12, 1803; d. at St. Leonards on the Sea (now a part of Hastings), Sussex, England, Feb. 23, 1873. He entered Edinburgh University in his thirteenth year; was licensed by Brechin Presbytery in 1825; and after two years of further study in Edinburgh and Paris, followed by two years as a bank agent in Brechin, became parish minister of Arbirlot, Forfarshire, in 1830. His Evangelical preaching, pastoral zeal, and strenuous opposition both to voluntaryism and to patronage attracted public notice, and led, in 1837, to his translation to the Collegiate Church of Old Greyfriars, Edinburgh. In 1840, the charge was divided, and a new church (St. John's) was built, of which Guthrie became minister, with the Cowgate as his territorial sphere.

Life and Ministry.

Meanwhile the conflict between church and law courts over the Veto Act had culminated in 1838, when the Court of Session enjoined the Church to induct a qualified but unpopular presentee to Auchterarder. Guthrie would have preferred agitation for the abolition of patronage to a Veto Act of disputed legality; but he attached himself cordially to the non-intrusionists. In 1840 he preached in Strathbogie by instruction of the General Assembly, in defiance of the Court of Session. He itinerated in behalf of non-intrusion and "spiritual independence." His sagacity and tact helped to prevent division in the convocation of 1842.

After the Disruption, Guthrie became minister of Free St. John's, Edinburgh, erected fifty yards from his former church. For about twenty years he ministered to a large and influential congregation, and attracted crowds of strangers from all parts of

the world. His chief service to the Free Church after the Disruption was the raising in 1845–46 of £115,000 as a manse fund. In 1862 he was elected moderator of the Free Church Assembly. Ill health, brought on by overwork, constrained him to retire from the pastorate in 1864, when a testimonial, including a gift of £5,000, was presented to him in the name of contributors from all ranks and of many churches and lands.

His Philanthropic Efforts.

Guthrie's most signal philanthropic service was the institution of "Ragged Schools" for the reclamation of juvenile "waifs," who were fed, taught, and trained for industrial work. His efforts in this sphere, along with those of Sheriff Watson of Aberdeen, and of Dr. W. Robertson of New Greyfriars Parish, Edinburgh, awakened public interest, and resulted in various Industrial Schools Acts, through which magistrates received power to "commit" to such schools vagrant and neglected, even though not criminal, children. Guthrie was also an early and powerful advocate of total abstinence. His work, *The City: its Sins and Sorrows* (London, 1857), and three tracts (1851–53) on the sinful folly of New Year drinking customs, were widely circulated and fruitful. He was a warm friend of foreign missions and devoted his sermon as retiring moderator to their advocacy. He was still more notable in pleading for the Waldensian Church and its mission work.

His Broad-mindedness.

Guthrie was an ardent but not narrow Presbyterian and Free-churchman. He was a zealous advocate of union with the United Presbyterian Church. In 1843, he exerted his influence to prevent the insertion in the Free-church standards of what might preclude union with the Secession Churches. His *Plea for Union* in 1867 and some of his latest letters strongly urged the consummation of the union. He disapproved of the establishment of Free-church schools after the Disruption, and looked forward to a national system of education.

Writings.

After his retirement from the ministry Guthrie exerted a most extensive influence by his pen. Literary distinction had already been obtained through his *Gospel in Ezekiel* (Edinburgh, 1856), *Christ and the Inheritance of the Saints* (1858), and several volumes of sermons. He now became editor of a new periodical, the *Sunday Magazine*, in which appeared originally, in serial form, *Man and the Gospel, The Angels' Song, The Parables, Our Father's Business, Out of Harness, Early Piety, Studies of Character*, and *Sundays Abroad*. All his works were republished in the United States and were as popular there as in Great Britain. HENRY COWAN.

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GUYON, gî″ōn′, JEANNE MARIE BOUVIER DE LA MOTTE: French mystical writer of the Quietist school; b. at Montargis (38 m. e. of Orléans) Apr. 13, 1648; d. at Blois June 9, 1717. Her earliest education was received in convents. As a young girl of delicate constitution, she displayed an enthusiastic tendency toward an ascetic, self-tormenting mysticism, marked especially by a fervent devotion to the name of Jesus. She early became familiar with the writings of St. Francis of Sales and St. Jane Frances de Chantal (see VISITATION, ORDER OF THE) and began instinctively to make all the vows and practise all the good works she found recommended in the latter's works.

Early Life.

Her great desire was to join an order, and especially that of the Visitation founded by her model, but her mother had other plans for her. On Jan. 28, 1664, she was married to a rich man twenty-two years her senior, Jacques Guyon, Seigneur de Chesnay, whom she had seen for the first time two or three days before. She was exceedingly unhappy in the worldly and otherwise uncongenial atmosphere of her husband's house, and her only consolation was to maintain unbroken communion with God; but, insufficiently acquainted with the practises of mysticism, she found it difficult to live a life of prayer until a young Franciscan whom she met at her father's spoke the decisive words which were to direct her whole life: "Your trouble comes from seeking externally what all the time is within you. Accustom yourself to seek God in your own heart, and you will find him there."

Marriage.

From this time she began the methodical practise of ascetic usages, scourging herself till the blood came, wearing nettles next to her skin and a girdle set with sharp nails, drank bitter drafts to spoil the taste of the little food she allowed herself, and broke off all intercourse with the world. Not long after she had entered on this course of life, she became acquainted in Paris with the prioress of the Benedictine nuns there, Geneviève Granger, who recommended her to the mystic Bertot as her director. In the same summer, under the prioress' advice, she went through the solemn form of a mystical espousal with Christ. Four years later M. Guyon died. His wife had given him the most devoted care during his illness; but she felt that now her chains were broken and she was free to devote her whole life unreservedly to God. The next day she renewed her mystical espousal and vowed never to take another earthly husband, on condition that her director approved of making the vow for life.

Widowhood. Relations with Père la Combe.

In 1680 she went to Paris for a time, and entered into correspondence with Père la Combe, superior of the Barnabites at Thonon. Moved by his words and by some striking occurrences at the time, she believed herself called by God to go to Geneva. The bishop of that diocese (d'Aranthon) being then in Paris, she sought an interview with him and told him it was her intention to devote her property to the foundation of a community for "those who were willing truly to turn to God and serve him without reserve." The bishop told her of an association already at work in his diocese for the education of the daughters of Protestants and other converts to the Catholic faith, which was planning to establish

an institution at Gex, and offered her the headship of this community. She set off without telling any one of her intention, reached Geneva on July 21, 1681, and proceeded to Gex, where she was joined by Père la Combe, whom she now (Bertot having died just before) adopted as her spiritual father. She was not at all comfortable in the house, however, so that it was not long before she gave up the project and took refuge with the Ursulines of Thonon. Here her life began to be a continuous series of visions and revelations; and here, at la Combe's instance, she entered on her career as an author. When la Combe left Thonon to take up a position in the household of the Bishop of Vercelli, she accepted the invitation of the Marquise de Prunai to Turin so as to be near him. She intended to reside there permanently; but he announced to her that it was her duty to go at once to Paris. She yielded, and went as far as Grenoble, where she began her commentary on the Scriptures and became an object of general attention as her fame had already been spread abroad. She was soon, however, denounced as a dangerous person, in fact a sorceress in league with the Evil One, and was obliged to take flight. She went first to Marseilles, and finally, on Good Friday, 1685, made her appearance at Vercelli.

Returns to Paris. Her Ideas Condemned.

Here there seemed a prospect of her finding at last a peaceful retreat, as the bishop planned to use her for the foundation of a congregation of women; but a dangerous illness sent her back to Paris, whither la Combe got permission to accompany her. She had hardly reached there before she found that her own brother, a priest, and others were working against la Combe; suspicion of his relations with Madame Guyon and the charge of being a follower of Molinos led to his being imprisoned in the Bastille on the order of the archbishop (Oct., 1687). But the attack was directed not merely against him. It was reported to the king that Madam Guyon was a supporter of the Quietistic mysticism, and that she held meetings of a prohibited sort. By royal order she was arrested and confined in a convent of the Visitation (Jan. 29, 1688); but she was fortunate enough to enlist the sympathy of Madame de Maintenon, who procured her release. From 1688 to 1694 she lived partly in Paris and partly with her married daughter. At St. Cyr she came into contact with Fénelon, and began a lively interchange of religious ideas with him. Her friends brought about a meeting also with Bossuet, who came to see her and looked at her manuscripts early in 1694.

New trials were, however, preparing. Her ideas had found entrance into Madame de Maintenon's school at St. Cyr, and the confessor of Madame de Maintenon denounced them as dangerous and heretical, which led to her visits there being interdicted. Soon it was reported that Bossuet had found a number of grave errors in her writings, and accusations were even whispered against her manner of life. She besought Madame de Maintenon for an investigation, and a commission was named, consisting of Bossuet; de Noailles, Bishop of Châlons; and Tronson, superior of St. Sulpice, a friend of Fénelon's. The final result of their meetings, at the latter of which Fénelon, now archbishop of Cambrai, assisted, was made known on Mar. 10, 1695. Thirty propositions collected from her writings were condemned. On Apr. 15 she signed a revocation of these propositions, after which Bossuet gave her a certificate of orthodoxy. Returning to Paris from Meaux, where she had spent some time for convenience of examination, she felt fortified by her rehabilitation and began to hold meetings for promoting the spiritual life. On Dec. 28 she was again arrested and imprisoned, first at Vincennes and afterward in the Bastille. She remained in confinement until the king and Bossuet had obtained from the pope (Mar., 1699) a condemnation of her *Maximes des saints*, and Bossuet had emerged victorious from his conflict with Fénelon. He now began to take a milder tone with her, and she was released either in 1700 or 1702. She lived fifteen years longer in retirement at Diziers near Blois, where her son was, maintaining a voluminous correspondence with admirers in France, Germany, Holland, and England.

Her Influence and Writings.

Madame Guyon's influence did not perish with her, but spread wider throughout France and the surrounding countries, where her followers regarded as Gospel truths her maxims—that the true Christian must strive for a pure, wholly disinterested love; that he must pray, not in order to gain anything, even salvation, from God, but as an act of submission and resignation without any will of his own; that perfect prayer is mental power, the resting in God without words and without will; that he who has attained this state is thenceforth without sin. Since this kind of "internal" religion, without dependence on the institutions and sacraments of the Church, was acceptable to Protestants, it had numerous followers among the members of different religious bodies in both England and Germany. Among Madame Guyon's works the following are noteworthy: her autobiography in three volumes (Cologne, 1720); *Moyen court et très facile pour l'oraison* (Lyons, 1688); *Le Cantique des cantiques, interprété selon le sens mystique* (Grenoble, 1685); and her version of the Bible with notes and reflections (*Les Torrens spirituels*, 30 vols., Cologne, 1713–15). (C. Pfender.)

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GWATKIN, HENRY MELVILL: Church of England; b. at Barrow-on-Soar (8 m. n. of Leicester), Leicestershire, July 30, 1844. He was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge (B. A.,1867), where he was fellow in 1868–74 and theological tutor in 1874–91. Since 1891 he has been Dixie professor of ecclesiastical history in the University of Cambridge and fellow of Emmanuel College. He was also Gifford lecturer at Edinburgh in 1903–05 and has written *Studies of Arianism* (Cambridge, 1882); *The Arian Controversy* (London, 1889); *Selections from Early Christian Writers* (1893); *The Eye for Spiritual Things* (Edinburgh, 1906); and *The Knowledge of God* (Gifford lectures, 1906).

GWYNN, JOHN: Church of Ireland; b. at Larne (18 m. n.e. of Belfast), County Antrim, Ireland, Aug. 28, 1827. He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin (B.A., 1850; M.A., 1854), where he was fellow in 1853–64. He was also warden of St. Columba's College, Dublin, from 1856 to 1864, and from 1863 to 1882 was rector of Tullyaughnish, County Donegal, in addition to being dean of Raphoe in 1873–82. After being rector of Templemore, County Derry (1882–83), he was Archbishop King's Lecturer in divinity in Dublin University (1883–88) and since 1888 has been regius professor of divinity in the same university. He has written *Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians* in *The Speaker's Commentary* (London, 1881), besides editing *The Apocalypse of St. John in a Syriac Version hitherto Unknown* (Dublin, 1897), and *The Book of Armagh* (1905), and translating *Selections from Ephraim and Aphrohat* in The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, second series (Edinburgh, 1898).

GYROVAGI ("Circuit-Wanderers," almost = "Tramps"): Vagrant monks who subsisted upon charity. Benedict of Nursia mentions them as being worse than the cenobites, eremites, or Sarabaites (q.v.), and desired their extermination (*Regula*, i.). Taking advantage of the general rule of hospitality they roved from one cell to another, refusing to adopt the community-life. Even prior to Benedict's day they were common in the Occident. Augustine calls them *circelliones*, or *Circumcelliones* (q.v.), and relates that they were the first monks to carry on a brisk traffic in spurious bones of martyrs. Cassian also mentions a class of monks who were probably identical with Benedict's gyrovagi, and the *circumcelliones* of Augustine. They were notorious gluttons, shrank from fasting and even beguiled the cloister brethren to break fasts of obligation. The earliest report of such unstable monks in the Orient is contained in a Greek tract on ascetic rules (cf. *MPG*, xxxi. 84, 119). Nilus the Sinaite (d. after 430) complains of these "false monks" (bk. iii., *epist.* 119), and Johannes Climacus (d. 606) warns the true and settled anchorites to beware of all gyrovagi (*Scala paradisi gradus*, xxvii.).

The Church soon recognized the duty of restraining the excesses of these vagrants. The Gallican synods at Angers in 453 (cannon viii.), and at Vannes in 465 (canons vi. and vii.) ruled that the roving monks should be debarred from communion and on occasion should be strictly disciplined; the two Spanish synods at Toledo in 633 (canon liii.) and 646 (canon v.) demanded that the *religiosi vagabundi* should either be coordinated with the clergy or else consigned to the cloister. The monastic foundations of Cæsarius of Arles, Benedict of Nursia, and Cassiodorus in the sixth century served to repress wandering monks, expressly binding their inmates to persevere in the monastic estate until death, and to remain in the cloister first selected. The triumph of the Benedictine rule in the eighth century brought Western monasticism under the fixed cenobite form. In the East measures to suppress roving monks were taken by the Council of Chalcedon in 451 (canon iv.), also by Justinian, and later by the Second Trullan Council in 692 (canon xlii.). Notwithstanding these enactments, there were roving impostors in monks' garb throughout the Middle Ages. Later the term "gyrovagi" was sometimes applied to unsettled and migratory clerics.

G. Grützmacher.

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H

HAAG, ÉMILE: French Protestant; b. at Montbéliard (100 m. n.e. of Châlon) Nov. 10, 1810; d. at Paris May 11, 1865. He studied law at Strasburg, and after being a tutor in Poland for two years, was appointed professor of political economy in a commercial school in Leipsic. In 1836 he left Leipsic together with his brother Eugene (q.v.) and went to Paris, where he supported himself by miscellaneous literary work. He is best known by his collaboration with his brother in the preparation of *La France protestante* (9 vols., Paris, 1846–59), a biographical dictionary to which he contributed the articles on the artists and poets. He likewise wrote *Satires et poésies diverses* (Paris, 1844).

HAAG, EUGÈNE: French Protestant; brother of the preceding; b. at Montbéliard (100 m. n.e. of Châlon) Feb. 11, 1808; d. at Paris Mar. 5, 1868. After studying theology at Strasburg, he conducted a boarding-school at Cernay, and was then appointed professor of literature at a commercial school in Leipsic. In 1836 he went with his brother to Paris, and there supported himself by translating and by contributing to the periodical press. He also prepared a report on German military science for the Duke of Orléans, assisted in A. J. Matter's revision of the Bible (Paris, 1850) and in editing several periodicals, not only religious but even medical. Among his works special mention may

be made of his *Vie de Luther* (Valence, 1840); *Vie de Calvin* (Paris, 1840); *Histoire des dogmes chrétiens* (2 vols., Paris, 1862); and the posthumous *Théologie biblique* (1870). His chief fame, however, rests upon his *La France protestante* (9 vols., Paris, 1846–59), to which he contributed all the articles except those on artists and poets. Together with C. Weiss, A. Coquerel, jr., and C. Read he also founded in 1852 the *Société d'histoire du protestantisme français*, of which he was secretary and vice-president, as well as editor of the journal of the society.

HAAS, JOHN AUGUSTUS WILLIAM: Lutheran; b. at Philadelphia Aug. 31, 1862. He was educated at the University of Pennsylvania (A.B., 1884), the Lutheran Seminary at Mt. Airy, Philadelphia (1887), and the University of Leipsic (1887–88). He then held pastorates at Grace Lutheran Church, New York City, in 1888–96, and St. Paul's Lutheran Church in the same city in 1896–1904. Since 1904 he has been president of Muhlenberg College, Allentown Pa., where he is also professor of religion and philosophy. In theology his position is conservatively Lutheran, although he makes allowance for modern positions, especially with regard to Biblical research and the doctrine of inspiration and atonement. He has written *Commentary on the Gospel of Mark* (New York, 1895); *Biblical Criticism* (Philadelphia, 1902); and *Bible Literature* (1903), and was also a coeditor and contributor of the *Lutheran Cyclopedia* (New York, 1899).

HAAS, LORENZ: German Roman Catholic; b. at Hungenberg, a village of Germany, Dec. 18, 1844. He was educated at the universities of Munich and Würzburg, after which he was vicar of Erlangen (1868–71), teacher of religion at Bamberg (1871–73), and a member of the foundation of St. Stephen's, Augsburg, where he was also occupied at the lyceum and gymnasium (1873–79). He then taught at Burghausen (1880–88) and at Munich for a portion of a year (1888), after which he was a professor at the lyceum in Passow in 1888-1900. Since 1900 he has held a similar position in the lyceum of Bamberg. He has written *Die notwendige Intention des Ministers zur gültigen Verwaltung der heiligen Sakramente* (Bamberg, 1869); *De philosophorum scepticorum successionibus eorumque usque ad Sextum Empiricum scriptis* (Wurzburg, 1875); *Ueber Hypnotismus und Suggestion* (Augsburg, 1893); and *Die immaterielle Substanzialität der menschlichen Seele* (Regensburg, 1903).

HABAKKUK (LXX., *Ambakoum;* Vulgate, *Habacuc*): The eighth of the Minor Prophets. From the subscription to the third chapter it has been inferred that the author was a Levite, and in the superscription of Bel and the Dragon in *Codex Chisianus* this is stated as a fact. The subscription mentioned suggests personal official participation in the song service of the Temple. While there is no certain knowledge of Habakkuk's life, a very rich body of legend clusters about his name (F. Delitzsch, *De Habacuci prophetæ vita atque ætate*, Leipsic, 1842). The titles of chaps. i. and iii. show that he was a well-known prophet of Judah.

The book is cast in the form of dialogue. Chap. i. 2–4 contains the prophet's complaint against the corruption among his people; i. 5–11 is the divine answer foretelling the impending judgment through the Chaldeans; i. 12–17 expresses the prophet's wonder at their use by the Almighty; the divine answer follows in a fivefold "wo" presaging the overthrow of the enemy (ii. 2–20); chap. iii. is the answer of the trusting community to this double revelation, closing with an expression of perfect confidence in God. The kernel of the book is in the second announcement, ii. 2–3.

Against the early and persistent interpretation that in i. 2–4 the prophet has the Chaldeans in mind are: (1) that the same sins are denounced by other prophets (e.g., Ezek. xiii. 8); (2) that as component parts of the prophecy appear the sin, the punishment, forgiveness, and restoration; (3) the use of "law" in i. 4, which must mean the divine law. Also that the punishment of the Hebrews by the Chaldeans involves retribution of the instrument also is an integral part of the prophecy. The interpretation given avoids any necessity for considering i. 5–11 an interpolation, or for taking ii. 9–20 as a later addition, or for regarding the whole as a short preexilic prophecy worked over in the Exile.

There is only internal evidence upon which to determine the date either of the prophet or of his writing. Delitzsch's date, after the twelfth regnal year of Josiah, involving the assumption that Zeph. i. 7 depends on Hab. ii. 20, is doubtful—the dependence may be the other way. It is better to accept the verdict of most of the later critics and place it shortly before the battle of Carchemish. Delitzsch's later placing of Habakkuk under Manasseh is against i. 5 "in your days."

The diction of Habakkuk is classical, the words are rare and often peculiar to himself, the style is artistic and independent of earlier models. Chap. iii., an example of the highest art in Hebrew poetry, pictures Yahweh coming forth from Sinai in theophany to judge the foes of his people. All creation is in consternation at his presence; the earth is shaken to its foundations, sun and moon withdraw before the bright glow of his arrows and spear. Even the prophet, to whom the purpose of this coming is known, is stricken with terror until he recovers in view of the end which he sees and breaks off in a song of triumph. There is a close relationship between parts of the song and Ps. lxxvii. 16–20, and between Jer. iv. 13, v. 6, and Hab. i. 8. The passage ii. 4 is used by Paul in Rom. i. 17 and Gal. iii. 11; it is used also in Heb. x. 37–38, but in much altered form. (W. Volck†.)

It is scarcely possible to regard as a unit the prophecy ascribed to Habakkuk. At any rate chap. iii. gives no indication of a close relation with the first two chapters. The inscription (iii. 1) and the musical note (iii. 19) indicate the use of the chapter in the second temple, while the style and contents correspond to those of some of the latest psalms (e.g., Ps. lxviii.). The Chaldeans of i. 6 are not mentioned or suggested, and the fact that in verse 13, as the parallelism shows, it is the people of Israel that is called the "anointed" indi-

cates that the regal period is past and that the community has taken the place of the king as the theocratic representative. The poem does not give information regarding the nature of the impending danger which is to bring about the intervention of Yahweh (as in the days of old). This danger can hardly be a drought and failure of the crops, such as is suggested in verses 17–19; hence many recent critics assume that these verses constitute an additional hymn, also by an unknown late author. If this be the case, these two compositions had apparently been written on the same roll and thus came to be used as a single liturgical psalm. Before the canonical limitation of the Psalter this composite psalm was placed alongside the prophecy contained in the first two chapters on account of their general internal kinship.

The first two chapters are not very easily explained as an original unit. It is not plain how the several sections of which they are composed are related to one another; and while it is possible to connect them as is done in the text above, such an explanation seems somewhat forced and is rather to be accepted as tentative than as final. On the other hand, it must be admitted that no alternative view of the composition of the prophecy has as yet met general approval. J. F. McCurdy.

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HABERKORN, hā'bār-kern, **PETER:** Lutheran theologian and controversialist; b. at Butzbach (24 m. n. of Frankfort), Hesse, May 9, 1604; d. at Giessen Apr. 1676. In 1625 he went to Marburg, where he acquitted himself with such success as to win the approval and friendship of Mentzer. After passing some time at Leipsic and Strasburg, and at Cologne to acquaint himself with the Roman Catholic polemic, he became in 1632 professor of physics at Marburg, but resigned in the following year to become court preacher at Giessen, where in 1650 he was made professor of theology in the reorganized university. After the death of his father-in-law, Justus Feuerborn, in 1658 he held the rank of senior professor in theology and was the recognized head of the faculty. His importance rests in the fact that he may be said to have held the University of Giessen and with it Upper Hesse faithful to the doctrines of the orthodox Lutheranism. Most noteworthy of his writings against the Roman Catholics is the *Vindicatio Lutheranæ fidei contra Helfericum Ulricum Hunnium* (Marburg, 1633). Against the Syncretists he wrote: *Fidelis contra Syncretismum instituta admonitio* (Giessen, 1665); *Enodatio errorum Syncretisticorum* (1665); *Vindiciæ Syncretismo Casselano oppositæ de S. Cœna* (1669). (F. Bosse.)

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HABERMANN, hā'bār-mān', **JOHANN (JOHANNES AVENARIUS):** German Protestant theologian; b. at Eger (92 m. w. of Prague) Aug. 10, 1516; d. at Zeitz (23 m. s.w. of Leipsic) Dec. 5, 1590. He went over to the Evangelical Church about 1540, studied theology, and filled a number of pastorates. After a brief academic activity at Jena and Wittenberg, in 1575, he accepted a call as superintendent of Naumburg-Zeitz. Though praised by his contemporaries as an Old Testament exegete, his significance lies in the practical field. He published a number of sermons, a *Trostbüchlein*, a life of Christ, and above all the prayer-book, *Christliche Gebett für allerley Not und Stende der gantzen Christenheit* (Wittenberg, 1567), in which, for the first time, the prayers for various Christian needs were apportioned among the several days of the week. With a few exceptions the prayers are written in plain Biblical language, without ornament. The work was translated into Latin, English (*The Enimie of Securitie*, London, 1580), and French, and was widely circulated in Protestant circles. Despite its occasional crudities of expression the book is still used; and some of the prayers have passed into church books. Hermann Beck.

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HABERT, hā''bār', **ISAAC:** Bishop of Vabres; b. in Paris at the end of the sixteenth century; d. at Pont de Salars, near Rodez (230 m. s.w. of Lyons) Sept. 15, 1668. He was educated in Paris and in 1626, on receiving his doctorate in theology from the Sorbonne, was made a canon in the cathedral at Paris. In 1641, probably at the instigation of Richelieu, he started the attack on Jansenism and subsequently provoked Antoine Arnauld to publish his two apologies for the doctrine, which led to numerous polemic writings pro and con. He was responsible for the letter sent to Pope Innocent X. in 1650, signed by eighty-five bishops, praying him to suppress the Jansenistic heresy. He was bishop of Vabres from 1645 till his death. His principal writings are: *De consensu hierarchiæ et monarchiæ* (Paris, 1640); *De cathedru seu primatu sancti Petri* (1645); and *Theologiæ græcorum patrum vindicatæ circa universam materiam gratiæ perpetua collatione scripturæ conciliorum . . . libri tres* (1646; reprinted, Würzburg, 1863), his chief work against Jansenism.

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HACKET, JOHN: Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield; b. in London Sept. 1, 1592; d. at Lichfield Oct. 28, 1670. He was educated at Westminster School, London, and at Trinity College, Cambridge (B. A., 1612; M.A., 1615), where he was

elected to a fellowship. He was ordained in 1618 and soon afterward became chaplain to John Williams, through whose patronage he was instituted to the rectories of Stoke Hammond (Buckinghamshire) and Kirkby Underwood in 1621. In 1623 he became proctor for the diocese of Lincoln, prebendary in Lincoln Cathedral, and chaplain to James I., and the following year he received the livings of St. Andrews, Holborn, and Cheam in Surrey. In 1631 he became archdeacon of Bedford, and in 1642 canon residuary of St. Paul's. He was a member of the committee for religion appointed by the House of Lords in Mar., 1641, to reconcile the Puritans by making certain concessions regarding church service and discipline, and in May, 1641, at the request of this committee, he spoke in the House of Commons against the so-called "root and branch" bill for the abolition of all offices connected with the episcopal form of church government. In 1643 he became a member of the Westminster Assembly, but, with other episcopal divines, he soon withdrew from that body. During the civil war he lost all of his preferments except his small benefice at Cheam. At the Restoration he was made chaplain to Charles II., and was consecrated bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, Dec. 22, 1661. He restored the cathedral at Lichfield, a work of eight years, and contributed largely to this and other causes. His only important book is his life of Archbishop Williams, *Scrinia reserata: a Memorial Offered to the Great Deservings of John Williams, D.D.* (London, 1693; abridged by A. Philips, 1715), an excellent biography, which S. T. Coleridge considered invaluable for the insight it gives into the times preceding the civil war.

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HACKETT, HORATIO BALCH: Baptist; b. in Salisbury, Mass., Dec. 27, 1808; d. in Rochester, N. Y., Nov. 2, 1875. He was graduated from Amherst College in 1830 and studied theology at Andover 1830–31 and 1832–34, having been tutor at Amherst during the year 1831–32. Extended studies on infant baptism during his senior year in the seminary shook his confidence in his denomination and prevented him from entering on the work of the Congregational ministry immediately after graduation from the seminary. He was instructor in Mount Hope College, Baltimore, 1834–35 and was immersed in Baltimore in July, 1835. The same year he became professor of languages in Brown University, and in 1839 professor of Biblical literature and interpretation in Newton Theological Institution. He was also ordained to the ministry in 1839. During 1841–42 he studied at Berlin and Halle. Pressure of literary work led him to resign at Newton in 1868. From 1870 till his death he occupied the New Testament chair in Rochester Theological Seminary. His first publications were translations from the German. In 1844 he published an annotated edition of Plutarch's *De sera niniums vindicta* (Andover, 1844). This was followed by a translation, with improvements, of Winer's *Grammar of the Chaldee Language* (1845); a *Hebrew Grammar* (1847); *Commentary on Acts* (Boston, 1851; new eds., 1858 and 1877); *Illustrations of Scripture; Suggested by a Tour through the Holy Land* (1855; also 1868 and 1882); *Philemon* (1860); *Christian Memorials of the War* (1864); a translation with additions of Van Oosterzee's *Philemon* (1868) and of Braune's *Philippians* (1870) for Schaff's edition of Lange; an edition of Rawlinson's *Historical Illustrations of the Old Testament* (1873). With Ezra Abbot, he edited the American edition of Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* (1868–70). He also collaborated in the Bible version of the American Bible Union (see Bible Societies, III., 2), before which he delivered a memorable address on Bible revision in 1859. (A. H. Newman.)

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HADAD: An Aramaic and possibly an Edomitic deity (see Hadadrimmon). In Hadadezer and Benhadad are probably traces of this divine name, which is certainly preserved in the Old Testament name Hadadrimmon. Hadad alone is the name of an Edomite. As such it is not necessarily derived from the name of the god, for nothing is known of a god Hadad among the Edomites; yet its combination with the name of the god is very natural. The reading in the versions is *Hadad* and *Hadar*, but the former is better attested. In the Old Testament the following are mentioned having the name of Hadad: (1) an Edomitic king (Gen. xxxvi. 35, 36; I Chron. i. 46, 47), who smote the Midianites in the territory of Moab. (2) In I Chron i. 50, 51, a later Edomitic king is mentioned. In the parallel passage, Gen. xxxvi. 39, the Massoretic text reads *Hadar* (with variants *Hadad*, LXX. reads *Arath*, *Arad*). (3) An Edomite of royal descent (I Kings xi. 14–22). He is hardly the same as the Hadad mentioned last. The notices concerning the wife of Hadad in (2) and the time of the kings of Edom in Gen. xxxvi. 31 do not agree with those in the Kings passage. This Hadad might rather be a son or grandson of that one. This one, who was of royal blood, fled in childhood to Egypt when Joab defeated the Edomites. Pharaoh provided for him, and gave him land and also as wife the sister of Queen Tahpenes. At David's death Hadad made an attempt to reconquer his native land. The Hebrew text breaks off suddenly at verse 22, and verse 25 is evidently out of place; it is better, therefore, to suppose that the conclusion of his story has, by a copyist's error, been inserted in the wrong place, and to read at verse 25 with the Septuagint, "This is the evil that Hadad did, and he abhorred Israel, and reigned over Edom." He is not to be confounded with the Hadadezer (I Kings xi. 23) who was king of Zobah. From the Masoretic text I Kings xi. 25 Josephus (*Ant.* VIII., vii. 6) made the story of a covenant between the Edomite Hadad and the Syrian Rezon, and of the former's elevation to the throne of Syria.

Bibliography: On the whole subject, *DB*, ii. 273; *EB*, ii. 1929–1930; *JE*, vi. 130–131. On Hadad as a divine name E. Nestle, *Die israelitischen Eigennamen*, 114–116, Haarlem, 1876; E. Schrader, *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, pp. 371–395, 538, Giessen, 1878; idem, *KAT*, pp. 42, 133, 147, 442 sqq., 538; C. P. Tiele, *Babylonisch-*

assyrische Geschichte, p. 525, Gotha, 1886–88; H. Winckler, *Alttestamentliche Forschungen*, p. 69, Leipsic, 1892; H. V. Hilprecht, *Assyriaca*, pp. 76–78, Boston, 1894, and see under HADADRIMMON and RIMMON. On the kings of that name consult: P. Cassel, in *Sunem, ein Berliner Wochenblatt*, vol. vii., 1881; H. Winckler, ut sup., pp. 1–15; F. Buhl, *Geschichte der Edomiter*, pp. 57–61, Leipsic, 1893; A. H. Sayce, *The Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, London, 1894; J. Lury, *Geschichte der Edomiter*, Bern, 1896; T. K. Cheyne, in *JQR*, ii (1899), 551–556; Schrader, *KAT*, pp. 240–241, 450.

HADADEZER: An Aramean king and opponent of David (II Sam. viii. 3–12; I Kings xi. 23). The name means "Hadad helps." A variant is Hadarezer, to which the form Hadadezer is superior, since Hadad (q.v.) is the name of an Aramaic deity, and "Hadadezer" is formed on customary lines (cf. Hebr. Eliezer, Joezer; and Phenician Eshmunezer). The name occurs on a seal of the seventh century in which the letters l and r are clearly distinguished (Euting, *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1885, p. 679). It is probable that Hadadezer was the name of the king of Damascus whom the Old Testament mentions as the second Benhadad. The subject of this article was king of Zobah (q.v.), a principality lying south of Mt. Hermon and the chief of a group of Aramean states extending as far south as the borders of Ammon. When David was engaged in war with the Ammonites, Hadadezer assisted the latter and was defeated by David; he then secured the aid of the king of Damascus, and again met defeat. He finally summoned all the remaining Aramean states to the south of Hermon except Hamath (then an ally of Israel), only to be beaten again.

Such is the account of the events of David's Aramean wars as compiled from the two accounts in II Sam. viii. and x., which in part supplement each other and in part are different versions of the same event. Confusion has been introduced by the use of the term "river" in viii. 3 and x. 16, which has been taken to mean the Euphrates, which indeed some manuscripts read in viii. 3 and as the Septuagint reads in the parallel I Chron. xix. 16. Probably, however, the Jordan is meant, and the area of the transactions referred to in the context was restricted to eastern Palestine and its northern Aramean border. J. F. MCCURDY.

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HADADRIMMON: According to the usual interpretation, a place name mentioned in Zech. xii. 11. The word is the union of two names of the same deity, "Hadad" and "Rimmon" (see RIMMON); but such a formation is remarkable, and in itself furnishes a difficult problem, perhaps the best explanation being that it is an abbreviation for *Hadadbaal-Rimmon*, "Hadad, lord of (the place) Rimmon." The passage, which is one of unusual difficulty, reads: "In that day there shall be a great mourning in Jerusalem, as the mourning of Hadadrimmon in the valley of Megiddon." This may be construed to mean mourning at a place named Hadadrimmon, or for an event which occurred there, or for a person of that name. The ancient and most modern commentators accept the word as a place name. Thus Jerome states in his commentary on the passage that Adadremmon was a village near Jezreel to which the name Maximianopolis (identified with the Roman Legio and the modern Lejjun) had been given. On the other hand the most usual identification is with Rummaneh (n.w. of Jenin and near Lejjun; cf. G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography of Palestine*, p. 389, London, 1897). But after it is granted that the word is a place name, the identification of the event referred to is uncertain. Reference has been seen to the mourning of Sisera's mother for her son who suffered defeat nearby (Judges iv.–v.). But the passage seems to allude to an event which was notable for the grief it caused, and the reference to Sisera's mother seems exceedingly far-fetched. Others have thought of a mourning for Ahaziah of Judah, who died at Megiddo (II Kings ix. 27); but Ahaziah had not so great importance for Judah as to make his death particularly noteworthy, and was also overshadowed by the great slaughter of princes which followed. The favorite hypothesis has been to refer it to the mourning for Josiah, who also died at Megiddo (II Kings xxiii. 29). This seems best for two reasons: (1) on account of the importance for the development of the religion of the king in whose reign the Deuteronomic reform took place, the ruler from whom so much was hoped, whose death therefore became an important event to be kept in sorrowful remembrance; (2) it falls in with the testimony of the Chronicler (II Chron. xxxv. 25), who was nearly or quite a contemporary of the author of Zech. xii., to an established custom of mourning for Josiah which had persisted to his own time. The objection of Cheyne (*EB*, ii. 1930) that the mourning for Josiah (and, of course, for Ahaziah) would be at Jerusalem, not at Hadadrimmon, has no force against those explanations which see a reference not to a mourning which took place in Hadadrimmon, but to a mourning for an event which occurred there. The Targum combines a mourning for Ahab, whom it declares a Syrian named Hadadrimmon slew, and for Josiah. The critical school is inclined against all these interpretations, sees in Hadadrimmon a divine name, brings the passage into connection with Ezek. viii. 14, reads in an identification of the Phenician Adonis (the Babylonian Tammuz) with the Syrian-Aramean deity Hadad (Rimmon) or a confusion of the two, and refers the mourning to the yearly lament for that deity on the waning of the sun (cf. Schrader, *KAT*, pp. 399, 450). In that case this is the only reference to such a cult and is against all that is known of the worship of Hadad and Rimmon. GEO. W. GILMORE.

Bibliography: On Hadadrimmon: W. W. von Baudissin, *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, i. 293–325, cf. ii. 215, Leipsic, 1876–78; *DB*, ii. 274; *EB*, ii. 1930–31; *JE*, vi. 130. On the location of Megiddo and Maximianopolis: Reland, *Palæstina*, pp. 873, 893–895, Utrecht, 1714; Robinson, *Researches*, vol. iii; K. von Raumer, *Palästina*, pp. 446–448, Leipsic, 1860; C. R. Conder, in PEF, *Quarterly Statement*, 1877, pp. 13–30, cf. 190–192; F. Buhl, *Geographie des alten Palästina*, pp. 208–209, Tübingen, 1896. On Rummane, V. Guérin, *Description géographique, historique . . . de la Palestine*, II. ii. 228–230, Paris, 1875.

HADDAN, ARTHUR WEST: English church historian; b. at Woodford (5 m. n.n.e. of London), Essex, Aug. 31, 1816; d. at Barton-on-the-Heath (15 m. s.s.e. of Stratford), Warwickshire, Feb. 8, 1873. He was educated at Brasenose College and Trinity College, Oxford (B.A., 1837; M.A., 1840; B.D., 1847). He was a scholar of Trinity College 1835–40, fellow 1840–58, classical tutor and dean 1841, and vice-president 1848. He was deeply affected by the Tractarian movement, and was particularly influenced by Isaac Williams, then a tutor at Trinity College, and also by J. H. Newman, whose curate he was in 1840 at St. Mary's, Oxford. Despite his eminent attainments the only preferments he ever received were the small college living of Barton-on-the-Heath, to which he retired in 1857, and the barren title of honorary canon of Worcester, which he received in 1870. In 1865 he was appointed Bampton lecturer, but was forced by ill health to resign the appointment. He was a thorough scholar, and all his writings are marked by extreme accuracy. The two works by which he will be remembered are, *Apostolical Succession in the Church of England* (London, 1869), the final authority on the subject; and *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, in collaboration with W. Stubbs (3 vols., Oxford, 1869–78), an extremely valuable collection of sources for the early ecclesiastical history of England, based upon the works of H. Spelman and D. Wilkins. Haddan wrote much for the *Guardian* and the *Christian Remembrancer*, contributed to the various reviews, wrote a number of articles for the *DCA*, edited for the *Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology* the works of John Bramhall (5 vols., Oxford, 1842–1845) and Herbert Thorndike (6 vols., 1844–56), and translated for *NPNF* (1 ser., vol. iii.) St. Augustine's *De trinitate*. His *Remains* were edited by A. P. Forbes (London, 1876).

Bibliography: Article by R. W. Church in *Remains*, ut sup.; *DNB*, xxiii. 424–425.

HADES: The abode of departed spirits.

The Hebrew name for the abode of the dead is Sheol, and from the Hebrew the word passed into the Aramaic and Syriac versions of the Old Testament. The Septuagint has almost always translated it by Hades, registering thereby the close resemblance of the Hebrew and Greek ideas in regard to the dwelling-place of the dead.

The Israelitic conception of Sheol rests upon the belief that the decomposition of the dead body, by means of which dust returns to dust (Gen. iii. 19; Ps. cxlvi. 4; Eccles. xii. 7), does not involve complete annihilation, only that in death the "shade" of the living man separates from the body and takes up its abode in Sheol. Neither soul (*nephesh*) nor spirit (*ruaḥ*) dwells in Hades, only the *rephaim*, "the shades" (Job xxvi. 6; Ps. lxxxviii. 11; Isa. xiv. 9), who lack everything which according to Hebrew thought could be called life. The care taken to preserve the bodies of the dead from insult or injury does not seem to have been prompted by the thought that the shades could suffer thereby. Sheol is a land of forgetfulness (Ps. lxxxviii. 12), where nothing is known of what happens in the upper world (Job xiv. 21). The only instance of an evocation (I Sam. xxviii.) implies that a man gifted with supernatural knowledge, as was Samuel, did not lose his power even in death. That Sheol was located beneath the earth's surface is clear from the expression "down into Sheol" (Gen. xxxvii. 35; Isa. xiv. 11, 15; Ezek. xxxi. 15). It lies deeper than thought can reach, and to it no light of sun penetrates. Yet it is compared to a house, has chambers, and gates with bars. In poetry it is likened to an insatiable beast. Yet it is subject to God's power, though man can not praise God there (Isa. xxxviii. 18) and God's reproof does not reach it (Ecclus. xli. 4). About the third century before Christ the idea of Sheol was modified by the Pharisaic doctrine of a return of all or a part of the pious dead to this life at the end of the world-period (Isa. xxvi. 19: Dan. xii. 2; Enoch; xc. 33); and also, by the Essenic doctrine that the pious were, like Enoch (Gen. v. 24), taken up to God (Ps. lxxiii. 24; Wisd. of Sol. iii. 1; Enoch xxxix. 5; see Resurrection; and Gehenna). When the doctrine of a punishment immediately after death began to prevail, the idea that there was a place of punishment and a place of bliss superseded the old conception of Sheol. Since, however, the expressions used by the Old Testament in regard to Sheol could be applied only to the place of punishment, Sheol and Gehenna came to mean the same thing.

In the New Testament the word Hades is rarely used (Matt. xi. 23). That the gates of Hades would not prevail against Christ's community (Matt. xvi. 18) means simply that death can not harm it. In Luke xvi. 23, the rich man while in torment in Hades beholds thence Lazarus in Abraham's bosom, so that Hades and the place of punishment are the same. For Paul, "the deep" (Rom. x. 7) is the dwelling-place of the dead; according to Eph. iv. 9, Christ descended "into the lower parts of the earth"; the dead are inhabitants of the underworld (Phil. ii. 10). To Hades all men must go to await the decision of their lot. Christians, after their death, dwell in Hades until the resurrection (I Thess. iv. 16; I Cor. xv. 23), but cf. Phil. i. 23, where believers are with Christ in death. According to Revelation believers who have departed this life are in heaven (vi. 9, vii. 9, xv. 2), and at the resurrection their souls will be clothed with a body (xx. 4, 5). The other dead dwell in Hades (xx. 13). The bottomless pit (ix. 1, 2, 11, xi. 7) is distinguished from Hades as the place whence came the evil spirits under their leader Abaddon (ix. 11); there Satan will be chained a thousand years. At the end the evil, both men and angels, will be cast into a "lake of fire" (xix. 20, xx. 10). The Gospel of John lays stress upon the conception that believers

are from the beginning partakers of eternal life [but cf. v. 28–29]. Death and resurrection are only phases of that life. I Pet. iii. 19 makes mention of the "prison" in which the dead were found at Christ's death.

Christianity did not so much modify the Jewish ideas of death and the abode of the dead as give to them a new foundation. The real victory of life over death was won when Jesus rose from the dead.

(G. Dalman.)

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HADORAM: hə-do'ram. The name of several persons mentioned in the Old Testament.

1. One of the sons of Joktan mentioned in Gen. x. 27 (Septuagint *Odorra*, Lucian *Odorram*) and I Chron. i. 21 (Septuagint *Kedouran*, Lucian *Adoram*). The entire context points to an Arabian environment, and the name is to be taken as the name of an eponymous progenitor of an Arabian tribe. It is to be remembered that the Arabs claim Joktan (Ḳaḥtan) as their progenitor (see Table of Nations). The name Hadoram has been found on a Sabean inscription (*CIS*, IV. i. 1) in the form *Hdrwm*. Müller and Glaser refer to Dauram in Yemen as possibly from the same origin.

2. Sons of Toi (Tou), king of Hamath, mentioned in I Chron. xviii. 10. as sent by his father to congratulate David upon his conquest of Hadarezer, a common foe. The parallel account in II Sam. viii. 10 gives Joram instead of Hadoram—a name of the same formation but substituting the abbreviated form of Yahweh for *Hado* (the shorter form of *Addu* in the Amarna Tablets). The form in Chronicles is regarded as probably the original (cf. Septuagint *Ieddouran*, and S. R. Driver, *Hebrew Text of . . . Samuel*, pp. 217, 267 "a Hamathite name").

3. The name given by II Chron. to the officer of tribute sent by Rehoboam to collect taxes from the people, by whom he was stoned to death. The parallel passage in I Kings xii. 8 gives the name as Adoram; possibly the text in both should be Adoniram.

Geo. W. Gilmore.

Bibliography: **1.** E. Glaser, *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, ii. 426–427, 435, Berlin, 1890; D. H. Müller, *Die Burgen und Schlösser Südarabiens*, i. 360–361, Vienna, 1879. On **2.–3:** H. V. Hilprecht, *Babylonian Expedition*, ix. 27, 48, Philadelphia, 1898; A. H. Sayce, *Early Hist. of the Hebrews*, p. 423, London, 1898.

HADRACH, had'rac: A place name occurring in Zech. ix. 1. The word (Hebr. *Ḥadrak*) occurs nowhere else in Scripture, unless Cheyne's plausible conjecture (*EB*, ii. 1933) be correct that it is to be found in the *haderek* ("the way") of Ezek. xlvii. 15. The place was almost lost to knowledge until the Assyrian inscriptions were discovered and read. A saying is preserved in the *Yalḳuṭ Shimoni* on Zech. ix. 1 by a rabbi Jose to the effect that his mother, a Damascene, recognized Hadrach as the name of a place near Damascus; and David ben-Abraham, a Jewish lexicographer of the tenth century, also locates it there. In the Assyrian inscriptions the name, written *Ḥatarika*, occurs several times in connection with the western campaigns of Assur-Dan III. in 772, 765, and 755 B.C., and is mentioned as tributary to Assyria in the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser dealing with the western campaign of the year 738 B.C. (see Assyria, VI., 3, §§ 8–9). The Assyrian mention is always in connection with the region in which Damascus, Arpad, and Hamath are situated. The early interpretations, making it the name of a king or a deity, a symbolical term "strong-weak," a name of Cœlesyria or of the Hauran, or as referring to a Chatracharta in Assyria mentioned by Ptolemy and Strabo (cf. W. Baudissin in Hauck-Herzog, *RE*, viii. 300–301), are by the cuneiform inscriptions rendered obsolete, and Hadrach may be identified with a city or region not far from Damascus.

Geo. W. Gilmore.

Bibliography: Consult, besides the commentaries on Zechariah, Schrader, *KAT*, p. 33; F. Delitzsch, *Genesis*, p. 536, Leipsic, 1872; F. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p 279, ib. 1881; H. Winckler, *Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen*, pp. 126–134, ib. 1892.

HADRIAN (Popes). See Adrian.

HADRIAN.

Life (§ 1).
Character (§ 2).
Hadrian and Christianity (§ 3).
The Rescript Concerning the Christians (§ 4).
Policy Toward the Jews (§ 5).

Publius Ælius Hadrianus, Roman emperor 117–138, was born at Italica, in the Spanish province of Bœtica, Jan. 24, A.D.; d. at Baiæ July 10, 138. After the early death of his father, he was educated under the care of his kinsman, the subsequent emperor Trajan, and early entered the service of the State. Upon the death of Trajan, in Aug., 117, he obtained the imperial dignity, probably on the ground of a simulated adoption by the empress and her party. He strove effectually to raise the standard of official life, to procure well-regulated financial conditions and to shape the laws by his own humane spirit. One dominant object of his government was the welfare of the provinces. In 120 or 121 he began a series of extensive journeys, which led him into all the domains of his empire, and were prompted alike by the deeply felt need of seeing the situation with his own eyes, and by a very marked interest on his part in behalf of science, archeology in particular. From 136, a grave dropsical affection seriously interrupted his activity, and led him, unsuccessfully, to attempt to put a violent end to his life. The present Castle of St. Angelo or the Mole of Hadrian (*moles Hadriani*) in Rome became his imposing mausoleum.

1. Life.

The effectiveness of Hadrian's excellent natural

endowments was seriously impaired by abrupt alterations in his moods and conduct. Especially, as he aged, did distrust and severity increasingly come to the surface. Religiously he lived in the faith and forms of antique piety. He directed many temples to be built, or restored, in the course of his journeys, and not a few of them were dedicated to him. He had himself solemnly initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries; he accepted, with faith in its operation, the voluntary sacrificial death of Antinous, instituting an elaborate worship for his dead favorite; and he firmly believed in magic. In his ethics, the influences of Stoic philosophy, and of the contemporary philanthropy, are distinctly apparent. He carried forward, on a larger plan, the benevolent foundation begun by Trajan for dependent boys and girls; he gladly sought out the sick, both high and low, and strengthened them with comforting words and good advice. Legislation affecting slavery underwent at his hands momentous reforms in a more humane direction. He kept sharp watch on the administration of justice, and its instrumentalities.

2. Character.

It is obvious that a ruler so highly interested in all the issues and circumstances of his time, could not fail to take account of Christianity, either in Rome or during his journeys, which led him into Christendom's principal districts and centers (Ephesus, Antioch, Alexandria, Bithynia). Among his immediate attendants his trusty freedman Phlegon had deemed it important enough to refer to its history in his writings (cf. Harnack, *Litteratur*, i. 867–868). On the other hand, Hadrian's much quoted letter to the consul Servianus (Vopiscus, *Vita Saturnini*, viii.), with its utterances concerning Christendom and Christians, must be characterized as a clumsy counterfeit of the fourth century (cf. Victor Schultze, *Hadriani epistola ad Servianum*, *TLB*, xviii., 1897, 561–562). Events in Asia Minor, however, elicited a momentous imperial manifesto concerning the Christians, which is still extant. When Hadrian, in the years 123–124, was in western Asia, a native Christian of high standing, Quadratus (others transfer the occurrence to Athens, and date it about 125–126), presented to him an apology, which was inspired by an undoubtedly ominous oppression of the Christians at the hands of "evil men." There soon afterward followed, possibly by mandate and in consequence of this letter, an official report to the emperor by the proconsul, Quintus Licinius Silvanus Granianus. By the time the imperial decision had been rendered, the proconsul had already found a successor in Caius Minucius (Minicius) Fundanus, and accordingly the rescript was issued to the latter. Exact chronological data are lacking, but it is customary to assign the proconsulship of Silvanus Granianus to the years 123–124 and that of his successor to 125–126, and this date for the apology of Quadratus is supported by both internal and external reasons (see Quadratus).

3. Hadrian and Christianity.

The substance of the rescript is as follows: the statutory methods of proceeding against the Christians are to be accorded to the provincials; if any unlawful act be ascertained as a result of a statutory judicial investigation, the legal penalty is to be imposed. But all compulsion of official intervention by means of public rioting, or underhand promotion of the same by self-seeking denunciation, is to be repelled, and, if need be, to be severely punished. At the very beginning the emperor declares it his earnest will, that there be an end of both turbulence and sycophancy. The sense is plain: the Christians in Proconsular Asia are exempted from uncertain and arbitrary official procedure, and committed, when calumnies are charged against them, to the due course of criminal law. Justin Martyr appends this rescript, in its original Latin text, to his first apology, either because it became known to him only after completing his work, or because he disdained to derive his evidence in favor of the claims of tolerance elsewhere than from the essence of Christianity. Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.*, iv. 9) turned it into Greek, and this translation subsequently took the place of the original text, and caused the latter to pass out of use. The genuineness of this rescript, important in its eccesiastical and civil bearings alike, is insured beyond doubt, on both internal and external grounds. On the other hand, the story that comes to light in a later author (Lampridius, *Vita Alexandri*, xliii.), to the effect that it was a part of the emperor's purpose to have Christ accepted into the number of the gods, and to dedicate a temple to him, must be regarded as legendary.

4. The Rescript Concerning the Christians.

Very different was Hadrian's policy with the Jews. The prohibition of circumcision and, still more, the establishment, from 130, of the colony of Ælia Capitolina, together with the erection of a temple to Jupiter upon the ruins of Jerusalem, fanned the religious ardor of Judaism, and about 132 it burst into a powerful flame of insurrection under the leadership of Bar Kokba (q.v.). Only after the legate Julius Severus had been summoned thither from Britain, did Rome succeed, through wearisome and sanguinary conflicts, in gradually crushing the insurgents. The campaign ended in 135; hundreds of thousands of men had perished and the country had been laid desolate; and now a heathen colony grew up in the environs of the Holy City, and over the foundations of the destroyed sanctuary there arose a temple of Jupiter, the Jews being even forbidden entrance to the city under penalty of death.

5. Policy Toward the Jews.

Victor Schultze.

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HAERING, hā'ring, **THEODOR:** German Protestant; b. at Stuttgart Apr. 22, 1848. He was educated at the universities of Tübingen and Berlin (1866–71), and after being a lecturer in the Evangelical theological seminary at Tübingen (1873–76),

was pastor at Calw (1876–81), and at Stuttgart (1881–86). In 1886 he was appointed professor at Zurich, whence he was called, three years later, to Göttingen, as Ritschl's successor, remaining there until 1895. Since 1895 he has been professor of New Testament exegesis, dogmatics, and ethics at the University of Tübingen. In theology he is a conservative of the Ritschlian school. He was associate editor of the *Theologische Studien aus Württemberg* from 1880 to 1889, and has written: *Ueber das Bleibende im Glauben an Christus* (Stuttgart, 1880; *Die Theologie und der Vorwurf der doppelten Wahrheit* (Zurich, 1886); *Zu Ritschls Versöhnungslehre* (1888); *Zur Versöhnungslehre* (Göttingen, 1893); *Unsere persönliche Stellung zum geistlichen Beruf* (1893); *Die Lebensfrage der systematischen Theologie* (Tübingen, 1895); *Das christliche Leben* (Stuttgart, 1902); *Zeitgemessene Predigt* (Göttingen, 1902); and *Der christliche Glaube* (Calw, 1906).

HAERTER, FRANZ HEINRICH: German Lutheran; b. at Strasburg Aug. 1, 1797; d. there Aug. 5, 1874. He studied theology in Strasburg from 1816 to 1819 at the time when rationalism flourished. Later he visited France and Germany, remained for some time in Halle, and there became startled by the consequences of rationalism. After his return to Strasburg he supported himself by tutoring until, in 1823, he was installed as pastor in the neighboring Ittenheim. He found the church there in a degenerate condition, but by his zeal succeeded in filling the empty pews, while his skill in treating the sick won the hearts of his parishioners, In 1829 he went to the New Church in Strasburg, and inspired great enthusiasm there by his oratory. At this time he passed through a severe crisis, coming to believe that his former piety and manner of preaching had been insincere, and becoming a new man. His new views, proclaimed from the first pulpit of the town, caused a sensation, and won the contempt of the ecclesiastical authorities, but filled the church building.

Härter's fame rests chiefly upon his efforts in behalf of home missions. In 1834 certain of his friends formed an association to advance Christian life, which later joined the Evangelical Society of France. In 1839 it was constituted anew as a society for the maintenance and expansion of the pure doctrine of the Gospel as it is expressed in the confessional writings of the Protestant Church, and especially in the Augsburg Confession. In 1842 Härter realized a plan he had long cherished by founding an institution for deaconesses similar to that of Fliedner at Kaiserswerth (see Fliedner, Theodor). He was attacked, and his work was considered a relapse into Roman monasticism, but Härter remained firm to his purpose, and in 1844 a new and larger house became necessary, and soon branch institutions arose in Mühlhausen, Gebweiler, Neuchâtel, Markirch, Mömpelgard, and elsewhere. He aided the foreign mission in Basel, and his Evangelical Society worked hand in hand with the Reformed, though such affiliations with non-Lutherans provoked criticism. About sixty of his sermons have been printed. They present in simple manner the Biblical doctrine concerning the natural corruption of man, the omnipotence of God, and the peace of a soul that has turned from the world. At the same time they attack rationalism in the most severe manner. They appear mediocre when read, but when delivered were effective by the weight of personal conviction and by the penetrating earnestness of the preacher's manner.

(K. Hackenschmidt.)

Bibliography: C. Hackenschmidt, *Bilder aus dem Leben von F. H. Härter*, Strasburg, 1888; *Im Dienst des Herrn. Das Strassburger Diakonissenhaus*, ib. 1893; G. Härter, *Zur hundertjährigen Geburtsfeier von F. Härter*, ib. 1897; M. Reichard, *Franz Härter, ein Lebensbild aus dem Elsass*, ib. 1897; T. Todt, *Franz Härter, der Strassburger Diakonissenpfarrer*, Berlin, 1901.

HAETZER, hê'tzer (**HETZER**), **LUDWIG:** Swiss Anabaptist; b. at Bischofszell (11 m. s.s.e. of Constance), Switzerland, c. 1500; d. at Constance Feb. 5, 1529. He was educated at Freiburg, where, in addition to acquiring a mastery of the classic tongues and of Hebrew, he came under the influence of the mysticism of Tauler as expounded by Johann Breisgauer and others. He was chaplain at Wadenschwyl at the upper end of Lake Zurich at the time when Zwingli entered upon his active career and when the radical faction that combated him, arose. In his *Tütschen Büchli* (Zurich, 1523) Haetzer made his appearance as a spokesman of the Iconoclasts, and the repute it brought him led to his appointment as secretary to the Second Zurich Conference in October. He remained in Zurich for some time engaged in literary work, meanwhile growing more discontented with the policy of the moderate Reformers. His dissatisfaction finds expression in the introduction to his German version of Bugenhagen's exposition of the Pauline epistles. In June, 1524, he left Zurich for Augsburg, furnished with a letter of recommendation from Zwingli to the well-known preacher Frosch. Of greater consequence was the acquaintance he formed with Urbanus Rhegius. He also gained entrance into the patrician house of Regel, where he lived in close intimacy with its members until the autumn of the same year. Returning to Zurich, he came into close contact with the radicals Grebel, Manz, Reublin, and Brödlein, who were then engaged in a violent struggle against the power of the "tyrants and popes" and especially against the practise of infant baptism. Though Haetzer was no advocate of adult baptism, confining himself to a protest against the compulsory baptism of children, he was banished from the city together with a number of the radicals in Jan., 1525. Returning to Augsburg, he attained prominence as an opponent of infant baptism and an advocate of Carlstadt's teachings on the Lord's Supper, and came to be regarded as the head of the Anabaptist community. His exposition of faith, of the free spirit, of love and sacrifice even to the cross, is contained in his *Schrift von den evangelischen Zechen und von der Christen Red* (1525). His capacity for intrigue, his duplicity, his talents for slander and abuse appeared in this book, as well as in the letter which he addressed to Zwingli in September of the same year. This depravity of character led to his fall from his high position at Augsburg. Challenged to a public disputation by

Rhegius he declined to accept the issue and was expelled from the city as a man of bad morals, an instigator of sedition and an enemy of the Protestant faith. In his hour of need he sought to make his peace with Zwingli. Traveling to Zurich by way of Basel, he was hospitably received by Œcolampadius, who rendered him assistance in the translation of his First Epistle on the Holy Communion to the Swabians. In Feb., 1526, he arrived in Zurich and was successful in effecting a reconciliation with Zwingli. But soon the newly formed friendship expired, and in March Haetzer returned to Basel more bitter than ever against Zwingli, whom he attacked in the introduction to his translation of the Book of Malachi (Zurich, 1526).

From Basel Haetzer went to Strasburg where he began his translation of the Prophets of which, besides the book of Malachi, two chapters of Isaiah (xxxvi.–xxxvii.) appeared in 1526. At Strasburg he fell under the influence of Denk, whose views of the inner word, of merit, and of the person of Christ acted as a stimulant to the development of Haetzer's own beliefs. Of the works of this period aside from the translation of the Prophets none has survived; but from the fragments that have been preserved it is apparent that especially in his teachings of the person of Christ he goes beyond Denk and reveals a fearlessness and freshness of spirit that is characteristic of the man. In 1526 Denk was expelled from Strasburg and betook himself to the Palatinate. Haetzer followed him thither in the spring of 1527 and there completed his translation of the Prophets from the Hebrew, a work of permanent importance and the first of the Protestant translations, anticipating the Zurich version by two years and that of Luther by five. In the Palatinate, Denk and Haetzer for a time formed a successful partnership for purposes of agitation, in which the former supplied the ideas while the latter had charge of the strategy of the campaign. In July, however, they were forced to flee, and Haetzer, after wandering for nearly a year, settled down in Constance. There he was arrested toward the end of 1528 on the charge of an illicit connection with the wife of Regel, his former patron at Augsburg, and on Feb. 4, 1529, he was condemned to death and decapitated on the following day. His memory was held in reverence by the Anabaptists.

(A. Hegler†) K. Holl.

[The translation of the Prophets, first published by P. Schöffer in 1527, was by Hans Denck and Ludwig Hätzer, the Anabaptist scholars and reformers. It passed through at least thirteen different editions, was extensively used by the Zurich translators, and much of it almost copied, without credit, by Luther in his version. The work has been highly praised for its scholarship and style (cf. V. Keller, *Ein Apostel d. Wiedertaüfer*, pp. 210 sqq.).

A. H. N.]

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HAEVERNICK, HEINRICH ANDREAS CHRISTOPH: German Evangelical theologian; b. at Kröpelin (15 m. w. of Rostock), Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Dec. 29, 1811; d. there July 19, 1845. He studied at the universities of Leipsic and Halle, but in 1830 migrated to the University of Berlin, where he came under the influence of Hengstenberg, whose theological trend he adopted. Two years later he was appointed instructor at the theological school founded at Geneva by the Société Evangélique, and there he published, with W. Steiger, the *Mélanges de théologie réformée* (2 parts, 1833–34). In 1834 he settled in Rostock, and three years later was appointed assistant professor at the unversity there, and preacher at the Klosterkirche. In 1841 he was called to the chair of theology at Königsberg. Hävernick was a prolific writer, especially on the history of the Books of the Old Testament; and he was a firm believer in the traditional views concerning their origin. Like Hengstenberg, he believed in the unity and Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch, as well as in the genuineness of the Book of Daniel. His most important works were: *Kommentar über das Buch Daniel* (Hamburg, 1832); *Handbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (3 vols., Erlangen, 1836–49; Eng. transl. by W. Alexander, *A General Historico-critical Introduction to the O. T., Edinburgh*, 1852); *Neue kritische Untersuchungen über das Buch Daniel* (Hamburg, 1838); *Lucubrationes criticæ ad apocalypsin spectantes* (Königsberg, 1842); *Kommentar über den Propheten Ezechiel* (Erlangen, 1843); and *Vorlesungen über die Theologie des Alten Testaments* (1848).

(W. Volck†.)

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HAFENREFFER, MATTHIAS: Lutheran; b. at Kloster Lorch (25 m. e. of Stuttgart), Württemberg, June 24, 1561; d. at Tübingen Oct. 22, 1619. He studied philosophy and theology at Tübingen, became pastor at Ehningen in 1588 and in 1590 court preacher at Stuttgart. Two years later he was appointed professor of theology at Tübingen. Thoroughly trained in Old Testament learning and the Church Fathers he possessed in addition no mean knowledge of natural science and mathematics and added to his wide attainments the charm of a pious, pacific, and thoroughly unselfish character. Keeping aloof as far as possible from theological controversy he found his true mission in a devotion to his academic duties which gained him the love and remembrance of many of his pupils, among them the astronomer Kepler, Johann Valentin Andreä, and W. Shickard. Noteworthy as casting light on the rectitude of his orthodoxy as well as the versatility of his interests is his correspondence with Kepler, who was accustomed to send his writings to Hafenreffer, his "dearest of preceptors," and invited him to act as arbitrator in his dispute with the church authorities at Linz. Hafenreffer is best known for his *Loci Theologici*, a handbook of theological science composed at the request of Duke Frederick of Württemberg, published at Tübingen in 1600 and issued in revised form in 1603. It is marked by a simplicity and

attractiveness of presentation which, in connection with its undoubted orthodoxy, rendered it a popular text-book, not only at Tübingen where it was used throughout the seventeenth century, but in the Swedish universities where it was made the official text-book in 1612. Still more admired by Hafenreffer's contemporaries was his *Templum Ezechielis* (1613), a commentary on Ezechiel xl.–xlviii., with a detailed description of the temple at Jerusalem accompanied by meditations on the principal features of the Christian religion and learned dissertations on the coinage, weights, and measures of the Old Testament.

(JOHANNES KUNZE.)

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HAGAR, hē'gar: The bondservant of Sarah whom she gave to Abraham as a concubine. Hagar is mentioned in three places in the Old Testament (Gen. xvi., xxi. 9 sqq., xxv. 12), containing narratives by J, E, and P. P gives only the outline, as is his custom. J narrates that Sarah, who was barren, gave her Egyptian slave Hagar to Abraham that he might have children by her and so remove the reproach of being childless. Hagar, becoming pregnant, despised her mistress, was humiliated by her, and fled to the desert in the south, where an angel met her by whose command she returned; she then became the mother of Ishmael, the ancestor of the Ishmaelites (Gen. xvi.).. According to E, it was Ishmael himself who, after the birth of Isaac, aroused Sarah's anger. Both J and E trace the origin of the Bedouins to Ishmael and from a partly Egyptian stock. Possibly the Hebrew tradition has mistaken the earlier form and has confused the North Arabian *Muẓri* with *Miẓraim*, the name for Egypt (see ASSYRIA, VI., 2, § 1). The name Hagar meaning "flight" (cf. the Arabic *hajirah*), has an etymological bearing upon the story, which seems to have risen at a time when the Arabs had the place Lahai-roi in their possession. The Bedouins still point out a spring near a rock-dwelling on the caravan route from Beersheba to Egypt as Hagar's spring, and Jerome knew of such a spring in that neighborhood. The later Arabic tradition makes Hagar Abraham's wife and makes her have the vision of the angel in Mecca, where her grave is shown. In the New Testament Paul uses Hagar allegorically to express the old Sinaitic covenant of the law (Gal. iv. 21 sqq.). (R. KITTEL.)

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HAGARENES, hē'gar-ĭnz, **HAGARITES,** hē'gar-aits (R.V., **Hagrites**): A Bedouin stock of North Arabia. According to I Chron. v. 18 sqq. they were in Saul's time defeated by the Reubenites, and according to verse 22 by the three trans-Jordanic tribes, which occupied their territory. I Chron. xxvii. 31 makes a Hagrite the keeper of David's flocks while an Ishmaelite is keeper of his camels. Hagrites and Ishmaelites are associated in Ps. lxxxiii. 6. From these items it appears that they were Bedouins like the Ishmaelites, but not of the same stock, while their home was in the Syrian and North Arabian desert. In spite of the similarity in name, they are not to be connected with Hagar, since the region allotted to her descendants was the region of Beersheba, where the Hagrites are not found. This people is mentioned by both Strabo and Ptolemy. (R. KITTEL.)

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HAGEN, JOHANN. See BURSFELDE, CONGREGATION OF.

HAGENAU, CONFERENCE OF: An assembly summoned by Charles V. in 1540 for the discussion of questions at issue between the Catholic and Protestant princes of Germany. The preliminary negotiations were prolonged through the efforts of the emperor to have himself recognized as arbitrator at the disputation, while the Schmalkaldic princes, through Melanchthon as their mouthpiece, demanded that the debate be prosecuted and the decision rendered only according to the Scriptures. The conference was called for the sixth of June at Speyer, whither the emperor sent his brother Ferdinand as his representative. By the latter part of May the Catholic delegates were assembled at Speyer but owing to the ravages of the plague in that city the sittings were removed to Hagenau. The papal interests were represented by the legate Cardinal Cervino, who, however, remained with the emperor in the Netherlands, and only Morone accompanied Ferdinand to Hagenau. His instructions were to enter into no binding agreements, to abstain from participating in the public disputations, and to content himself with rendering aid to the Catholic party by advice; in case the conference should arrive at the discussion of vital issues other legates would be sent, and if affairs took a turn hostile to the interests of the Curia he was to leave the city. On June 12, Ferdinand was first in a position to open negotiations with the Catholic representatives, to whom he complained of the perverse obstinacy of the Protestants and extended assurances that the outcome of the conference should leave the Catholic faith unimpaired. Of the Protestant theologians who now made their appearance the most prominent were Cruciger, Myconius, Butzer, Link, Capito, Osiander, and Pistorius; Melanchthon was ill at Weimar and Luther, who wished to go in his place, was not permitted to attend out of regard for his safety. Cochlæus, Eck, Faber, and Nausea were the leading exponents of the Catholic position. The latter attempted to lay down as a basis for negotiations that the articles debated at Augsburg be regarded as definitely settled and that the discussion proceed with the articles not yet considered. In this sense Eck and Cochlæus submitted a program to the conference. The Protestants, how-

ever, denied that any agreement had been reached at Augsburg, rejected the submitted program as incorrect and demanded a full and free discussion of their entire confession. It was evident that no common action was possible and on July 16 Ferdinand proposed that the negotiations be postponed to another time and place on account of the absence of the Protestant leaders, the elector John Frederick of Saxony and Philip of Hesse. On July 28 the conference dispersed after deciding upon a new conference at Worms in October. The absolute failure of the negotiations served to emphasize the fact already expressed by Cochlæus that no discussion as to particular doctrines could be of any avail so long as the two parties were irreconcilably opposed in their ideas of the nature of the Church as a whole. (G. Kawerau.)

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HAGENBACH, hā'gen-bāh, **KARL RUDOLF:** Church historian; b. at Basel Mar. 4, 1801; d. there June 7, 1874. He studied in a Pestalozzian institution from 1808 to 1813 and at the gymnasium of his native city. He was greatly influenced by Herder, and learned to look upon Christ as the perfect man, and not as a metaphysical problem. This ideal rationalism became decisive for his whole theological tendency although it was balanced by a due regard for history and historical development. In 1819 he began his theological studies at Basel, and studied at Bonn and Berlin from 1820 to 1823. In Bonn he was chiefly attracted by Lücke, and in Berlin he was under the influence of Schleiermacher and Neander. After his return to Basel in 1823, De Wette persuaded him to establish himself as privat-docent at the university where he soon became professor and remained about fifty-one years. He lectured chiefly on church history and the history of dogmas, and it was owing to his, as well as De Wette's, influence that the university entered again into closer touch and a more living union with German Evangelical theology. At the same time Hagenbach served the Church of his native city as member of the council and of the board of higher education. He was also president of the Protestant relief society for Switzerland founded by him and De Wette. He was a powerful preacher, and he also published poems marked by tenderness of feeling and Christian earnestness.

The fundamental views of Hagenbach's theology are based upon the ideas of the "mediating theology." His historical studies led him gradually away from the subjective position of Schleiermacher and De Wette and made him emphasize more strongly the objective realities of revelation. His publications originated in connection with his academic activity, or from similar occasions of a practical nature. His manuals for students have been very popular, especially his *Encyklopädie und Methodologie der theologischen Wissenschaften* (Leipsic, 1833; 12th ed. by Reischle, 1889; Eng. transl. adapted by G. R. Crooks and J. F. Hurst, *Theological Encyclopædia and Methodology*, New York, 1884); *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* (1840, 6th ed. by Benrath, 1888; Eng. transl. *History of Christian Doctrine*, by Buch, Edinburgh, revised and enlarged by H. B. Smith, 2 vols., New York, 1861; new ed., with preface by Plumptre, 3 vols., Edinburgh, 1880); *Leitfaden zum christlichen Religionsunterricht* (1850, 9th ed. by S. M. Deutsch, 1905); *Grundzüge der Homiletik und Liturgik* (1863). His chief literary work is *Kirchengeschichte von der ältesten Zeit bis zum neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (7 vols., Leipsic, 1869–72; partial transl. *History of the Reformation*, by Miss E. Moore, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1878; *History of the Church in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, by J. F. Hurst, 2 vols., New York, 1869). This work grew from lectures at Basel from 1833; published at first in single parts (*Geschichte der Reformation und des Protestantismus*, 1834–43, *Geschichte der alten Kirche*, 1853–55; *Geschichte des Mittelalters* (1860–61). The characteristic feature of the work is not so much originality and felicity of scientific results as its clear arrangement and attractive compilation, and especially the living connection between theology and life, science and practise, past and present. Of other works may be mentioned, *Kritische Geschichte der Entstehung und der Schicksale der ersten Baslerkonfession* (Basel, 1827), *Sermons* (1858, 1875), *Ueber die sogenannte Vermittlungstheologie* (1858), *Ueber Ziel und Richtdunkte der heutigen Theologie* (1867), *Ueber Glauben und Unglauben* (1872); *Mein Glaubensbekenntnis und meine Stellung in den theologischen Parteien* (1874); *Tabellarische Uebersicht der Dogmen-Geschichte bis zur Reformation* (new ed. Halle, 1887). Hagenbach was also the editor of the *Kirchenblatt für die reformierte Schweiz* (1845–65).

(R. Stähelin†.)

Bibliography: An extensive autobiographic sketch remains unpublished; a shorter sketch, also by Hagenbach, appeared with other matter as *Erinnerung an K. R. Hagenbach*, Basel, 1874, cf. G. A. Finsler, *Zur Erinnerung an K. R. Hagenbach*, Zurich, 1874; C. F. Eppler, *K. R. Hagenbach*, Gütersloh, 1875. Consult also P. Schaff, *Germany, its Universities, Theology and Religion*, p. 403, Philadelphia, 1857.

HAGER, hā'ger, **KONRAD:** German religious reformer of the fourteenth century. In Feb., 1342, he was tried by the Inquisition at Würzburg. He admitted that he had opposed the collection of offerings for masses, and also the holding of masses and supplications for the dead, thus alienating many from the teachings of the Church. The trial ended with his recantation; but later he adopted his former heretical views, and, it is said, suffered death at the stake. He is supposed to have been under the influence of Waldensian doctrines.

Herman Haupt.

Bibliography: *Monumenta Boica*, xl. 381, 386–396, Munich, 1870; H. Haupt, *Die religiösen Sekten in Franken vor der Reformation*, pp. 20–21, Würzburg, 1882.

HAGGADAH. See Midrash.

HAGGAI, hag'ga-ai: The tenth in order of arrangement of the Minor Prophets, and the earliest of the post-exilic prophets. The book is an important source for early postexilic history. The contents are in brief as follows: In the second year of

Darius (520 B.C.), Haggai was commanded to oppose before Zerubbabel and Joshua the current opinion in Judea that the time had not come to rebuild the Temple; the result was a commencement of the work (i. 1–11). A second oracle rebuked the faintheartedness of the people due to their lowly condition by promising a stirring among the nations which should pour treasures in abundance into it (ii. 1–9). A third and a fourth oracle, a month later, promised the wakening of the nations, the overthrow of the heathen kingdoms, and the acknowledgment of Zerubbabel as Yahweh's signet (ii. 11–19, 20–23).

The contents of this book make clear that the building of the Temple had not been accomplished during the reign of Cyrus and according to his edict (Ezra i. 3), and supplements the account in Ezra iv. 1–5; though there is no trace in either Haggai or Zechariah that the foundations had already been laid (Ezra iii. 12). Haggai speaks as though the fault was that of the Jews themselves, but he shows also that they had suffered from drought and failure of crops (i. 6, 9, ii. 16), and the people were few in number, so that they had tried to proselyte, a process which had brought its own difficulties (Isa. lvi.–lxvi.). The course of events stated or implied is as follows: The first address on the first day of the sixth month, 520 B.C.; a further encouraging word between that date and the twenty-fourth; discouragement followed the first efforts, hence a new delivery on the twenty-first day of the seventh month, parallel to Isa. lx.; to remove evident discouragement came a new stimulus in the address delivered on the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month, followed by an address later on the same day and of different tenor, in which Zerubbabel is called by God to a special mission. He is God's signet, his representative; and this can point only to the reestablishment of the kingdom. And with this was bound up also the realization of certain Messianic hopes. Doubtless the stimulus to this was given in the stormy condition of affairs in the East, which looked toward the destruction of the Persian empire and seemed favorable to the erection of the Messianic kingdom in Judea. (R. KITTEL.)

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HAGIGAH. See TALMUD.

HAGIOGRAPHA ("Holy Writings"): The name given to the third division of the Old Testament canon. See BIBLE VERSIONS, A, V., § 5; and CANON OF SCRIPTURE, I., 1, § 4, c.

HAGUE ASSOCIATION, THE: A society founded in Oct., 1785, by a number of distinguished Dutch theologians for the defense of the Christian religion. The occasion was the appearance, in a Dutch translation (Dort, 1784) of Priestley's *History of the Corruptions of Christianity;* and the object of the society was to take a firm stand against the anti-Christian tendencies of the age. During the first period of its life (1785–1810) its standpoint was strictly orthodox and supernaturalistic. The doctrines of vicarious atonement, the divinity of Christ, the personality of the Holy Spirit, etc., were strongly emphasized; and the inspiration of the Scriptures was considered an indisputable fact. During the second period (1810–35) the exegetical element was made more prominent, and the standpoint may be characterized as Biblico-evangelical. The character of the third period (1835–60) was principally determined by the writings of D. F. Strauss and the Tübingen school. The contest raged around the fundamentals of Christianity; and the principles which the society fought for were strongly conservative, though it carried on the fight in a free, scientific spirit. But, from this critico-historical platform the society, after 1860, gradually glided into the field of ethics and social reform; slavery, war, capital punishment, woman's emancipation and questions of a similar nature have received particular attention; though the doctrinal history of Christianity continued to be cultivated in the spirit of modern research, the rigid orthodoxy of the early period of the association has disappeared. (J. A. GERTH VAN WIJK†.)

HAHN, AUGUST: Lutheran; b. at Grossosterhausen near Querfurt (18 m. s.w. of Halle), Prussian Saxony, Mar. 27, 1792; d. at Breslau May 13, 1863. His father died when he was a child and he was taken under the care and instruction of the village pastor. In 1807 he was sent to the gymnasium of Eisleben and in 1810 he went to the University of Leipsic. While studying theology, he perfected his knowledge of the ancient languages; Rosenmüller guided him in Syriac and Arabic, and Keil in Orientalia. In 1813 he finished his theological course and became private tutor. In 1817 he entered the newly founded theological seminary at Wittenberg where the two Nitzschs, Schleusner and Heubner were his teachers and where he found again his old faith temporarily lost at Leipsic. In 1819 he became privat-docent at Königsberg and professor. In the following year he was appointed preacher and superintendent of one of the Königsberg churches, but because of his health had to resign these additional offices in 1822. In 1827 he accepted a call to Leipsic where he was drawn into fierce theological battles. In his inaugural dissertation he attacked the rationalists by declaring rationalism diametrically opposed to Christianity. The rationalists, such as Schulthess, Röhr, and others replied, and in the following year Hahn published his *Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens*. It breathes the Christian and Biblical spirit which animated his whole personality. In 1833 Hahn became professor and councilor of the consistory at Breslau, where he lectured on dogmatics and historical theology, also on ethics, practical theology and New Testament exegesis. Hahn became involved in the occasional fierce struggles in the consistory and faculty, also in dissensions with the "Old Lutherans," who would not submit to the demands of the Evangelical Union of Prussia. His activity in Silesia became still more extensive and successful after the accession of

Frederick William IV. In 1844 he was made general superintendent; and the call of E. F. Gaupp to the university and consistory, of Oehler to the university, and of Wachler to the consistory showed the changed conditions which he brought about. In his later years he gave up his lectures and devoted himself entirely to his ecclesiastical office. He expressed his later dogmatic convictions in the second edition of his *Lehrbuch* (1857) where he declared the confessional writings of the Church an entirely justified expression of Christian truth. He also wrote a treatise on the writings of Ephraem Syrus (Leipsic, 1819), several dissertations on Marcion (1820–26), a Syriac chrestomathy (1825), and edited a Hebrew Bible (1833) and Greek New Testament (1840–61). (J. Köstlin†.)

Bibliography: K. Kolbe, in *Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung*, 1863, nos. 75–77 (uses an unprinted autobiography).

HAHN, HEINRICH AUGUST: Lutheran; b. at Königsberg June 19, 1821; d. at Greifswald Dec. 1, 1861. He was the son of August Hahn and studied at Breslau and Berlin. He lectured on Old Testament exegesis and theology, first as privat-docent in Breslau (1845) and in 1846 at Königsberg after the death of Hävernick. In 1851 he became professor at Greifswald. He published a number of works, characterized by conscientiousness, carefulness, and faithfulness to duty, and representing the orthodox standpoint against a criticism that contradicted the old traditions. He published Hävernick's lectures on the theology of the Old Testament (Erlangen, 1848), a commentary on the Book of Job (Berlin, 1850), a translation of the Song of Songs (Breslau, 1852), an exposition of Isaiah xl.–lxvi. as the third volume of Drechsler's commentary on Isaiah (Berlin, 1857) and a commentary on Ecclesiastes (Leipsic, 1860). (J. Köstlin†.)

Bibliography: *Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung*, 1862, no. 26.

HAHN, JOHANN MICHAEL: Founder of the sect of the Michelians; b. at Altdorf near Böblingen (9 m. n. of Tübingen) Feb. 2, 1758; d. at Sindlingen near Herrenberg (8 m. n.w. of Tübingen) Jan. 20, 1819. The son of a peasant, from his early youth he was given to meditations and visions, and to study of the Bible and of the works of Jakob Boehme, Oetinger, and others. As he attracted great audiences wherever he spoke publicly, he was several times summoned before spiritual and secular courts, the vexations of which he avoided by extensive travels, by abstaining temporarily from public activity and by living quietly on the estate of the Duchess Franzisca at Sindlingen. The Scripture was for Hahn of infallible authority in matters of faith, but he interpreted it according to his own light. Starting from the cosmic standpoint, he regarded all created existence as the evolution of divine attributes, mediated by the Word. By the fall of Lucifer the harmony of these attributes was disturbed, and the wrath of God awakened. There occurred a double fall, in the first place by the awakening of sexual desire in Adam who originally combined within himself the male and female qualities; later there occurred a differentiation of the sexes and the evolution of a coarse sensual body. The fall was completed by the eating of the apple. The work of redemption by Christ was thought of in a physical manner, in that he exuded with his blood the sensuality that had invaded man through the fall, and thus transfigured the flesh into a spiritual body. Justification is conceived not forensically, but effectively; sanctification is thought of almost after the manner of a chemical process as the excretion of carnal matter from the new spiritual body of man acquired by conversion. Therefore Hahn advocated an ascetic attitude of life, and greatly valued celibacy. His attitude toward the Church was not altogether that of a separatist; he clung to the rites of the Church, but only for the sake of the weak. In the latter years of his life, however, he was intent upon the organization of a spiritual congregation; for the colony of Kornthal, near Stuttgart, was organized after a plan of Hahn. He wrote more than two thousand spiritual hymns which, however, are of little poetical value; three of them have been embodied in the Württemberg hymn-book. After his death there appeared a collection of his works (15 vols., Tübingen, 1819 sqq.).

After Hahn, J. G. Kolb, schoolmaster in Dagersheim, exercised the greatest influence in the sect; he knew how to transform Hahn's theosophy into practical wisdom. The "Michelians," as the adherents of Hahn are called, are found especially among the peasants and are highly respected for their moral and economic efficiency. Since 1876 they have had a regular organization with presbyterial and synodical institutions. The congregational order of 1876 divided the whole territory (beside Württemberg, especially Baden) with several hundred localities into twenty-six districts. The number of members is about 15,000. (C. Kolb.)

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HAHN, PHILIPP MATTHAEUS: German Pietist; b. at Scharnhausen (6 m. s.e. of Stuttgart) Nov. 26, 1739; d. at Echterdingen (6 m. s. of Stuttgart) May 2, 1790. After preparation for the university at home, he studied theology in Tübingen (1756–60), and became preacher at Onstmettingen (1764), at Kornwestheim (1770) and at Echterdingen (1781). He used his leisure in mechanics, for which he had decided genius. In theology he stood midway between Bengel and Oetinger, less orthodox, more of a theosophist than the former, but not following the latter in his alchemistic views. Like Oetinger, he was intent upon a living, comprehensive, and systematic knowledge of divine revelation as laid down in Holy Scripture. Hahn considered the fundamental idea from which everything else was to be derived to be "the kingdom of Jesus." He held a dynamic idea of the Trinity; in God the One there are originally three egos or sources of life, analogous to the coexistence of the bodily, psychic, and spiritual life in man. The son is the most perfect reflection of the Godhead who only in him becomes conscious, but in relation to the world he is called the first-born. As such, he is, according to his heavenly humanity,

not absolutely eternal and absolutely divine. The creature on account of his great unlikeness could not be united with God without a mediator who, being the first-born, is the fundamental being of the first angelic world of which one part, under Lucifer, separated itself from its head. Consequently the world of the fallen angels became dark, sensual, and earthly, and out of its disorderly mass the earthly world was created. The first-born reestablished the earth as a dwelling-place of lower creatures and created man as a shadow of his own image. Like the other theosophists, Hahn taught a double fall; for if man had not fallen, the first-born would have been united with man as he was with Jesus, and thus the connection with God would have been reestablished; but now the earthly must again become heavenly and the flesh must become spirit. This takes place in the incarnation and death of the first-born. The earthly life of Jesus, who was sinless but subject to temptation, consisted in continually mortifying the flesh by means of the spirit; thus he realized the reunion of humanity with God. On account of his heterodoxy Hahn was denounced as a Socinian before the consistory and compelled to recant, and his writings were publicly forbidden (March 7, 1781). He translated the New Testament [Winterthur], (1777) and published among other works: *Betrachtungen und Predigten über die Evangelien* (1774); *Vermischte theologische Schriften* (1779); *Erbauungsstunden über die Offenbarung* (1795). (C. Kolb.)

Bibliography: *Philipp Matthäus Hahn*, Stuttgart, 1858; C. G. Barth, *Süddeutsche Originalien*, parts 2–4, 4 parts, Stuttgart, 1828–36; W. Claus, *Württembergische Väter*, ii. 146 sqq., Calw, 1888.

HAIMO (HAYMO, AIMO): Bishop of Halberstadt; d. Mar. 27, 853. He was a schoolfellow of Rabanus Maurus (q.v.), and lived as monk in Fulda and Hersfeld. In 840 Louis the German made him bishop of Halberstadt (cf. *Annalista Saxo*, 575), where he had to overcome many difficulties, being on the outposts, not far from the borders of the Wends. The writings ascribed to him, mostly homilies and Biblical commentaries, are attributed by some scholars to other authors. Hauck thinks, on account of their uniform method and views, that they are the work of one author, but surmises that he was a certain Haimo, who in 1091 became successor of the Abbot William of Hirschau (cf. Wattenbach in *MGH, Script.*, xii., 1836, 209–210), and whom the *Histoire littéraire* (v. 122) assumes to be the author of a collection of homilies transmitted under the name of Haimo and of a work *De varietate librorum*. The matter needs to be examined further, and this the more since Abelard uses Haimo in a way which forbids to refer his works to a man of the most recent past. The *Epitome historiæ sacræ* of Haimo is a brief compendium from the church history of Rufinus. S. M. Deutsch.

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HAIR AND BEARD OF THE HEBREWS: A full growth of black, curly hair is a characteristic mark of the Semitic races (Cant. v. 11; cf. iv. 1). Reddish hair was a rarity among the Israelites. Esau is described as red-haired (Gen. xxv. 25), and in the case of David it is remarked as a special quality of his beauty that he was blond (I Sam. xvi. 12).

Long hair and a long beard were considered an adornment for a man. On the Egyptian and Assyrian monuments Canaanites and Israelites always wear long hair and beards (cf. for example, the obelisk of Shalmaneser II.). It is the same with the Babylonians and Assyrians; the Egyptians, however, shaved their beards, the priests even their heads. A bald head may have been uncommon among the Israelites and therefore the more likely to lead to mockery by the rude and insolent (II Kings ii. 23, cf. Isa. iii. 17, 24). To shave the beard of another was a grave insult (II Sam. x. 4–5; cf. Isa. vii. 20, l. 6). Absalom, who was proud of his luxuriant hair, allowed it to be cut only once a year (II Sam. xiv. 26). On religious grounds the Nazirite (q.v.), during the period of his vow, did not allow a razor to touch his hair. The cutting off of the hair and beard in time of mourning, an ancient custom followed by the Hebrews and still practised in the East, had its origin in religious ideas (the offering of the hair as a sacrifice; and cf. Isa. iii. 24; Jer. xvi. 6; Ezek. vii. 18; Amos viii. 10; see Mourning). The custom was forbidden by the law (Lev. xix. 27, xxi. 5; Deut. xiv. 1). The shaving of the hair roundwise, which is now often practised by the nomads of the desert, was expressly forbidden to the Israelites (Lev. xix. 27), and the priests were not permitted to shave a bald spot on their heads (Lev. xxi. 5; Ezek. xliv. 20). Ezekiel also forbids them to wear the hair long. As to the hairdressing of the men, which was very elaborate among the Egyptians, and as to the skill of the barbers (Ezek. v. 1), no details have survived. Samson, as one dedicated to God, wore seven carefully arranged locks (Judges xvi. 19).

Women never cut their hair (cf. Jer. vii. 29), and long hair was their greatest ornament (Cant. iv. 1; cf. I Cor. xi. 15; Cant. vii. 5). To cut off a woman's hair and so expose her neck was the greatest contumely (cf. Jer. vii. 29; I Cor. xi. 6). Naturally much attention was given to the care of the hair, and the prophet's mockery shows that vain women in early times knew well how to twist curls and weave artistic braids (Isa. iii. 24; cf. Judith xvi. 8). Fragrant ointments played a great part in the dressing of the head (Ps. xxiii. 5, cxxxiii. 2; Matt. vi. 17; Luke vii. 46). Unfortunately no picture has been preserved to show the fashions of women's hair-dressing in ancient times; later they copied the noble Roman dames. So Josephus notes the custom of sprinkling the hair with gold-dust to make it brilliant (*Ant.* VIII., vi. 3).

I. Benzinger.

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For illustrations from other regions consult: J. Batche-

lor, *Ainu of Japan*, pp. 149, 168, New York, 1892; E. S. Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, ii. 66 sqq., 215 sqq., London, 1895; *Zend-Avesta, Vendidad*, Fargard xvii., in *SBE*, Am. ed., iii. 190–192; Mary H. Kingsley, *West African Studies*, pp. 163–165, London, 1899; J. G. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 3 vols., London, 1900 (consult Index); E. Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, pp. 107 sqq., New York, 1902; W. H. Furness, *Headhunters of Borneo*, pp. 92–93, London, 1902; E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, ib. 1903.

HAITI. See West Indies.

HAITO (HATTO): Abbot of Reichenau and bishop of Basel; b. 763; d. at Reichenau 836. He descended from the Swabian lineage of the counts of Saulgau. In his fifth year with his brother Wadilcoz he was sent to the monastery of Reichenau, where he remained in different positions until the end of his life. He stands at the head of the group of learned men who established the scholarly fame of Reichenau in the ninth century and made it by the side of St. Gall the most important institution of training and education for the nobility of Swabia. He became principal of the monastic school at Reichenau and later abbot of Reichenau and bishop of Basel. Like Waldo, his predecessor, he enjoyed the favor of Charlemagne, and was sent to Constantinople to complete negotiations of peace with the emperor of the East. He introduced the Benedictine rule in his diocese, and it is very probable that he was the author of the so-called Murbach statutes, twenty-seven chapters of which appear in the resolutions of a synod at Aachen in 816, concerning monastic reforms, which were received into the *Capitulare monasticum* of 817. He is certainly the author of twenty-five chapters which formed the rule for the official conduct of the clergy of Basel. They are of historical importance, since they give an insight into the low state of education among the clergy and at the same time show the efforts of the authorities to elevate the clergy spiritually and morally and give the people a Christian education. About 820 Haito was in Rome. In 823 a severe illness compelled him to abdicate his offices and retire as a simple monk to Reichenau. His pupil Erlebald succeeded him.

(Friedrich Wiegand.)

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HALAKAH ("Norm"): The traditional oral law, embodied in sententious form, contained in the Midrash. See Midrash.

HALBERSTADT, BISHOPRIC OF: A see founded, according to Saxon tradition, by Charlemagne, who is said to have conferred it on Hildigrim, brother of Liudger of Münster. The verification of this statement depends on the decision as to the authenticity of a document of Louis the Pious relating to Halberstadt, which Rettberg and Simson reject as forged, while Mühlbacher, with more probability, considers it merely interpolated. If this view is taken, Halberstadt was not then an episcopal see, but a collegiate church whose oversight was entrusted to a Frankish bishop. Hildigrim (d. 827) could hardly have been bishop at once of Châlons and of Halberstadt, and his brother's biography is against such a supposition. As bishop of Châlons (before 809) he exercised a general oversight of the missionary work in eastern Saxony, for which Halberstadt formed a central point. The statement of the Quedlinburg annals, under the year 781, that the church was originally founded at Osterwiek and removed later, may be true. Theotgrim (827–840) is the first who can strictly be called bishop of Halberstadt. His jurisdiction was extensive, embracing eastern Saxony from the Ocker to the Elbe and Saale, and from the Unstrut and the Harz to the Milde. Its area was considerably diminished by the foundation of new sees by Otto I., especially those of Magdeburg and Merseburg, established at the instance of Bishop Hildiward in 968. (A. Hauck.)

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HALDANE, ROBERT, and his brother **JAMES ALEXANDER:** Scottish leaders of Evangelical views.

1. Robert: b. in London Feb. 28, 1764; educated in Dundee and Edinburgh, entered that university; from 1780 to 1783 served as midshipman; resigned, reentered Edinburgh University for a year's study, but on attaining his majority left, made the "grand tour," married, and settled down on his ancestral estates.

2. James Alexander: b. at Dundee July 14, 1768; had a similar education, and in 1785 entered the East India Company's service and rose to be captain of one of its ships. In 1794 both brothers were converted, and with characteristic directness sought ways of serving their fellow men. Henceforth they were associated and prominent in original schemes. James left the East India Company's service, and with Edinburgh as a center, went upon preaching tours, which at the time was a novel thing for a layman to do. Robert sold his estate and devoted his large means to missionary purposes. He first proposed to found a mission in India and be himself a missionary, bearing all the expenses, but the refusal of the East India Company to give him permission for such work led him to abandon the scheme. He finally decided to open preaching places throughout Scotland and seminaries for the training of preachers, all at his expense. James became a Congregational minister in Edinburgh, over a church which Robert had built for him. In 1808 he announced himself a Baptist. In 1816 Robert went to Geneva, and later to Montauban and other places, holding parlor meetings on religion of a more fervid type than was there known. His Bible views, like

those of his brother, were decidedly different from those they encountered, as he maintained the infallibility and plenary inspiration of the book. By his presentation of these views he won converts, among whom were Merle d'Aubigné, Malan, and Gaussen, who exerted a profound influence on their countrymen, and introduced Evangelical theology in rationalistic circles. He died in Edinburgh Dec. 12, 1842, and his brother in that city on Feb. 8, 1851.

Both brothers were writers upon controversial topics. But the books of Robert were much more ambitious. They are probably not read at all to-day, and present views that, even in conservative circles, are now not held, but which in their day attracted attention. The titles of the tracts, pamphlets and volumes of these brothers constitute a record of the topics which interested such religious persons as Edward Irving, Thomas Erskine of Linlathen, and John McLeod Campbell of Row. Of a less personal nature was the strenuous and successful effort to exclude the Apocrypha from the Bibles issued by the British and Foreign Bible Society. Such were the controversies in which these brothers took part, always on the side of the narrowest Evangelical position. Robert's *Exposition of Romans* (3 vols., London, 1852), and James's *Exposition of Galatians* (Edinburgh, 1848) give their views in their most mature forms.

Bibliography: A. Haldane, *Memoirs of the Lives of R. Haldane, of Airthrey, and of his Brother James Alexander Haldane*, London and New York, 1852.

HALE, CHARLES REUBEN: Protestant Episcopal bishop of Cairo, Ill.; b. at Lewiston, Pa., Mar. 14, 1837; d. at Cairo, Ill., Dec. 25, 1900. He was educated at the University of Pennsylvania (A.B., 1858), was ordered deacon in 1860, and advanced to the priesthood in the following year. After being curate of Christ Church, Germantown, Pa., and of All Saints', Lower Dublin, Pa. (1861–63), he was chaplain in the United States Navy until 1870, being also professor of mathematics in the Naval Academy, Annapolis, Md., for a part of this time. He was then rector of St. John's, Auburn, N. Y. (1871–73), a missionary among the Italians of New York City (1873–75), rector of St. Mary the Virgin's, Baltimore, Md. (1875–76), curate of St. Paul's in the same city (1877–85), and dean of Grace Cathedral, Davenport, Ia. (1886–92). In 1892 he was consecrated bishop of Cairo (coadjutor to the bishop of Springfield). He took a prominent part in the negotiations of the Protestant Episcopal Church with the Orthodox Greek Church and the Old Catholics. He wrote:

List of the Sees and Bishops of the Holy Eastern Church (Philadelphia, 1870); *List of all the Sees and Bishops of the Holy Orthodox Church of the East* (New York, 1872); *An Eastern View of the Bonn Conference* (Utica, N. Y., 1876); *The Mozarabic Liturgy and the Mexican Branch of the Catholic Church of Our Lord Jesus Christ Militant upon Earth* (New York, 1876); *Innocent of Moscow, the Apostle of Kamchatka and Alaska* (1877); *Russian Missions in China and Japan* (1878); *An Order for the Holy Communion, Arranged from the Mozarabic Liturgy* (Baltimore, 1879); *An Office for Holy Baptism, Arranged from the Mozarabic and Cognate Sources* (1879); *Mozarabic Collects, Translated and Arranged from the Ancient Liturgy of the Spanish Church* (New York, 1881); *The Universal Episcopate: A List of the Sees and Bishops in the Holy Catholic Church throughout the World* (Baltimore, 1882); *The Eucharistic Office of the Christian Catholic Church of Switzerland, Translated, and Compared with that in the Missale Romanum* (New York, 1882); *A Visit to the Eastern Churches in the Interest of Church Unity* (1886); and *Missionary Relations between the Anglican and the Eastern Churches* (1894).

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HALE, EDWARD EVERETT: Unitarian; b. at Boston Apr. 3, 1822; d. at Roxbury, Mass., June 10, 1909. He was educated at Harvard College (A.B., 1839), studied theology privately and was ordained to the Unitarian ministry in 1846. From that year until 1856 he was minister of the Church of the Unity, Worcester, Mass., and from 1856 to 1899 was minister of the South Congregational (Unitarian) Church, Boston, retiring as pastor emeritus. He was chaplain of the United States Senate for many years, and also prominent in general philanthropic work. He edited *Library of Inspiration and Achievement* (10 vols., New York, 1905), while among his numerous writings particular note may be made of his *Man without a Country* (Boston, 1861); *Ten Times One is Ten* (1870); *In His Name* (1874); *What Career?* (1878); *If Jesus came to Boston* (1895); *Memories of a Hundred Years* (New York, 1902); and *Prayers in the United States Senate* (Boston, 1904). He wrote also several works on historical subjects, and published a number of volumes of sermons. His collected works appeared in ten volumes at Boston in 1898–1900.

HALE, SIR MATTHEW: Lord Chief Justice of England; b. at Alderley (15 m. n.e. of Bristol), Gloucestershire, Nov. 1, 1609; d. there Dec. 25, 1676. Left an orphan at the age of five he was placed under the care of the Puritan vicar of Wotton-under-Edge. In 1626 he matriculated at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, with a view to taking orders, but soon devoted himself to law, and in Sept., 1628, entered Lincoln's Inn. He was called to the bar in 1636 and quickly attained eminence in his profession. He was one of Laud's counsel on the archbishop's impeachment in 1643. Having adopted Pomponius Atticus as his model he sought to maintain a position of strict neutrality during the civil war, but after the execution of Charles I. he threw in his lot with the commonwealth. He was justice of common pleas 1654–58, and member of parliament for Gloucester 1654–55, and for the University of Oxford 1659–60. In the convention parliament, which met in Apr., 1660, he sat again for Gloucester and took an active part in the restoration of Charles II., by whom he was knighted Jan. 30, 1661. He was lord chief baron 1660–71, and lord chief justice from May 18, 1671, till Feb. 20, 1676, when, on account of failing health, he surrendered his office to the king in person. At the time of the Savoy Conference he wished to see the Presbyterians comprehended in the Church, and later he showed his sympathy for dissenters by his lenient administration of the Conventicle Acts, and also by an attempt made with Sir Orlando Bridgeman in 1668 to bring about the comprehension of the more moderate. He was on intimate terms with Baxter, Stillingfleet, and other celebrated divines.

Hale's rank as a lawyer and judge, and as a Christian, is of the highest. That he condemned

two poor women to death for witchcraft, at the Bury St. Edmunds assizes, Mar. 10, 1662, has been by some considered a blot on his reputation, but, though a deplorable fact, it only shows that he was not in advance of his times. His principal religious works are *Contemplations, Moral and Divine* (London, 1676); *Of the Nature of True Religion* (ed. from MS. by R. Baxter, 1684); *A Discourse of Religion* (1684); and *A Discourse of the Knowledge of God and Ourselves* (1688). His *Works, Moral and Religious*, with Burnet's *Life* and R. Baxter's *Notes* prefixed, were edited by T. Thirlwall (2 vols., 1805).

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HALES, JOHN: English clergyman, surnamed "The Ever-Memorable"; b. at Bath Apr. 19, 1584; d. at Eton May 19, 1656. He studied at Corpus Christi College and Merton College, Oxford (B.A., 1603; M.A., 1609), became a fellow of Merton in 1605, distinguished himself as a lecturer in Greek, and shone as a preacher. In 1616 he went to Holland as chaplain to Sir Dudley Carleton, the English ambassador, by whom he was sent to the Synod of Dort in 1618 to report the proceedings of that assembly. In 1619 he retired to his fellowship at Eton, to which he had been elected in 1612, and thereafter spent his life chiefly among his books, of which he had a noted collection. Once or twice a year he visited London, where his wealth of knowledge and ready wit made his company much desired in the brilliant circle of literary men then gathered there. Through Archbishop Laud, whose friend and chaplain he was, he was made canon of Windsor in 1639, but was ejected by the parliamentary committee in 1642. He was a man of beautiful tolerance and the foe of religious disputation, holding that mere doctrinal points about which pride and passion rather than conscience lead men to dispute have no place in any liturgy. He assisted Sir Henry Savile in the preparation of his edition of Chrysostom and published a number of sermons and tracts, of which the most important was the *Tract Concerning Schism and Schismatics* (London, 1642). His *Golden Remains*, containing his *Letters from the Synod of Dort, Acta synodi*, etc., with a preface by J. Pearson, were edited by P. Gunning (1659). His *Works* were edited by Sir David Dalrymple (3 vols., Glasgow, 1765).

Bibliography: A. à Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, ed. P. Bliss, iii. 409–410, 4 vols., London, 1813–20; idem, *Fasti*, ii. 299, 334, appended to the *Athenæ*; John Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*, ii. 87, 93–94, ib. 1714; *DNB*, xxiv. 30–32, where further literature is given; W. H. Hutton, *The English Church . . . 1625–1714*, p. 116, London, 1903.

HALES, WILLIAM: Irish chronologist; b. at Cork Apr. 8, 1747; d. at Killashandra (46 m. w. of Dundalk), County Cavan, Jan. 30, 1831. He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin (B.A., 1768), and was for twenty years a teacher in that institution, first tutor, afterward professor of Oriental languages. In 1788 he resigned his professorship for the rectory of Killashandra, where he spent the remainder of his life in scholarly retirement. He is known chiefly for his *New Analysis of Chronology* (3 vols., London, 1809–12; 2d ed., 4 vols., 1830), which deals with Biblical chronology and gives a portion of the early history of the world. To be mentioned also is his *Essay on the Origin and Purity of the Primitive Church of the British Isles* (1819), portions of which were edited by J. Briggs under the title, *A Historical Survey of the Relations . . . between the Church and State of England and Ireland* (1868).

Bibliography: J. Nichols, *Illustrations of the Literary Hist. of the 18th Century*, vii. 786, viii. 317, 320, 678, 8 vols., London, 1817–58; *DNB*, xxiv. 38–39.

HALF-WAY COVENANT: An expedient adopted by New England churches in the seventeenth century to allow baptized persons of moral conduct and orthodox belief to have their children baptized and enjoy themselves all privileges of church-membership except participation in the Lord's Supper. In the early New England colonies church members included (1) Christians who had entered into covenant with a local church; and (2) their children, who were members in virtue of their birth in a Christian household. There was thus a double basis of church membership. The children were, however, admitted to the Lord's Supper only after regeneration and taking the covenant of the church. The question whether such as were church members by birth only were entitled to have their children baptized was a matter of controversy for nearly thirty years, when a synod called by the General Court of Massachusetts in 1662 confirmed the decision of a ministerial body appointed by the same Court in 1657; viz., that non-regenerate members who "owned the covenant," publicly approved the principles of the Gospel, lived upright lives, and promised to promote the welfare and submit to the discipline of the church, might bring their children to baptism; but they themselves might not come to the Lord's table nor take part in ecclesiastical affairs. Notwithstanding much opposition, this became the general practise of the New England churches. Accordingly many persons of reputable life, especially in times of religious interest, who could make no full profession of religion, were admitted to Half-Way Covenant relations in the church and their children were baptized. Solomon Stoddard, pastor at Northampton, Mass., 1669–1729, initiated a further modification which was widely adopted: the Lord's Supper, in his view a converting ordinance, was to be participated in by "all adult members of the church who were not scandalous." The Half-Way Covenant received its death-blow from Jonathan Edwards, Stoddard's successor, although it survived for many years. The last instance of its practise was in Charlestown, Mass., in 1828. See Congregationalists, I., 4, § 3.

C. A. Beckwith.

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170–182 et passim, ib. 1894; idem, *Ten New England Leaders*, pp. 126–134, 244–247 et passim, ib. 1901; L. W. Bacon, *Congregationalists*, pp. 76–112, 114, ib. 1904.

HALITGAR: Bishop of Cambrai. Little is known of his life. He was consecrated probably in 817. In 822 he was designated by Pope Paschal I. to assist Archbishop Ebo of Reims, sent as papal representative to the northern mission, but seems not to have accompanied him on his visit to Denmark; and indeed it has recently been doubted whether the Halitgar mentioned in this connection was the bishop of Cambrai at all. Later he took part in several Frankish synods, and in 828 was sent by the emperor as ambassador to the Byzantine court. His death is usually placed on June 25, 831. He is best known as the author of a penitential book which he compiled at Ebo's request (see PENITENTIALS). It is matter of debate whether books iii.–v. were taken directly or indirectly from the *Collectio Dacheriana*, and whether book vi. was Halitgar's work or that of a later editor—though in the time of Flodoard (893–966) it already consisted of six books.

(K. MAURER†.)

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HALL, ARTHUR CRAWSHAY ALLISTON: Protestant Episcopal bishop of Vermont; b. at Binfield (6 m. s.w. of Windsor), Berkshire, England, Apr. 12, 1847. He studied at Christ Church, Oxford (B.A., 1869), joined the Society of St. John the Evangelist (the Cowley Fathers), 1870, established a branch of the society in the diocese of Massachusetts, 1873; and later became provincial superior of the Cowley Fathers in America. He became curate of the Church of the Advent, Boston, 1874, priest-in-charge of the Mission Church of St. John the Evangelist in the same city, 1882; was recalled to England by his Order, 1892, and was a licensed preacher in the diocese of Oxford for a year, but in 1894, being released from his vows to the Cowley Fathers, was consecrated third bishop of the diocese of Vermont. In theology he belongs to the High-church school, and has written *Confession and the Lambeth Conference* (Boston, 1879); *Example of the Passion: Five Meditations* (New York, 1882); *Notes for Meditation upon the Collects for the Sundays and Holy Days, i.* (Milwaukee, 1887); *The Virgin Mother* (retreat addresses; New York, 1894); *Christ's Temptation and Ours* (Baldwin lectures; 1896); *The Church's Discipline concerning Marriage and Divorce* (1896); *Confirmation* (1900); *Marriage with Relatives* (1901); *Instructions and Devotions on the Holy Communion* (Milwaukee, 1902); *Companion to the Prayer-Book* (New York, 1902); *The Use of Holy Scripture in the Public Worship of the Church* (Paddock lectures; 1903); *The Christian Doctrine of Prayer* (Bohlen lectures; 1904); *The Relations of Faith and Life* (Bedell lectures; 1905); *The Example of Our Lord, especially for His Ministers* (1906); *The Work of the Holy Spirit* (Milwaukee, 1907); and *Forgiveness of Sins* (New York, 1908).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. S. Perry, *The Episcopate in America*, p. 363, New York, 1895.

HALL, CHARLES CUTHBERT: Presbyterian; b. in New York City Sept. 3, 1852; died there March 25, 1908. He was educated at Williams College (A.B., 1872), Union Theological Seminary (1872–74), and in London and Edinburgh (1875). He filled pastorates at the Union Presbyterian Church, Newburgh, N. Y. (1875–77), and at the First Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, N. Y. (1877–97) and was professor of homiletics in, and president of, Union Theological Seminary from 1897 till his death. He was Carew Lecturer at Hartford Theological Seminary (1890), Barrows Lecturer to India and the Far East under the auspices of the University of Chicago (1902–03, 1906–07), Haskell Lecturer on comparative religion at the University of Chicago (1903), Cole Lecturer at Vanderbilt University (1905), and William Belden Noble Lecturer at Harvard University (1906). Theologically he was in sympathy with liberal scholarship, while holding firmly the Evangelical position in matters of Christian belief. His elevated tone and deep spirituality drew toward him those of all creeds who loved purity and virtue. His courtly manners, gentle ways, and generous sympathies made him a model pastor and presiding officer. He was the author of: *Into His Marvellous Light* (Boston, 1892); *Does God Send Trouble?* (1894); *The Children, the Church, and the Communion* (1895); *Qualifications for Ministerial Power* (Hartford, Conn., 1895); *The Gospel of the Divine Sacrifice* (New York, 1896); *Christian Belief Interpreted by Christian Experience* (Barrows lectures; Chicago, 1905); *The Redeemed Life After Death* (1905); *The Universal Elements of the Christian Religion* (the Cole lectures; 1905); *Christ and the Human Race* (Noble lectures; Boston, 1906); and *The Witness of the Oriental Consciousness to Jesus Christ* (second series of the Barrows lectures; Chicago, 1908).

HALL, CHRISTOPHER NEWMAN: English Congregationalist; b. at Maidstone (8 m. e.s.e. of Rochester), Kent, May 22, 1816; d. at London Feb. 18, 1902. He was educated at Tottenridge and Highbury College (B.A., London University, 1841), and was minister of Albion Congregational Church, Hull (1842–54), and of Surrey Chapel, London (1854–92), the church being moved to Lambeth in 1876 and its name changed to Christ Church. From 1892 until his death he devoted himself to evangelistic work. While still at Hull, he became conspicuous for his zeal in the cause of total abstinence; and during the American Civil War he earnestly sought to secure English sympathy for the North. After the close of the war he made an extensive tour of the Northern United States, seeking to allay the popular bitterness then existing against Great Britain. He was the author of *Come to Jesus* (London, 1846; a tract of enormous popularity, reaching a circulation of several millions and translated into forty languages); *It is I* (1848; reaching a circulation of some 200,000); *Antidote to Fear* (1850); *The Land of the Forum and the Vati-*

can (1852); *Sacrifice, or Pardon and Purity through the Cross* (1857); *Conflict and Victory* (1865; a biography of his father); *Homeward Bound, and other Sermons* (1868); *From Liverpool to St. Louis* (1868); *Pilgrim Songs in Cloud and Sunshine* (1871; poems); *Prayer, its Reasonableness and Efficacy* (1875); *The Lord's Prayer, a Practical Meditation* (1883); *Songs of Earth and Heaven* (1885); *Gethsemane, or Leaves of Healing from the Garden of Grief* (1891); *Divine Brotherhood in "The Man Christ Jesus"* (1892); *Lyrics of a Long Life* (1894); and *Autobiography* (1898).

HALL, FRANCIS JOSEPH: Protestant Episcopalian; b. at Ashtabula, O., Dec. 24, 1857. He was educated at Racine College (A.B., 1882), General Theological Seminary (1883–85), and Western Theological Seminary (1886). He was ordained priest in 1886 and since that time has been professor of dogmatic theology in Western Theological Seminary, Chicago; he was also president of the Western Theological Seminary in 1898–99. In theology he is Anglo-Catholic. He has written *Theological Outlines* (3 vols., Milwaukee, 1892–95); *Historical Position of the Episcopal Church* (1896); *The Kenotic Theory* (New York, 1898); *The Episcopate of Bishop Chase* (Chicago, 1902); *Theology* (vols. i.–ii., New York, 1907–08).

HALL, GORDON: Congregationalist, the first American missionary to Bombay; b. at Tolland, Hampden County, Mass., Apr. 8, 1784; d. at Durlidhapur, Bombay, Mar. 20, 1826. He received his academic training at Williams College (B.A., 1808), began the study of theology under Ebenezer Porter, and in 1810 entered the Andover Theological Seminary. After taking a course in medicine at Philadelphia he received ordination in 1812 and went to India as a missionary of the American Board. He first attempted to establish a mission at Calcutta, but met with opposition from the East India Company, which peremptorily ordered him to leave the country. In 1813 he removed to Bombay, where, in spite of the petty persecution of the governor-general, he prosecuted his labors with diligence and success till his death by cholera while ministering to the stricken natives. In 1817 he was joined at Bombay by Samuel Newell (q.v.). Hall was an eloquent preacher in the Marathi language, and was greatly esteemed among the Brahmans for his discussions and addresses. Besides a few pamphlets he wrote, in collaboration with Newell, *The Conversion of the World, or the Claims of Six Hundred Millions* (Andover, 1818), which was widely circulated in England and America. He also translated the New Testament into Marathi (Bombay, 1826).

Bibliography: H. Bardwell, *Gordon Hall*, Andover, 1834; *National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, x. 246–247, New York, 1900.

HALL, ISAAC HOLLISTER: Presbyterian layman; b. at Norwalk, Conn., Dec. 12, 1837; d. at Mt. Vernon, N. Y., July 2, 1896. He was educated at Hamilton College (A.B., 1859), and after being a tutor there for two years (1861–63), entered the law school of Columbia College, from which he was graduated in 1865. He then practised law in New York City until 1875, when he went to Beirut, Syria, as professor in the Protestant college there. Returning to the United States two years later, he was associate editor of *The Sunday School Times*, Philadelphia (1877–84). From 1884 until his death he was a curator in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, as well as lecturer on New Testament Greek in Johns Hopkins University. He was one of the original decipherers of the Cypriote inscriptions, and likewise discovered, while at Beirut, an important Syriac Biblical manuscript. He was a pioneer of Syriac scholarship in the United States, and was a member of numerous learned societies in his own country and abroad. Besides many contributions to Oriental periodicals, he wrote *American Greek Testaments: A Critical Bibliography of the Greek New Testament as Published in America* (Philadelphia, 1883).

HALL, JOHN: Presbyterian; b. at Ballygorman, County Armagh, Ireland, July 31, 1829; d. at Bangor, County Down, Ireland, Sept. 17, 1898. He was graduated at Royal College, Belfast (1846) and the General Assembly's theological college, Belfast (1849). He was a "students' missionary" in Connaught (1849–52), pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Armagh (1852–58), and of Mary's Abbey (now Rutland Square Church), Dublin (1858–67). In 1867 he was sent as delegate from the Presbyterian Church in Ireland to the General Assemblies and other Reformed bodies in the United States, and, after his return home, accepted in the autumn of the same year a call to the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York City. He became one of the leading Presbyterian ministers in America and was probably equal in influence to any other clergyman in the country. His pastoral work was especially effective. He was president of the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions, and chancellor (without salary) of New York University 1881–91. His Lyman Beecher lectures at the Yale Divinity School in 1875 were published under the title *God's Word through Preaching* (New York, 1875).

Bibliography: Thomas C. Hall (his son), *John Hall, Pastor and Preacher*, New York, 1901.

HALL, JOHN VINE: English bookseller and religious writer; b. at Diss (18 m. s.s.w. of Norwich), Norfolk, Mar. 14, 1774; d. at Kentish Town, London, Sept. 22, 1860. He began work in a bookseller's shop at Maidstone in 1786, opened a shop of his own at Worcester in 1804, and in 1814 returned to Maidstone as proprietor of the shop where he had worked as a boy. He retired from business in 1850 and four years later removed to Kentish Town, where he devoted the remainder of his life to religious and temperance work. In early life he had fallen into drunken and profligate habits, but afterward reformed and in 1818 became a total abstainer and an ardent advocate of teetotalism. He is remembered as the author of *The Sinner's Friend* (1821), which was translated into thirty languages, passed through about three hundred editions, and reached a circulation of some three million copies. The first edition consisted of selections from the English translation of the

Güldenes Schatzkästlein der Kinder Gottes of Karl Heinrich von Bogatzky (q.v.), with a short introduction by Hall; but in subsequent editions Hall gradually substituted passages from his own pen, until in the end, with the exception of a single extract, the work was entirely his own. Christopher Newman Hall (q.v.) was his son.

Bibliography: *Conflict and Victory; the Autobiography of the Author of the Sinner's Friend*, ed. Newman Hall, London, 1874.

HALL, JOSEPH: Bishop of Norwich; b. at Ashby-de-la-Zouch (16 m. n.w. of Leicester), Leicestershire, July 1, 1574; d. at Higham, near Norwich, Sept. 8, 1656. He studied at Emmanuel College, Cambridge (B.A., 1592; M.A., 1596; B.D., 1603; D.D., 1612), and began his career as a poet and satirist, but later took orders and in 1601 accepted the living of Halsted in Suffolk. In 1608 he became chaplain to Henry, prince of Wales, and shortly afterward he received from the earl of Norwich the donative of Waltham. In 1616 he was sent to France as chaplain to the English ambassador, and the following year he was summoned to attend James I. to Scotland to aid the king in his attempt to introduce there the ceremonial and liturgy of the Episcopal Church. He was made dean of Worcester in 1617 and was sent by James as one of his commissioners to the Synod of Dort in 1618. A Latin sermon preached by Hall before that assembly has been preserved. The see of Gloucester having been declined by him in 1624 he was elevated to that of Exeter in 1627, and translated to Norwich in 1641. With eleven other bishops he was accused of high treason and imprisoned in the Tower in Dec., 1641, but was released in June, 1642. The following year the revenues of his see were sequestered, though an allowance of £400 a year was granted him by parliament. Early in 1647 he was ejected from his palace, and his cathedral was dismantled. He then retired to a small estate at Higham.

Hall was a man of broad and tolerant sympathies, a moderate Calvinist, and sought for a mean between Calvinism and Arminianism. His Puritanical leanings offended Laud, but, like many other Puritans, he was strongly attached to the Church of England. As a pulpit orator he has had few equals among English preachers of the Established Church. He was a prolific author, but many of his works were purely controversial and only of ephemeral interest. To be mentioned particularly are: his satires, published under the title, *Virgidemiarum, Six Books* (2 vols., London, 1597–98; ed. A. B. Grosart, in *The Complete Poems of Joseph Hall*, Manchester, 1879), which are among the best in the language; *Meditations and Vows, Divine and Moral* (London, 1606; enlarged ed., 1621; ed. Charles Sayle, 1902), his most popular work; *Epistles* (3 vols., 1608–11; ed. W. H. Hale, 1840); *Contemplations upon the Principal Passages of the Holy Story* (8 vols., 1612–26; ed., with a *Memoir*, by C. Wordsworth, 1871), a valuable devotional work; *The Old Religion* (1628; ed. J. Brogden, in *Catholic Safeguards*, vol. ii., 1846), an exposition of the corruption in the Roman Catholic Church; *Explication of All the Hard Texts of . . . Scripture* (Exeter, 1633; new ed., 2 vols., London, 1837); *Episcopacy by Divine Right Asserted* (1640; new ed., 1838), written at the suggestion of Laud; *An Humble Remonstrance to the High Court of Parliament* (1640), a skilful vindication of liturgies and episcopacy which called forth the reply from the Puritans "written by Smectymnuus" and led to a famous controversy (see Smectymnuus); and the posthumous *Contemplations on the New Testament* (1662). There are a number of collected editions of his works, the best being those of P. Hall (12 vols., Oxford, 1837–39) and P. Wynter (10 vols., Oxford, 1863).

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HALL, RANDALL COOK: Protestant Episcopalian; b. at Wallingford, Conn., Dec. 18, 1842. He was educated at Columbia College (A.B., 1863) and the General Theological Seminary (1866), and was ordained priest in 1870. He was instructor in Hebrew in the General Theological Seminary from 1869 to 1871, and from 1871 until his retirement as professor emeritus in 1899 was professor of Hebrew and Greek in the same institution. Since 1904 he has been chaplain of the House of the Holy Comforter, New York City. He has written *Some Elements of Hebrew Grammar* (New York, 1895).

HALL, ROBERT: Baptist; b. at Arnesby (7 m. s.s.e. of Leicester), Leicestershire, May 2, 1764; d. at Bristol Feb. 21, 1831. His father was Robert Hall (d. 1791), a Particular Baptist minister of some eminence, who joined Andrew Fuller and John Ryland (qq.v.) in opposing hyper-Calvinistic antinomianism in his denomination. The son was the youngest of a family of fourteen and as an infant was so frail that his life was despaired of. At the age of nine, however, he delighted to read the works of Jonathan Edwards. After a year and a half of classical study under Ryland and a period of theological study under his father, he entered Bristol College in 1778, and accomplished the course required in three years. He then entered Aberdeen University (M.A., 1784). In 1785 he returned to Bristol to assist Dr. Caleb Evans in the work of instruction in the college. His ministry in the Broadmead Church attracted great audiences; but the liberal tone of his teachings alarmed Dr. Evans and other conservative brethren, and Hall's consciousness of the possession of superior gifts and attainments, not being coupled with due humility of spirit, brought about such strained relations between him and the aged principal as to necessitate his withdrawal (1790). He had greatly offended his conservative brethren by expressing the conviction that God would not damn Joseph Priestley, the Unitarian, and was strongly suspected of Unitarian leanings. The death about this time of Robert Robinson (q.v.) of Cambridge, who from being a Calvinist had become Arminian and then Socinian, left vacant a church that was glad to secure the services of the brilliant young preacher. His fifteen years' pastorate in Cambridge was by

far the most strenuous period of his life. His tendency toward excessive liberalism soon disappeared. The members of the church and congregation that were aggressively Socinian gradually withdrew. His ministry was thronged by professors and students of the university and by lovers of pulpit eloquence of all denominations. He soon gained recognition as the foremost preacher of the time, and in majesty of thought and expression and impressiveness of delivery it is doubtful whether he has ever heen surpassed. His *Apology for Freedom of the Press* (London, 1793) increased his popularity with lovers of liberty. His sermon on *Modern Infidelity* (Cambridge, 1800) passed through many editions and was regarded as the most powerful antidote to current skepticism of the French type. Successive attacks of extreme nervous prostration led to his resignation of the Cambridge pastorate in 1805. After a year of rest he accepted the charge of a church in Leicester, where for twenty years he ministered with remarkable power. In 1826 he accepted an often repeated call to the pastorate of Broadmead Church, Bristol, and spent the last five years of life amid the scenes of his earliest ministry. He followed in the footsteps of Robinson in his advocacy of open communion. His *Works* were collected in six volumes (London, 1832) and have been republished both in England and America.

A. H. Newman.

Bibliography: His biography by O. G. Gregory is in vol. vi. of the *Works*, ut sup. Consult also the *Life* by E. P. Hood, London, 1881, and *DNB*, xxiv. 85–87.

HALL, THOMAS CUMING: Presbyterian; b. at Armagh, County Armagh, Ireland, Sept. 25, 1858. He was educated at Princeton (A.B., 1879) and Union Theological Seminary (1882). He then studied in Berlin and Göttingen, after which he was pastor in Omaha (1883–86) and Chicago (1886–97). Since 1898 he has been professor of Christian ethics in Union Theological Seminary. He has written *The Power of an Endless Life* (Chicago, 1893); *The Social Significance of the Evangelical Revival in England* (New York, 1899); *The Synoptic Gospels* (1900); and *John Hall, Pastor and Preacher: A Biography by his Son* (Chicago, 1901).

HALL, SECT OF: A sect which appeared in 1248 at Schwäbisch-Hall (in Württemberg, 35 m. n.e. of Stuttgart). Albert of Stade, the only authority, gives the following summary of its tenets: "The pope is a heretic, and all bishops and prelates are simoniacs and heretics; the entire clergy, taken captive in vices and mortal sins, has neither power to bind and to loose nor to celebrate the mass nor to impose an interdict. All monks, especially Franciscans and Dominicans, lead a bad life and seduce the people by their preaching. Only the members of the sect and their preachers have the truth and prove it by their works. The pardon of sin which they offer comes therefore not from men but from God. One should pay no attention to the pope, but should pray for Emperor Frederick and his son Conrad who are perfect and righteous." Though it is asserted that Conrad favored them, they had to migrate to Bavaria on account of the opposition of the clergy. The characteristic belief regarding the clergy shows affinity with the views of the Arnoldists and Waldensians, especially the Italian group, and renders it probable that the Hall sect had a similar character if not origin. Völter has shown a probability in favor of the view that the *Epistola fratris Arnoldi* and the *Libellus Anonymi de Innocentio IV. Antichristo* refer to this heretical movement. In both of these writings there is an apocalyptic and a social train of thought closely akin to the prevalent Joachimistic notions, viz., the expectation of a judgment upon the hierarchy and the demand for a restoration of church property to the poor. The connection of the Hall sect with Arnold's ideas is not demonstrated; and the questions of the duration of the movement must remain unsettled.

E. Lempp.

Bibliography: Sources are *Annales Stadenses*, in *MGH, Script.*, xvi (1859), 371; Arnold, *De correctione ecclesiæ epistola et anonymi de Innocentio IV.*, ed. E. Winkelmann, Berlin, 1865. Consult: C. Jäger, *Ueber die religiöse Bewegung in den schwäbischen Städten*, IV., i. 69–107; Völter, in *ZKG*, iv (1881), 360 sqq.; Weller, in *Vierteljahrshefte für Landesgeschichte*, vi (1897), 147 sqq.; cf. Bossert in *Württembergische Kirchengeschichte*, pp. 179 sqq., Stuttgart, 1893.

HALLEL: A name applied to certain psalms. It is derived from the phrase *Halleluyah*, "Praise ye Yah (weh)," found at the beginning of the individual psalms of the principal group, or at the end, or in both places. It is commonly given to the group Ps. cxiii.–cxviii.; less frequently it is applied to four groups, viz., civ.–cvii., cxi.–cxvii. (cxviii.), cxxxv.–cxxxvi., cxlvi.–cl., originally placed together, but later separated in the editing of the psalter. In later usage Ps. cxix. was included among the Hallels. The name "Great Hallel" was sometimes given to Ps. cxiii.–cxviii., sometimes to Ps. cxix.–cxxxvi., sometimes to Ps. cxxxvi. alone. To Ps. cxiii.–cxviii. was also given the name "Egyptian Hallel" on the alleged ground that they were chanted in the temple while the lambs for the Passover were being slaughtered. The Egyptian Hallel was doubtless originally a single composition, according to internal evidence of late date, written for some occasion of thanksgiving (according to tradition, the Feast of Dedication) and subsequently divided for liturgical use. The ancient practise was to recite it every morning during the Feast of Dedication, on the first day of the Feast of Unleavened Bread, on Pentecost, at the Feast of Booths, and on the night of the Passover.

Bibliography: C. A. Briggs, *Commentary on Psalms*, i., pp. lxxviii.–lxxix., New York, 1907; J. W. Thirtle, *Old Testament Problems*, ib. 1907; *DB*, ii. 287; *EB*, ii. 1942–43; *JE*, vi. 176–178.

HALLELUJAH. See Liturgics, III.

HALLER, ALBRECHT VON: Swiss botanist, physiologist, and poet; b. at Bern Oct. 16, 1708; d. there Dec. 12, 1777. After a thorough medical training, first with a physician at Biel and then at Tübingen and Leyden, he returned to his native city in 1729 and speedily attracted general attention both by his poems and by his scientific attainments. In 1736 he accepted a call to the University of Göttingen, but returned in 1753 to Bern, where he held various offices of state. His verse is not devoid of the rationalism of his period, but the

antireligious attitude of the French freethinkers became so offensive to him that he adhered more and more closely to the objective facts of ecclesiastical creeds and institutions. He was profoundly interested in foreign missions, and, both as a poet and a scientist, was impelled to set forth the reasonableness of Christianity and the necessity of religious convictions in moral and social life. In this spirit he wrote his *Briefe über die vornehmsten Wahrheiten der Offenbarung* (Bern, 1772; Eng. transl., *Letters from Baron Haller to his Daughter on the Truths of the Christian Religion*, London, 1780) and his *Briefe über einige Einwürfe noch lebender Freigeister wider die Offenbarung* (3 vols., 1775–77), while his repeated polemics against Voltaire were comprised in the *Antivoltaire ou discours sur la religion* (Bern, 1755). His *Tagebuch seiner Beobachtungen über Schriftsteller und über sich selbst* was published posthumously (2 vols., Bern, 1787), and reveals the doubts against which he was obliged to contend, the struggle finally leading to religious melancholy. Haller's religion was moralistic rather than dogmatic, so that his faith was a belief in God and providence, expressed in reverence for the Bible and the Church, instead of in redemption and the person of Christ. (E. Blösch†.)

Bibliography: L. Hirzel, *A. von Haller's Gedichte, mit biographischer Einleitung*, Frauenfeld, 1882; T. Henry, *Memoirs of A. de Haller, M.D.*, Warrington, 1783; C. A. R. Baggesen, *A. von Haller als Christ und Apologet*, Bonn, 1865; C. G. König, *Festrede auf A. von Haller*, Bern, 1877; Guder, *A. von Haller als Christ*, Basel, 1878; A. Frey, *A. von Haller und seine Bedeutung für die deutsche Literatur*, Leipsic, 1879.

HALLER, BERTHOLD: Reformer of Bern; b. at Aldingen (60 m. s.w. of Stuttgart), Württemberg, 1492; d. at Bern Feb. 25, 1536. In 1510 he entered the University of Cologne to study theology, but before he finished his studies, he took a position as teacher in Rottweil, and when Rubellus, his former teacher, was called to a school in Bern, he accompanied him as assistant. Here he advanced rapidly. In 1517 he became spiritual notary, and soon an assistant of Thomas Wyttenbach (q.v.) at the Church of St. Vincent. The daily association with this man, who had already influenced Zwingli and Leo Jud, undoubtedly had a considerable effect upon Haller's views. Through Myconius he became acquainted with Zwingli, whom he visited in 1521 and who became his friend and teacher. On the resignation of Wyttenbach in 1520, Haller received his position as canon and secular priest.

The Reformation in Bern.

His chief efforts were now directed to the introduction of the Reformation in Bern, and in union with the Franciscan Sebastian Meyer he succeeded in gathering a small circle of Evangelically inclined men. The first public attack upon the Evangelicals was made in 1522 when the chapter of Münsingen accused the priest of Kleinhöchstetten, Georg Brunner, of blasphemy against the Church and the clergy. A commission instituted by the government acquitted Brunner, not so much for the sake of Evangelicalism as to check the encroachments of the clergy. Evangelical preaching was also permitted until, in 1523, a mandate was issued to check the progress of heresy. Haller was accused of heretical teachings on marriage of the clergy and on monastic vows and regulations, but was not found guilty. His clerical friends, however, were compelled to leave the city, so that Haller stood altogether alone, and the whole work of the Reformation rested upon his shoulders. But under the weight of responsibility his powers grew, and the consciousness of his position gave him a sagacity and courage which would hardly have been expected from his naturally timid nature. Under the influence of Zwingli, he ceased reading mass at the end of 1525, and laid the whole stress of his activity upon preaching. But in 1525 and 1526 edicts against the Evangelicals were issued, and a disputation took place in Baden (see Baden, Conference of) for the suppression of the heretical teachings of Zwingli, where Haller defended his cause to the best of his ability, although alone he could not prevail against the united force of his opponents. On his return to Bern he was requested to resume the reading of the mass, but he adhered to his former decision, and his firmness was not without effect upon the town council. He was allowed to remain and received a salary as preacher although he was deprived of his canonry. He resumed his preaching with new zeal and success, and under the constant encouragement of Zwingli the Evangelical cause began to assume larger and larger dimensions. In 1527 Haller received an important aid in Franz Kolb (q.v.) who some years before had left Bern on account of the unfavorable prospects of the Evangelical cause, but returned now when the tide had turned. The resentment of the people against the encroachments of the clergy induced the council to make more and more concessions to the Evangelical cause. Most of the Roman members of the council were converted to the new faith. Freedom of preaching was allowed, and a disputation was ordered to take place in Bern (see Bern, Disputation of).

Later Activity.

With the introduction of the Reformation the proper work of Haller's life was completed; but he was prominently connected with the drawing up of the reformatory edict of Feb. 7, 1528, and, with the aid of theologians called from Zurich, continued his reformatory work through sermons, visitations, and examinations. He also held lectures for ignorant clergymen. A catechism which he wrote at the request of the council, has not been preserved. Haller's reformatory efforts in Solothurn (1530) were without success. In the time of the unfortunate Kappel wars he strove for a peaceable settlement of the difficulties, and thus was involved in strained relations with his colleagues Kolb and Megander, who advocated war. In 1531 Haller disputed successfully with Hans Pfister Meyer of Aarau, but the other preachers of Bern were less successful in their disputation with the Anabaptists which took place in July, 1532, at Zofingen. In 1532 Haller became dean of the chapter of Bern. His last anxiety was caused by the dangerous position of Geneva, which was the ally of Bern and at this time hard pressed by the duke of Savoy. Haller feared a new war, which would have endangered the Evangelical cause in both cities, but he

lived long enough to witness the deliverance of Geneva. He has left no writings. (E. Blösch†.)

Bibliography: Many of Haller's letters are in vols. vii. and viii. of Zwingli's works, ed. Schuler and Schulthess, cf. A. L. Herminjard, *Correspondance des réformateurs*, 9 vols., Paris, 1878–97 (consult the Indexes). Consult: M. Kirchhofer, *B. Haller oder die Reformation von Bern*, Zurich, 1828; G. J. Kuhn, *Die Reformatoren Berns*, Bern, 1828; C. Pestalozzi, *B. Haller*, Elberfeld, 1867; S. M. Jackson, *Huldreich Zwingli*, passim, New York, 1903.

HALLEY, ROBERT: English non-conformist; b. at Blackheath (5 m. s.e. of St. Paul's, London) Aug. 13, 1796; d. at Batworth Park, near Arundel (50 m. s.s.w. of London), Sussex, Aug. 18, 1876. He was educated at the Maze Hill School, Greenwich, and at the Homerton Academy, London, and on June 11, 1822, was ordained pastor of the independent congregation at St. Neots, Huntingdonshire. He was classical tutor in Highbury College during 1826–39, returning then to the ministry as pastor of the Mosley Street Chapel, Manchester. He was principal and professor of theology at New College, St. John's Wood, London, from 1857 to 1872, when he retired to Clapton. His principal works are: *The Improved Version Truly Designated a Creed* (London, 1834), a reply to a defense by James Yates (q.v.) of an "Improved Version" of the New Testament issued by Unitarians, which secured Halley the degree of D.D. from Princeton; *An Inquiry into the Nature of the . . . Sacraments* (2 vols., 1844–51), the Congregational Lecture for 1843 on baptism, and that for 1850 on the Lord's Supper; *Baptism the Designation of the Catechumens* (1847); and *Lancashire: Its Puritanism and Nonconformity* (2 vols., 1869; 2d ed., 1872).

Bibliography: *A Short Biography, with Select Sermons*, ed. R. Halley, London, 1879; *DNB*, xxiv. 109–110.

HALLOCK, GERARD BENJAMIN FLEET: Presbyterian; b. at Holiday's Cove, W. Va., Jan. 28, 1856. He was graduated from Princeton College (A.B., 1882) and Princeton Theological Seminary (1885). He was then pastor of the Wheatland Presbyterian Church, Scottsville, N. Y., until 1890, and since 1890 has been associate pastor of the Brick Presbyterian Church, Rochester, N. Y. Theologically he is an orthodox member of his denomination and accepts all its Scriptural teachings. He has written *Upward Steps* (Philadelphia, 1899); *The Model Prayer* (New York, 1900); *Sermon Seeds* (Reading, Pa., 1900); *God's Whispered Secrets* (New York, 1901); *Beauty in God's Word* (Philadelphia, 1902); *The Homiletic Year* (Cleveland, 1903); *Journeying in the Land where Jesus Lived* (New York, 1903); *Growing Toward God* (New York, 1904); *The Teaching of Jesus concerning the Christian Life* (New York, 1907).

HALLOCK, JOSEPH NEWTON: Congregationalist; b. at Franklinville (now Laurel), N. Y., July 4, 1834. He was educated at Yale (A.B., 1857) and at Yale Divinity School, which he left in 1859 at the end of the middle year. He then taught school on Long Island until 1865 when he became a book publisher in New York City. Since 1880 he has been editor-in-chief of *The Christian Work and Evangelist*, with which he has been associated editorially since 1876. In 1897 he declined the proffered presidency of Westminster University, Denver, Col. He has written: *The Christian Life* (New York, 1890); *Family Worship* (1892); *What is Heresy?* (1894); *Mormonism* (1896); and *Life of D. L. Moody* (1900).

HALLOCK, WILLIAM ALLEN: American editor and author; b. at Plainfield, Mass., June 2, 1794; d. in New York City, Oct. 2, 1880. He was graduated at Williams in 1819, and at Andover Theological Seminary in 1822. In the latter year he became agent for the New England Tract Society. In 1825 he took a prominent part in organizing the American Tract Society and became its first corresponding secretary, a position which he filled till 1870. Under his care the publications of the society increased greatly in number and usefulness. He edited *The American Messenger* for forty years, and *The Child's Paper* for twenty-five years. His publications include a *Memoir of Harlan Page* (New York, 1835); *Life and Labors of the Rev. Justin Edwards* (1856); and a number of tracts. Three of these, *The Only Son*, *The Mountain Miller*, and *The Mother's Last Prayer*, together reached a circulation of over a million copies.

Bibliography: Mrs. H. C. Knight, *Memorial of Rev. W. A. Hallock*, Boston, 1884.

HAM. See Noah; Table of the Nations.

HAMANN, hä'mān, JOHANN GEORG: German author, called the "Magician of the North," one of the pioneers in the transition from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century; b. at Königsberg Aug. 27, 1730; d. at Münster June 21, 1788. He received a many-sided but desultory and deficient education, and in 1746 entered the University of Königsberg, but on account of a defect of speech gave up the study of theology, devoting himself to philosophy, antiquities, critical investigations, and belles-lettres. He then became tutor in a private family and entered into friendship with Johann Christoph Berens, the son of a rich merchant in Riga. Under his influence he studied economics and gained such knowledge of commercial affairs that he was sent with an important secret mission to London. Here he fell in with bad company and lost his money. In his destitution he turned to the Bible and was converted. After fourteen months he went back to Riga, where he was kindly received by the family of Berens, and in 1759 he returned to Königsberg to nurse his sick father. During this period his studies were of astonishing comprehensiveness. Above all he devoted himself to the Bible and Luther's works. Penetrated by the conviction of the high importance of classical antiquity, he strove to master its whole literary tradition and to grasp its leading ideas. He also studied Oriental and modern literature, thus acquiring the most comprehensive knowledge of literature in general of all his contemporaries. After the death of his father in 1766 Kant obtained employment for him in the excise office, which he exchanged in 1777 for an unremunerative office in the custom-house. His life was full of hardships and embarrassments as he was always in financial difficulties and burdened with domestic troubles. His latter days were brightened by the friendship of F. H. Jakobi, with whom he lived during the

last year of his life, and by that of Franz Buchholz of Wellbergen in Westphalia, who gave a considerable fund for the education of Hamann's children. In 1784 the Princess Galitzin was won for the positive faith of Christianity by his writings and also honored Hamann with her friendship.

Hamann's importance lies in the fact that after a dead orthodoxy he asserted the spontaneity of a personal religious spirit and, after the subjectivity of Pietism, pointed to the universally human. The real essence of his spiritual tendency is to be found in the Christianity of Luther, as expressed in his personal life of faith and in his works, especially in his catechisms and in the prefaces to the Epistle to the Romans and to the Psalms. Three periods in his literary activity may be distinguished—first his period of storm and stress (1759–64), in which he was confronted chiefly with classical and esthetical subjects. In the second period (1772–76) he occupied himself chiefly with the philosophy of language. The third period (1779–86) was the glorification of Evangelical Christianity as the religion of the facts of revelation and the gifts of grace. His principal works (all of few pages) are: *Sokratische Denkwürdigkeiten* (1759) and its apologetico-satirical postlude *Wolken* (1761), a combination of skepticism and childlike faith; *Kleeblatt hellenistischer Briefe* (1761); *Æsthetica in nuce* (1761); *Kreuzzüge des Philologen* (1762); *Essai à la mosaique* (1762); *Des Ritters von Rosenkreuz letzte Willensmeinung über den göttlichen und menschlichen Ursprung der Sprache* (1772); *Philologische Einfälle und Zweifel über eine akademische Preisschrift* (1772); *Beilage zu den Denkwürdigkeiten des seligen Sokrates* (1773); Κογξόμπαξ (1779); *Metakritik über den Purismum der reinen Vernunft* (1781?), against the rationalism of Kant. His most mature theological work is *Golgatha und Scheblimini* [Ps. cx. 1], *Erniedrigung und Erhöhung, Christentum und Luthertum* (1784), which was directed against Moses Mendelssohn's *Jerusalem oder religiöse Macht und Judentum* (1783). F. Rothe edited Hamann's *Sämmtliche Schriften* (8 vols., Berlin, 1821–43).

(F. Arnold.)

Bibliography: F. Schlegel, in *Deutsches Museum* iii (1813), 33–52; C. H. Gildemeister, *J. G. Hamanns . . . Leben und Schriften*, 3 vols., Gotha, 1857; idem, *Hamann-Studien*, ib. 1873; R. Rocholl, *Johann Georg Hamann*, Hanover, 1869; A. Brömel, *Johann Georg Hamann*, Berlin, 1870; J. Disselhoff, *Wegweiser zu J. G. Hamann*, Elberfeld, 1871; G. Poel, *Johann Georg Hamann*, 2 parts, Hamburg, 1874–76; J. Claassen, *Johann Georg Hamanns Leben und Werke*, 3 vols., Gütersloh, 1878–79; G. C. B. Pünjer, *Geschichte der christlichen Religionsphilosophie*, i. 451–461, Brunswick, 1880; J. Minor, *J. G. Hamann in seiner Bedeutung für die Sturm- und Drangperiode*, Frankfort, 1881; R. Grau, *Hamanns Stellung zu Religion und Christentum*, Gütersloh, 1888; Lettau, in *Mitteilungen der Comenius-Gesellschaft*, ii (1893), 201–213.

HAMATH. See Syria.

HAMBERGER, JULIUS: German Protestant; b. at Gotha Aug. 3, 1801; d. at Munich Aug. 5, 1885. He was educated at Munich and Erlangen, and in 1828 was appointed Protestant teacher of religion at the military school and in the school for pages at Munich, where he remained more than fifty years. He found time to develop an extensive literary activity. It had been his early desire to find the true relation between reason and revelation in order to prove that the divine truth as revealed in the Bible is at the same time the only truth of reason. He heard Schelling's lectures on the philosophy of mythology and on the philosophy of revelation; but it was not until he came into personal contact with Franz von Baader that he found what he had missed in Schelling—the truth that the product of the evolution of the principle of nature in God is not the world, but God's own glory and corporeality, while the world itself is a freely created image of divine glory. The elements of Baader's theosophy Hamberger found in Jakob Böhme (q.v.), and on the basis of Baader and Böhme Hamberger wrote a great number of works in which he tried to show the fundamental unity of Biblical revelation and reason. His first important work was *Gott und seine Offenbarungen in Natur und Geschichte* (Munich, 1836; 2d ed., Gütersloh, 1882), which he condensed and adapted in his *Lehrbuch der christlichen Religion* (1839; 3d ed., with the title *Die biblische Wahrheit in ihrer Harmonie mit Natur und Geschichte*, 1877). In 1844 appeared *Die Lehre des deutschen Philosophen Jakob Böhme* in which he tried to explain and popularize the writings of this obscure philosopher. With the same aim he edited the *Selbstbiographie* of the theosophist F. Christoph Oetinger (Stuttgart, 1845) and his *Biblisches Wörterbuch* (1849) and translated his *Theologia ex idea vitæ*, with explanatory notes (1852). He also made special researches in Christian mysticism, the results of which may be seen in his collection *Stimmen aus dem Heiligtum der christlichen Mystik und Theosophie* (2 vols., 1857) and edited a revised version of Tauler's sermons (1864). Of other works may be mentioned *Physica sacra* (1869), anthologies of the writings of F. H. Jakobi (1870) and Johannes von Müller (1870). *Christentum und moderne Kultur* (3 vols., Erlangen, 1865–75) is a collection of his numerous treatises and essays which appeared in periodicals.

(Wilhelm Preger†.)

Bibliography: J. Hamberger, *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben*, Stuttgart, 1882; *Allgemeine evangelisch-lutherische Kirchenzeitung*, 1885, no. 49.

HAMBURG: A free city of Germany, forming one of the states of the German Empire. It lies on the Elbe, about 70 miles from its mouth, has a land area of 157 square miles, and a population (1906) of 886,798, of whom 90 per cent are Evangelical Lutherans. The Roman Catholics number about 35,000, the Jews some 20,000, the German Reformed about 10,000, and other denominations, including Baptists, Methodists, Anglicans, Mennonites, and French Reformed, about 10,000. There is now no formal connection between Church and State in Hamburg.

Church History to 1860.

Hamburg became definitely Lutheran with the introduction of the Bugenhagen church order in 1529 (see Bugenhagen, Johann) and remained such till its occupation by the French at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Church and State were so closely united that candidates for the higher civil posts usually had to seek promotion through the minor ecclesiastical offices;

and the older officers of the Church (called *Oberalten*) were really the representatives of the people in the city council as distinct from the senate. According to article lix. of the recess of 1529, which was repeated verbatim in the recess of 1603, Lutherans only were permitted to reside within the jurisdiction of the city. However, with the extension of commerce certain concessions were made to other denominations. In 1567 members of the Anglican Church, and in 1605 members of the Dutch Reformed Church were permitted to live in the city. They were denied citizenship and the right to hold public worship, but were allowed to hold services at the homes of their respective ambassadors. As a result of the Peace of Westphalia (1648) a degree of toleration was granted to Reformed Christians, Mennonites, and Roman Catholics; but non-Lutherans usually held their services in adjacent Altona, as the Mennonites still do. All Reformed Christians, Roman Catholics, and Mennonites were granted freedom of religious worship by the statute of Sept. 19, 1785, and after the War of Liberation they were given all the civil rights of the Lutherans, except the right of election to the municipal collegia. The new civil constitution of Sept. 28, 1860, secured complete religious liberty for all, and decrees that the enjoyment of civil rights shall not be conditioned on, or limited by, religious confession.

Recent History of the Lutheran Church.

The present Constitution of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Hamburg came into being on Dec. 9, 1870. At first it applied only to the city, but in July, 1876, it was amended and introduced into the sixteen outlying country parishes. The Cloister of St. John, which had become extremely wealthy by the sale of its real estate, was induced to present the Church with a large part of its fortune; and thus the claims of the Church on the State were satisfied. However, the income from this donation was found insufficient to meet the growing needs of the Church, and in 1887 a regular church-tax was introduced. This is based on income and varies, through nine gradations, from one mark on an income of 1,500 marks to 300 marks on an income of 75,000 marks. This tax amounts to about 500,000 marks yearly, of which 40 per cent goes to the general treasury of the Church, and 60 per cent to the individual parishes.

Government of the Lutheran Church.

As to the organization and government of the Church, there are thirty-three parishes, forming four church-districts (*Kirchenkreise*). The affairs of the individual parish are managed by a board (*Kirchenvorstand*), composed of the pastors of the parish, three elders, who are elected for life; twelve trustees (twenty-four in the first church-district), who are elected by the congregations for a term of ten years; and two Evangelical Lutheran members of the senate, who preside over the meetings of the board. In the third and fourth church-districts the organization is similar, except that there are no elders. In each case the current business of a parish is left to an executive committee, composed of members of this governing board. The pastors of the first church-district (the city) form the ministry; and the five so-called head pastors compose the examining board. From their number the *Patronat* (the Lutheran members of the senate) selects the *Senior*, who presides over all ecclesiastical collegia. The clergy of the other three church-districts form collegia similar to the ministry. They have the power to discipline their members, and also have a voice in matters pertaining to changes in liturgy and church service. Corresponding to the four church-districts are four convocations (*Konvente*), which are composed of the *Senior*, the two senators of the ecclesiastical council (in the third and fourth districts simply two specially appointed senators), and clerical and lay members of the parochial boards. The convocations of the first and second districts, together with nine representatives from the third and three deputies from the fourth, form the synod, which is composed of eighty members, viz., twenty-four ecclesiastics and fifty-six laymen. The acts of this body, which usually meets twice a year, require the sanction of the *Patronat*. The administration of the entire Church is in the hands of the ecclesiastical council, which consists of nine members, viz., the *Senior*, two senators, and two ecclesiastics and four laymen elected by the synod. Ministers are elected by the parochial boards, though every election has to be approved by the *Patronat*.

Statistics.

The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Hamburg has about one hundred clergymen and some forty churches, besides the three so-called chapels, the Anscharkapelle, established 1856, the Stiftskirche (1852), which grew out of the St. George Sunday-school, and the Kreuzkirche (1866). These were established privately in the overcrowded parishes of the inner city to meet the needs of the time, and while they are reckoned to the Lutheran Church, they are not represented in any of its ecclesiastical bodies. It should be added that church attendance is very poor, and that less than 10 per cent of the nominal membership take the communion. Similarly, a certain indifference toward the Church is shown in the matter of marriages and funerals. About 13 per cent of contracting couples neglect entirely the church service, contenting themselves with the civil marriage; and, though the attendance of a Lutheran minister at a funeral is now gratis, interments with clerical attendance are comparatively rare. Sunday-schools are now common throughout the city. The oldest is the St. George Sunday-school (1825; now the Stiftskirche), which is also the oldest Sunday-school on the Continent. The first Sunday-school organized in a church was that established in St. James's in 1884. There are now thirty-two Sunday-schools in Hamburg, twenty-five of which are conducted by pastors, seven by state missionaries. The total attendance of children is about 10,000, and the number of teachers and assistants is about 400. (A. von Broecker.)

Bibliography: H. C. W. Sillem, *Die Einführung der Reformation in Hamburg*, Halle, 1886; *Statistik des Hamburger Staates* (annual); *Statistisches Handbuch für den hamburgischen Staat*, Hamburg, 1891; A. von Broecker, in *Zeitschrift für die evangelisch-lutherische Kirche Hamburgs*, vols. i.–iv., 1894–98 (this periodical contains yearly returns in one of its numbers).

HAMBURG, ARCHBISHOPRIC OF: The Saxon territory north of the Elbe made a stubborn resistance to Christianity. It is not till 780 that the *Nordleudi* submitted to baptism, and even then it was rather an act of submission to Charlemagne than the result of missionary labor. The first church in Hamburg was certainly not built till after 804, for it was consecrated by Amalarius of Treves, who had been in charge of the mission there, and who entered on his episcopate in that year. Later a priest named Heridac took his place in this district. When Louis the Pious completed the organization of the Saxon bishoprics, he divided the territory between Bremen and Verden. Later, however, he conceived the idea of erecting an archbishopric on the northern frontier in connection with the Scandinavian mission, and in 831 he had Ansgar (q.v.) consecrated by his brother Drogo of Metz as the head of a diocese formed out of parts of Bremen and Verden. Christianity was still in a rudimentary stage here; there were only four "baptismal churches," at Hamburg, Heiligenstedten, Schönefeld, and Meldorf. The archbishopric of Hamburg at first had no suffragans. Gregory IV. named him papal legate for the north and east of Europe; but this was at first rather an empty title. After Hamburg was destroyed by the Northmen in 845, the existence of the bishopric was possible only by a union with Bremen (q.v.), which gave rise to a long controversy with Hermann of Cologne, to whose metropolitan jurisdiction Bremen had been subject. Pope Formosus decided in 892 that Hamburg and Bremen should be united until the former had suffragan sees of its own. These were not erected until 947, when Adaldag was consecrated bishop for Sleswick, Ripen and Aarhus; Oldenburg apparently came later. Bremen, however, still remained united with Hamburg, Bruno of Cologne renouncing his claims. Archbishop Unwan asserted metropolitan rights over Denmark, Norway and Sweden; but it was only a question of time when these countries should have national churches of their own, which was finally brought to pass when Paschal II. raised Lund to an archbishopric in 1104. Archbishop Adalbero succeeded in checking the progress of separation for the moment at the Lateran Council of 1123, and Innocent II. in 1133 confirmed the old rights of Hamburg; but the same pope in 1137 finally dissolved the connection of the northern countries with Hamburg, which, however, kept Oldenburg and increased its jurisdiction by the foundation of new dioceses of Mecklenburg (Schwerin) and Ratzeburg.

(A. Hauck.)

Bibliography: The sources are: J. M. Lappenberg, *Hamburgisches Urkundenbuch*, Hamburg, 1842; Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiæ pontificum*, in *MGH, Script.*, vii (1846), 267; *Series Bremensium et Hammaburgensium episcoporum*, in the same, p. 389; *Annales Hamburgenses*, in *MGH, Script.*, xvi (1859), 380; P. Hasse, *Regesten und Urkunden Schleswig-Holstein-Lauenburg*, Hamburg, 1885 sqq. Consult Rettberg, *KD*, ii. 490; K. Koppmann, *Die ältesten Urkunden des Erzbistums Hamburg-Bremen*, Hamburg, 1866; G. Dehio, *Geschichte des Erzbistums Hamburg-Bremen*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1878; Hauck, *KD*, ii. 675 sqq. et passim; T. Tamm, *Die Anfänge des Erzbistums Hamburg-Bremen*, Jena, 1888; Neander, *Christian Church*, iii. 271–290 et passim; and the literature under Adalbert and Ansgar.

HAMBURGER, JAKOB: German Jewish rabbi; b. at Loslau (100 m. s.e. of Breslau), Silesia, Nov. 10, 1826. He was educated at the rabbinical schools of Hotzenplotz, Presburg, and Nikolsburg, and at the universities of Breslau and Berlin (Ph.D., Leipsic, 1852). He was then rabbi at Neustadt-bei-Pinne (1852–59), and since 1859 has been rabbi at Mecklenburg-Strelitz. He has written *Geist und Ursprung der aramäischen Uebersetzung des Pentateuchs, bekannt unter dem Namen Targum Onkelos* (Leipsic, 1852); *Der Geist der Hagada, Sammlung hagadischer Aussprüche aus den Talmudim und Midraschim* (1859); and the important *Realencyclopädie des Judentums* (3 vols., Strelitz and Leipsic, 1865–91, n. e. completed 1901).

HAMEL, hä″mel′, JEAN BAPTISTE DU: French Roman Catholic; b. at Vire (36 m. s.w. of Caen), Normandy, 1624; d. Aug. 6, 1706. He studied at Paris and in 1643 entered the congregation of the Oratory, which he left ten years later to become pastor at Neuilly-sur-Marne. He was secretary of the Academy of Sciences at Paris from 1666 till 1699. In 1668 he attended the peace negotiations at Aachen and then accompanied the French ambassador to England. He was held in high esteem by the leading scholars of his time. Aside from writings on physics and mathematics, his principal works are: *De consensu veteris et novæ philosophiæ* (Paris, 1663); *Philosophia vetus et nova ad usum scholæ accommodata* (4 vols., 1678); and *Theologia speculatrix et practica juxta sanctorum patrum dogmata pertractata* (7 vols., 1691), which he abbreviated as *Theologia clericorum seminariis accommodatæ summarium* (5 vols., 1694). All of these works have been frequently edited and reprinted. Other works are, *Institutiones biblicæ seu scripturæ sacræ prolegomena* (2 vols., 1698); and a large edition of the Vulgate, with notes (2 vols., 1706).

(R. Seeberg.)

Bibliography: Niceron, *Mémoires*, i. 265 sqq.; C. G. Heinrich, *Geschichte der verschiedenen Lehrarten der christlichen Glaubenswahrheiten*, pp. 382 sqq., Leipsic, 1780; *Journal des savans*, 1707, supplement, pp. 88 sqq.; *KL*, v. 1480–81.

HAMEL, JEAN DU: Jesuit theologian of the second half of the sixteenth century. He taught theology at Louvain, where, on account of his Semi-Pelagian views concerning predestination and grace, he came into conflict with Michael Bajus (q.v.), then chancellor of the university. The result was that in 1587 thirty-four theses taken from the lectures of Hamel and his Jesuit colleague, Leonardus Lessius (q.v.) were condemned by the theological faculty at Louvain. This action was indorsed by the University of Douai. After the two Jesuits had received the support of several other universities, Rome interfered and declared that their teachings were dogmatically unobjectionable.

(R. Seeberg.)

HAMELMANN, hä′mel-mān, HERMANN: German reformer; b. at Osnabrück (74 m. w.s.w. of Hanover) 1525; d. at Oldenburg (24 m. w.n.w. of Bremen) June 26, 1595. He was educated at Osnabrück, Münster, Emmerich, and Dortmund, was ordained priest at Münster, and at first signalized himself as a violent opponent of Luther. In

1552, however, he became a convert to Protestantism, and was deposed as parish priest at Camen and expelled from the town. After two years of wandering, partly spent at Wittenberg with Melanchthon, he was appointed preacher at Bielefeld. His savage opposition to the carrying of the Host in procession caused the Roman Catholics to require him to dispute at Düsseldorf before the ducal court of Cleves, and there he was again deposed. From 1554 to 1568 he was at Lemgo, where he labored unceasingly for the establishment of Lutheranism as far as Antwerp, and in 1568 he was appointed superintendent of Gandersheim to further the progress of the Reformation in Brunswick, though the interference of the duke caused him to resign four years later. For the remainder of his life he was general superintendent of Oldenburg. Hamelmann's numerous writings contain abundant material for the history of the Reformation in Westphalia and lower Saxony, but can be used only with caution on account of his strong prejudices. His most noteworthy work was his *Historia ecclesiastica renati Evangelii* (Altenburg, 1586). The manuscripts of his books are preserved at Wolfenbüttel.

(G. Uhlhorn†.)

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HAMILTON, EDWARD JOHN: Presbyterian; b. at Belfast, Ireland, Nov. 29, 1834. He emigrated to the United States in early life, and was graduated from Hanover College, Hanover, Ind. (B.A., 1853), and Princeton Theological Seminary (1858). He was ordained to the ministry (1858), was pastor at Oyster Bay, N. Y. (1858–61), in charge of a congregation at Dromore West, Ireland (1861–62), and chaplain of the Seventh New Jersey Veteran Infantry in the Army of the Potomac (1863–1865). He was then pastor at Hamilton, O. (1866–1868), professor of mental philosophy in Hanover College (1868–79), acting professor of ethics, economics, and logic in Princeton College (1882–83), and professor of philosophy in Hamilton College (1883–91). He was then on the staff of the *Standard Dictionary* (1891–94), after which he was professor of philosophy in Whitworth College (1894–95) and of the same subject in the State University of Washington (1895–1900), when he retired from active life. He has written: *A New Analysis in Fundamental Morals* (New York, 1870); *The Human Mind* (1883); *The Modalist* (Boston, 1883); *The Perceptionalist : or, Mental Science* (New York, 1899); and *The Moral Law : or, The Theory and Practise of Duty* (1902).

HAMILTON, JAMES: Church of Scotland; b. at Paisley (7 m. w.s.w. of Glasgow) Nov. 27, 1814; d. in London Nov. 24, 1867. He studied at the universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh, became assistant to Robert Candlish at St. George's, Edinburgh, in 1838, took charge of the parish of Abernyte in 1839, and early in 1841 removed to Roxburgh Church, Edinburgh. In July, 1841, he became pastor of the National Scotch Church, Regent Square, London, and remained pastor of this congregation till his death. In 1849 he became editor of the *Presbyterian Messenger*, and in 1864 editor of *Evangelical Christendom*, the organ of the Evangelical Alliance. He was an incessant literary worker and the author of some of the most widely circulated books of his day. His best known works are: *Life in Earnest* (London, 1845), of which 64,000 copies had been sold before 1852; *The Mount of Olives* (1846); *The Royal Preacher* (1851), homiletical commentary on Ecclesiastes; and *Our Christian Classics* (4 vols., 1857–59). His *Works* were published in London (6 vols., 1869–73); and his *Select Works* appeared in New York (4 vols., 1875).

Bibliography: W. Arnst, *Life of James Hamilton*, New York, 1871; R. Nasmith, *Memoirs of Rev. James Hamilton*, Glasgow, 1896; *DNB*, xxiv. 188.

HAMILTON, JOHN TAYLOR: Moravian bishop; b. at Antigua, W. I., Apr. 30, 1859. He was educated at Moravian College, Bethlehem, Pa. (A.B., 1875), and the Moravian Theological Seminary in the same town (B.D., 1877). He was then a teacher in Nazareth Hall Military Academy, Nazareth, Pa. (1877–81), pastor of the Second Moravian Church, Philadelphia, Pa. (1881–86), and professor of Greek, church history, and practical theology in the Moravian Theological Seminary (1886–1903). Since 1903 he has been the American member of the Mission Board of the Moravian Church, Herrnhut, Saxony, and in 1905 was made a Moravian bishop. He was also a member of the administrative board of the Moravian Church in 1898–1903 and secretary of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in 1886–1898 and 1902–03. In theology he is conservatively liberal and is positive, not negative. He was associate editor of *The Moravian* in 1883–93 and sole editor in 1893–94 and 1897–99, and has written *History of the Moravian Church in America* (New York, 1895); *History of the Moravian Church during the eighteenth and nineteenth Centuries* (Bethlehem, Pa., 1900); and *History of the Missions of the Moravian Church during the eighteenth and nineteenth Centuries* (1901).

HAMILTON, JOHN WILLIAM: Methodist Episcopal bishop; b. at Weston, Va., Mar. 18, 1845. He was graduated from Mount Union College, O. (1856) and from Boston University (1871), and was admitted to the Pittsburg Conference in 1868, being appointed to a pastorate at Newport, O. In the same year, however, he was transferred to the New England Conference, and in 1871 founded the People's Church in Boston, of which he was pastor until 1880. From that time until 1900 he held various positions in his denomination, and then was elected bishop. From 1892 to 1900 he was corresponding secretary of the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society and also editor of *The Christian Educator*, and has written *Memorial of Jesse Lee and the Old Elm* (Boston, 1875); *Lives of the Methodist Bishops* (New York, 1883); *People's Church Pulpit* (Boston, 1884); and *American Fraternal Greetings* (Chicago, 1899).

HAMILTON, PATRICK: Proto-martyr of the Scottish Reformation; b. at Stanehouse, Lanark,

or Kincavel, Linlithgow, about 1503–04; burned at the stake at St. Andrew's Feb. 29, 1528. His father, Patrick, was a natural son of the first Lord Hamilton, knighted for his bravery, and rewarded with the above lands and barony by his sovereign, James IV. His mother, Catherine Stewart, was a daughter of Alexander, duke of Albany, second son of James II.; so that he was closely connected with some of the highest families in the land. His cousins, John and James Hamilton, before the Reformation, rose to episcopal rank in the old church; and several others of his relatives attained high promotion. Destined himself for such promotion, Patrick was carefully educated and was in 1517 appointed to the abbacy of Ferne in Ross-shire, to enable him to maintain himself in comfort while studying abroad. Like many of his aristocratic countrymen at that period, he went first to the University of Paris, and probably to the College of Montaigu, where John Major, the great doctor of his country, was then teaching with so much éclat, and gathering around him, as he did afterward at St. Andrew's, an ardent band of youthful admirers, who in the end were to advance beyond their preceptor, and to lend the influence of their learning and character to the side of the Reformers. Before the close of 1520 Hamilton took the degree of M.A. at Paris, and soon after left that university for Louvain, to avail himself of the facilities for linguistic study provided there, or to enjoy personal intercourse with Erasmus, the patron of the new learning. At this date he was probably more of an Erasmian than a Lutheran, though of that more earnest school who were ultimately to outgrow their teacher and find their home in a new church. He made great progress in the languages and philosophy, and was specially drawn toward the system of Plato. With "the sophists of Louvain" he had no sympathy. But there were some there, as well as at Paris, whose hearts God had touched, to whom he could not fail to be drawn. He may even have met with the young Augustinian monks of Antwerp, whom, so soon after his departure, these sophists denounced, and forced to seal their testimony with their blood. In the course of 1522 he returned to Scotland, matriculated at St. Andrew's on June 9, 1523, the same day that his old preceptor Major was incorporated into the university and admitted as principal of the Pædagogium, or, as it came afterward to be called, St. Mary's College. Probably he heard there those lectures on the Gospels which Major afterward published in Paris. But his sympathies were more with the young canons of the Augustinian priory than with the old scholastic; and possibly it was that he might take a place among the teachers of their college of St. Leonards that on Oct. 3, 1524, he was received as a member of the Faculty of Arts. He was a proficient, not only in the languages and philosophy, but also in the art of sacred music, which the canons and the alumni of their college were bound to cultivate. He composed "what the musicians call a mass, arranged in parts for nine voices," and acted himself as precentor of the choir when it was sung. In 1526 the New Testament of Tyndale's translation was brought over from the Low Countries by the Scottish traders. A large proportion of the copies are said to have been taken to St. Andrew's, and circulated there. Hamilton seized the opportunity to commend the holy book and its long-forgotten truths to those over whom he had influence. His doings could not long escape the notice of Archbishop Beaton, who, as in duty bound, issued, or threatened to issue, a summons charging him with heresy. Hamilton, yielding to the counsels of friends and opponents, made his escape to the Continent. He had much profitable intercourse with Tyndale, as well as with Lambert, and was urged to remain in Marburg. But, late in the autumn of 1527, he returned to Scotland, determined to brave death itself rather than prove faithless to his Master where before he had shrunk from an ordeal so terrible. Nor was it long ere his resolution was put to a test. After he had labored for a very short time in his native district, gained over to the truth several of his relatives, and won the heart of a young lady of noble birth, to whom he united himself in marriage, he was invited (Jan., 1528) by the archbishop to a conference with the chiefs of the Church "on such points as might seem to stand in need of reform." At first all displayed a conciliatory spirit, and appeared to recognize the evils existing in the Church; some even seemed, in some points, to share his sentiments, and for nearly a month all possible freedom in making known his views was allowed to him. At length the mask was thrown aside. On Feb. 28 he was seized, and on the 29th brought out for trial in the cathedral. Among the articles with which he was charged, the more important were "that a man is not justified by works, but by faith; that faith, hope, and charity are so linked together that he who hath one of them hath all, and he that lacketh one lacketh all; and that good works make not a good man, but a good man doeth good works." On being challenged by his accuser, he also affirmed it was not lawful to worship images, nor to pray to the saints; and that it was "lawful to all men that have souls to read the word of God; and that they are able to understand the same, and in particular the latter will and testament of Jesus Christ." These truths, which have been the source of life and strength to many, were then to him the cause of condemnation and death; and the same day the sentence was passed and executed. But, through all his excruciating sufferings, the martyr held fast his confidence in God and in his Savior; and the faith of many in the truths he taught was only the more confirmed by witnessing their mighty power on him. Nay, "the reek of Patrick Hamilton infected all on whom it did blow." (A. F. Mitchell†.)

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has been told by M. d'Aubigné, *Reformation in Europe in the Time of Calvin*, vi. 14–85, London, 1875; recently it has been made the subject of a veritable drama by Rev. T. P. Johnston, *Patrick Hamilton, a Tragedy of the Reformation in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1882. Consult also *DNB*, xxiv. 201–203.

HAMILTON, THOMAS: Irish Presbyterian; b. at Belfast Aug. 28, 1842. He was educated at the Royal Academical Institution, Belfast, Queen's College, Belfast, and Queen's University (B.A., 1863), and was ordained in 1865. From that year until 1889 he was a pastor in Belfast, and since 1889 has been president of Queen's College. He has likewise been a senator of the Royal University since 1890, and has written *Faithful unto Death: A Memoir of Rev. David Hamilton* (his father; Belfast, 1875); *Irish Worthies* (1875); *Our Rest Day* (prize essay; Edinburgh, 1886); *History of the Irish Presbyterian Church* (1887); and *Beyond the Stars* (1888).

HAMILTON, SIR WILLIAM: Scotch philosopher; b. at Glasgow Mar. 8, 1788; d. at Edinburgh May 6, 1856. He studied first in Glasgow University, where his father had been professor of anatomy and botany; took a course in medicine at the University of Edinburgh in 1806–07; and in May, 1807, entered Balliol College, Oxford (B.A., 1811; M.A., 1814), where he concentrated upon classics and philosophy and gained the reputation of being the most learned Aristotelian in the university. In 1813 he settled in Edinburgh as an advocate, though he never secured a large practise. In 1820 he established his claim to the baronetcy of Preston, and was thenceforth known as Sir William. In the same year he was defeated for the chair of moral philosophy at the University of Edinburgh by John Wilson (Christopher North), but was elected to the professorship of civil history in 1821. About 1826 he took up the study of phrenology, and in 1826 and 1827 he read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh several papers antagonistic to the alleged science. He made his reputation as a philosopher by a series of articles that began to appear in the *Edinburgh Review* in 1829. In 1836 he was elected to the chair of logic and metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh, and held the position till his death. In 1843 he contributed to the lively ecclesiastical controversy of the time (see Presbyterians) by publishing a pamphlet against the principle of non-intrusion. He was answered by William Cunningham. In July, 1844, he suffered a stroke of paralysis, which made him practically an invalid for the rest of his life.

Life.

Hamilton was an exponent of the Scottish common-sense philosophy and a conspicuous defender and expounder of Thomas Reid (q.v.), though under the influence of Kant he went beyond the traditions of the common-sense school, combining with a naive realism a theory of the relativity of knowledge. His psychology, while marking an advance on the work of Reid and Stewart, was of the "faculty" variety and has now been largely superseded by other views. His contribution to logic was the now well-known theory of the quantification of the predicate, by which he became the forerunner of the present algebraic school of logicians.

Position in Philosophy.

It is his law of the conditioned, with his correlative philosophy of the unconditioned, which comes into nearest relation with theology. This law is "that all that is conceivable in thought lies between two extremes, which, as contradictory of each other, can not both be true, but of which, as mutually contradictory, one must be true. . . . The law of the mind, that the conceivable is in every relation bounded by the inconceivable, I call the law of the conditioned." This involved his position as to the Infinite—that the Infinite is "incognizable and inconceivable." This doctrine on its philosophic side is a protest against Kant's skeptical result affirming that reason lands in hopeless contradictions; on its theological side it proclaims the impossibility of knowing the Absolute Being. Only by taking first the philosophic aspect can we correctly interpret its theological relations. Kant had made *a priori* elements only forms of the mind; and accordingly, the ideas of self, the universe, and God, became only regulative of our intellectual procedure, and in no sense guaranties of truth. Accordingly, Kant has dwelt on "the self-contradiction of seemingly dogmatical cognitions (*thesis cum antithesi*) in none of which we can discover any decided superiority." These were, that the world had a beginning, that it had not; that every composite substance consists of simple parts, that no composite thing does consist of simple parts; that causality according to the laws of nature is not the only causality operating to originate the world, that there is no other causality; that there is an absolutely necessary being, that there is not any such being. Hamilton's object was to maintain that such contradictions are not the product of reason, but of an attempt to press reason beyond its proper limits. If, then, we allow that the conceivable is only of the relative and bounded, we recognize at once that the so-called antinomies of reason are the result of attempts to push reason beyond its own province, to make our conceptions the measure of existence, attempting to bring the incomprehensible within the limits of comprehension.

His Law of the Conditioned.

Thus far a real service was rendered by Hamilton in criticizing the skeptical side of Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*. He estimated this result so highly as to say of it, "If I have done anything meritorious in philosophy, it is in the attempt to explain the phenomena of these contradictions." At this point Hamilton ranks Reid superior to Kant; the former ending in certainty, the latter in uncertainty. But there remain for Hamilton's philosophy the questions: If we escape contradiction by refusing to attempt to draw the inconceivable within the limits of conception, what is the source of certainty as to the infinite? How are knowledge and thought related to the existence and attributes of the Infinite Being? Here Hamilton is entangled in the perplexity of affirming that to be certain which is yet unknowable. That there is an Absolute Being, source of all finite existence, is,

Agnostic Consequences.

according to him, a certainty; but that we can have any knowledge of the fact is by him denied. Reid had maintained the existence of the Supreme Being as a necessary truth; and Hamilton affirms that the divine existence is at least a natural inference; but he nevertheless holds that the Deity can not be known by us. This is with him an application of the law of the conditioned—a conclusion inevitable under admission that all knowledge implies the relative, the antithesis of subject and object. This doctrine of ignorance was developed by H. L. Mansel, and eagerly embraced by the experientialists, J. S. Mill and Herbert Spencer. This gave an impulse to Agnosticism (q.v.), the influence of which must be largely credited to Kant, who reduced the *a priori* to a form of mental procedure, and to Hamilton, who rejected Kant's view, yet regarded the absolute as incognizable. However, while insisting that " the infinite God can not by us, in the present limitation of our faculties, be comprehended or conceived," Hamilton adds that " faith—belief—is the organ by which we apprehend what is beyond our knowledge."

Hamilton's principal works are: *Discussions on Philosophy and Literature, Education and University Reform* (London, 1852), containing his articles published in the *Edinburgh Review ; Notes* and *Dissertations*, published with his edition of T. Reid's *Works* (2 vols., Edinburgh, 1846–63); and his *Lectures on Metaphysics and Logic* (ed. H. L. Mansel and J. Veitch, 4 vols., 1859–60), of which an abridgment of the metaphysical portion (vols. i. and ii.) was edited by F. Bowen (Boston, 1870).

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HAMLIN, CYRUS: Congregationalist; b. at Waterford, Me., Jan. 5, 1811; d. at Portland, Me., Aug. 8, 1900. He was graduated from Bowdoin College (A.B., 1834) and at Bangor Theological Seminary (1837). In the following year he went to Turkey under the auspices of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and in 1840 opened Bebek Seminary on the shores of the Bosphorus, which he successfully conducted for twenty years, also finding an opportunity to aid the Protestant Armenians of Constantinople during the Crimean War. In 1860 he resigned from all relations with the American Board because of his theories on vernacular education, and founded Robert College, Constantinople, finally securing an imperial irade placing the institution under the protection of the United States. After a successful presidency of the new college for sixteen years, he returned to the United States in 1876 as professor of dogmatic theology in Bangor Theological Seminary, a position which he retained until 1880, when he was chosen president of Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt. In 1885 he resigned this office and retired to private life. He wrote *Among the Turks* (New York, 1877) and the autobiographic *My Life and Times* (Boston, 1893), as well as numerous sermons, lectures, reviews, and similar brief contributions.

HAMMOND, CHARLES EDWARD: Church of England; b. at Bath (12 m. e.s.e. of Bristol), Somersetshire, Jan. 24, 1837. He was educated at Exeter College, Oxford (B.A., 1858), where he was fellow in 1859–73, tutor in 1861–73, and bursar and lecturer in 1873–82. He was ordained priest in 1862, and was chaplain of the Oxford Female Penitentiary from 1870 to 1882. From 1882 to 1887 he was rector of Wootton, Northamptonshire, and since 1887 has been vicar of Menheniot, Cornwall. He was likewise rural dean of East from 1889 to 1890 and from 1893 to 1899, and has been honorary canon of Truro since 1893, examining chaplain to the bishop since 1903, and proctor in convocation for the diocese of Truro since 1905. He has written: *Outlines of Textual Criticism applied to the New Testament* (Oxford, 1872); *Liturgies, Eastern and Western* (1878); and *The Ancient Liturgy of Antioch, and other Liturgical Fragments* (an appendix to the preceding volume; 1879).

HAMMOND, EDWARD PAYSON: Evangelist; b. at Ellington, Conn., Sept. 1, 1831. He was educated at Williams College (A.B., 1858), Union Theological Seminary (1858–59), and the Free Church College, Edinburgh, where he completed his education in 1861. In 1862 he was ordained to the Presbyterian ministry, and since that time has devoted himself to Evangelistic work, particularly among the young, in the United States and Great Britain. He has written, among other works: *Child's Guide to Heaven* (Boston, 1863); *The Better Life and How to Find it* (1869); *Jesus the Lamb of God* (1872); *The Conversion of Children* (New York, 1878); *Roger's Travels* (1887); and *Early Conversion* (1901).

HAMMOND, HENRY: English Biblical critic; b. at Chertsey (19 m. w.s.w. of London), Surrey, Aug. 18, 1605; d. at Westwood (6 m. n. of Worcester), Worcestershire, Apr. 25, 1660. He was educated at Eton and at Magdalen College, Oxford (B.A., 1622; M.A., 1625; B.D., 1634; D.D., 1639), was elected a fellow of his college in 1625, and was presented with the living of Penshurst, Kent, in 1633. In 1640 he became a member of convocation, and in 1643 archdeacon of Chichester and a nominal member of the Westminster Assembly. The same year he helped to raise a troop of cavalry for the king's service, and when a reward of £100 was offered for his arrest, left Penshurst for Oxford, where he devoted himself to study. He was chaplain to the royal commissioners at the conference at Uxbridge (Jan. 30, 1645), at which he held a dispute with Richard Vives. A few months later he was made canon of Christ Church, Oxford, and chaplain to Charles I., and elected public orator of his university. He attended the king during his captivity until Christmas, 1647, when Charles was

deprived of all his royal attendants. Returning to Oxford he was made subdean of Christ Church, but was quickly removed by the parliamentary visitors and thrown into prison for ten weeks. Afterward he resided in quasi-confinement in the house of Sir Philip Warwick at Clapham, Bedfordshire, till early in 1650, when, having gained his liberty, he removed to Westwood, Worcestershire. He died just on the eve of his elevation to the see of Worcester. He was a man of great self-denial, a tireless student, and an excellent preacher. Charles I. considered him the most natural orator he had ever heard. His most important works are: *A Practical Catechism* (Oxford, 1644; 15th ed., London, 1715); *A Paraphrase and Annotations upon . . . the New Testament* (London, 1653; new ed., 4 vols., Oxford, 1845); and *A Paraphrase and Annotations on the Book of Psalms* (London, 1659; new ed., 2 vols., Oxford, 1850). His *Works* were edited by W. Fulman (4 vols., London, 1674–84), and his *Miscellaneous Theological Works* were edited in the *Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology* by N. Pocock (3 vols. Oxford, 1847–50).

HAMMURABI AND HIS CODE.

I. Hammurabi.
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I. Hammurabi was sixth king of the first dynasty of Babylon. The name is taken as a compound of *'Ammu* and *rabi*, "(the god) Ammu is great." In the Assyrian period the name was not understood and was mistranslated Kimta-rapastum, "great of family" or "the family is noble." This fact is a strong reenforcement of the argument for the foreign origin of the dynasty. By Assyriologists Hammurabi is quite generally identified with the Amraphel of Gen. xiv., though the final syllable of the latter word is hard to account for on philological grounds and some scholars dispute the identification. Apologetic ends, which have been a considerable element in the discussion, are not well served by the identification since the generally received date for this king (2250 B.C.) and the asserted contemporaneity with Abraham introduce serious difficulties into the Hebrew narrative. A millennium must on this basis have elapsed between Abraham and the Exodus, a gap impossible to fill with the Biblical material. As to the genealogy of the dynasty, it is noteworthy that neither Hammurabi, his son, nor his great-grandson trace their descent from Sumu-abi, the first king of the dynasty, but derive it from Sumula-ilu, the second king. This fact is interpreted as suggesting that the second king was a usurper.

1. The Name. Identification with Amraphel.

The date of the reign is disputed, being placed as early as 2340 B.C., and as late as c. 1900 B.C. For the date about 2250 B.C. the most direct testimony is derived from the statement of Asshurbanipal in 650–649 B.C. that Kudur-nahunti carried away to Elam an image of Nana 1,635 years earlier, i.e., 2285–84 B.C. This tallies well with the known fact that just before Hammurabi's reign the Elamites had conquered Eastern Babylonia under a Kudur-Mabug, who probably belonged to that dynasty or at least to its time. Kudur-Mabug's son was the Rim-Sin or Eri-Aku whom Hammurabi subdued in the thirtieth year of his reign. Less reliable but somewhat confirmatory is the fixing by Stephanos of Byzantium of the foundation of Babylon 1,002 years before the siege of Troy, the latter date being fixed by Hellanikos at 1229 B.C. The date given by Nabonidus, 700 years before Burnaburiash, is uncertain, both because it is a round number, and because there were several kings named Burnaburiash. If it were the correspondent of Amenophis III., it would place Hammurabi about 2150 B.C. (see Amarna Tablets). Later dates are obtained by attempted rectification of the Chronicle and the King-list (see Assyria, VI., 1; Babylonia, VI., 1, § 1–2). As to the length of Hammurabi's reign the two sources just named do not agree, the former assigning him forty-three years and the latter fifty-five. The difference is perhaps to be explained by the fact that some of the years had two names and were counted in the King-list as separate years. The Chronicle gives an abstract of the events of thirty-eight years of his reign, the other years being lost.

2. His Date.

The sources of knowledge of this king and his reign, besides those mentioned above, are fifty-five letters written to his vassal Sin-iddinam of Larsa; directions to various officials; his great inscriptions, ten in number; the prologue and epilogue to his Code; and a long series of business documents of the period. As a result of this mass of material a much clearer view of his times is obtained than of those of any early Babylonian ruler after Naram-Sin.

The tenor of the earlier documents of his reign and of the prologue and epilogue agree with the implications of the Chronicle that the first part of his reign was passed not in warlike operations but in works defensive, religious, and administrative. These consisted in the building of fortresses and city walls, in the erection and decoration of temples and providing them with images and endowments, in building granaries and digging canals (some of them of importance, connecting the cities with the great streams), and in locating his people on lands thus reclaimed from the swamps. The change from this kind of activity to operations of war must have taken place about the thirtieth year of his reign, since the Elamite Rim-Sin ruled in Larsa till that time. It is not likely that the latter was tributary during any part of his rule, for the conflict was sanguinary and apparently final which terminated the Elamitic rule, and Sin-iddinam was Hammurabi's representative in Larsa thereafter. In succeeding years Hammurabi conducted further and successful operations against Elam, thus removed the great menace to the stability of his kingdom, and left a heritage of peace to his successors. The occupation by the Elamites had been disastrous, since Hammu-

3. His Reign.

rabi was compelled as a result to collect the scattered folk and preserve them from famine and desolation. By the end of his reign he was king of all Babylonia, Assyria, Martu or Syria, and probably of the region between. The records of the times exhibit him as a wise administrator. The many notes for direction of affairs still extant reveal him discharging with effectiveness and decision the public business. His letters to Sin-iddina, dealing with practical matters of administration, are clear, brief, and to the point. The hearing of causes by him is a fact referred to several times in extant documents. Several of the tablets make evident that the *corvée* was in force and thoroughly systematized. The public works were at least in part carried on by forced labor, and it is known that supplies for the support of the laborers might be commandeered. That Hammurabi gave a great impulse to literature is much in evidence. It is most likely that the epics which have to do with Marduk were worked over at this time in the interest of the elevation of that god to the supreme place in the pantheon. The religious character of Hammurabi is beyond dispute; he was zealous in maintaining the religious institutions and in inculcating respect for the gods. In view of the times it is not surprising that he was deified and that *ilu*, "the god," was often prefixed to his name; indeed he calls himself "the divine shelter" of his people. In this connection it is interesting that his name never appears in commercial transactions, purchases being made in his name by his stewards—a marked departure from earlier practise. A sentence from one of his inscriptions is worth quoting:

"I am Hammurabi who is to his people as their father, who has made the words of Marduk to be held in reverence, triumph on highland and lowland has accomplished; who has made glad the heart of Marduk, and has bequeathed prosperity for his people for all time, and proclaimed order in the land."

The note struck in the above is that which appears in most of his inscriptions, solicitude for the temporal and spiritual welfare of his people and the honor of the gods. But great as Hammurabi was as a creator of empire, as an administrator, as a builder of temples and a redeemer of his land, and as a patron of literature, it is likely that he will henceforth be more famous as the maker of the earliest great code of laws yet known.

II. The Code*: This exists on a stele of black diorite discovered by Jaques Jean Marie de Morgan at Persepolis Dec., 1901–Jan., 1902. It was intended for the temple E-barra of Shamash at Sippar, and must have been carried away by a later Elamite conqueror of the land. The stele, when discovered, was in three fragments which fit together and make a tablet with convex surfaces, seven feet three inches in height, six feet two inches in width at the bottom and five feet five inches at the top. At the top of the obverse is a bas-relief representing Hammurabi receiving the code from Shamash. Immediately underneath is the prologue to the code, then the code itself, running partly on the obverse, partly on the reverse, and finally an epilogue, making altogether the longest Semitic cuneiform inscription yet known. The inscription was originally in forty-nine columns, of which five have been erased and the surface smoothed, as though the intention was to substitute an inscription by the king who captured it. The rest of the text is intact except for short blanks where the surface is damaged. The original inscription is estimated to have contained about 8,000 words in 282 sections, of which thirty-five sections were in the erased part, and of these three have been recovered from other sources. A peculiarity of the inscription is that it is written in horizontal columns so that as the stele stood it could be read only by the reader's turning his head across the body to the left so as to follow the characters from the lower side of the columns to the upper. The stele found was evidently not the only copy of the code, since a duplicate fragment of the epilogue was found at Susa and parts of the code were in Asshurbanipal's library. Indeed, portions of the code have been known for years from fragments found in various places and had been assigned on internal grounds by Meissner and Delitzsch to Hammurabi's times. The verification of this assignment by the discovery of the code is a rare testimony to Assyriological and critical acumen.

1. Description of the Stele.

The epilogue states that Ilu (the supreme god) and Bel, lord of heaven and earth, have entrusted mankind to Marduk, and have called Hammurabi to create justice, to destroy the wicked, and to make men happy. Then follows a statement of Hammurabi's achievements in which he refers three times to war, once to punishment of thieves, over a dozen times to temples which he has built, restored, adorned or endowed, several times to the digging and clearing of canals, and frequently to his kindly rule over his people for whom he, like a shepherd, has carefully provided. Then follows the code, dealing with witchcraft (1–2), trials (3–5), stealing and retaining lost property (6–13), kidnapping (14), fugitive slaves (15–20), burglary and robbery (21–25), duties and privileges of a class of royal officers (26–41), agriculture, gardening, and shepherding (42–65). Next comes the erasure, supposed to have eliminated thirty-five sections. The obverse takes up commercial matters, the relations of merchant and agent (100–107), liquor and saloon regulations (108–111), debt and deposit (112–126). Then a large section (127–193) deals with the family as follows: slander, infidelity, violation, and suspicion of adultery (127–132), desertion, separation and divorce, remarriage and concubinage (133–149), woman's property (150–152), various crimes of unfaithfulness or incest (153–158), the bride's price and dowry, and laws of inheritance (159–184), adoption of children (185–193). Then follow laws concerning assault (194–214), physicians' fees and responsibilities (215–227), building (228–233), shipping (234–240), damage and rates of wages for various kinds of service (241–277), and slaves (278–282). The epilogue follows, in which the king reasserts his faithfulness to the task entrusted to him by Bel and Marduk, that of guarding the people ("On my heart I fold the people of

2. Contents of the Inscription.

*In the following discussion M is used as the symbol for the Pentateuchal codes, H for the code of Hammurabi, and the Arabic numerals refer to the sections in the latter.

Sumer and Akkad, in my spirit let them in peace repose"). He has written the stele, he continues, to bestow protection upon the weak, the widow and the orphan, and to further the cause of justice. Future kings are to observe the laws without change and are to receive blessing. The inscription closes with a series of imprecations on the king who shall obliterate, change, or annul the laws: "each day, month by month, may the years of his reign be filled with sighing and tears; as a burden may his royalty be prolonged, a life that is joined to death may God award him as his fate."

3. Character of the Legislation and Penalties.

H is criminal and civil, prohibitive and prescriptive; it deals with offenses against the State, the person, and property. Novel facts are (1) that it includes among its provisions regulation of rates to be paid for loans of money or material, and establishes prices to be paid for several kinds of merchandise, for labor of various sorts, and for the hire of animals and implements and boats; (2) that there is no intrusion of the priestly element. Moreover, H recognizes and legislates for three grades of society: (1) the *Amelu*, a word fairly represented by the English word "gentry," who are held to a high responsibility, paying and receiving enhanced consideration in damage cases; (2) *Muskenu*, "commoners," freemen, yet subject to the *corvée;* and (3) *Ardu*, slaves. Along with this goes the further fact that H legislates also for classes of society: (1) For those holding lands of the crown on a sort of feudal tenure and apparently liable to service, military and civil, probably as underofficers. (2) For votaries of certain deities (Shamash and Marduk are names in the code, but almost certainly the votaries of Sin and Anunit were included, as indicated by sources other than H). To these certain employments and places were interdicted, as the keeping and entering of a beer-shop. On the other hand they were protected from slander, were evidently respected in the community, and were not prostitutes, as they are so often designated. (3) For keepers of beer-shops, generally women, who were made responsible for order in their shops, were enjoined to report treasonous talk, and seem to have had the power of arrest. (4) For physicians, evidently not a highly respected class, whose fees are regulated by the patient's social status, while penalties were attached for malpractise or failure. (5) For agriculturists, gardeners, and shepherds, and (6) for various kinds of artisans and laborers duties, fees, wages and penalties are prescribed. The place of justice was the temple or temple gate, and in the temple the records were filed. The order of procedure in cases was first the filing of the briefs, on perusal of which within six months the court heard the case and rendered the decision, which decision might not be reversed by the court hearing it, though the case might be appealed to a higher court or even to the king. The parties to the case plead their own cause, no professional attorneys being in evidence. Where, from the nature of the case, testimony was lacking, the final test was the oath before deity with the death penalty for proved perjury. Litigation was discouraged by penalizing the unsuccessful complainant as heavily as the establishing of his case would have penalized the defendant. Penalties range from fine through multiple payment, mutilation, reduction to slavery, expatriation, death, to death in especially dishonorable form. The cases of fine are of course numerous, as when personal or property damage has been done (106–109). Multiple payment is prescribed in many cases of trade transaction or fraudulent claim, and the rate varies from double to thirtyfold, the last in case of a gentleman stealing from a temple—if a commoner committed such a theft, the penalty was tenfold restitution or death. Reduction to slavery, equivalent to hard labor for life, followed slander of a votary or a married woman (127). Expatriation was the punishment for incest with a daughter (154). The punishment by mutilation, which often appears in H, was either a case of *lex talionis* or of punishment by excision of the offending member. In the former case it was eye for eye, etc. (196–198). Instances of the latter were loss of hands by the thief (253), by an unskilful surgeon (218), or by a son who struck his father (195); a wet nurse who substituted a changeling lost her breasts (194), a slave who repudiated his master lost his ear (the organ of obedience, 205, 282). The death penalty followed witchcraft or false accusation of it (1, 2), perjury in a capital cause (3), violent entry or theft or receiving goods stolen from mansion or temple (6, 21), purchase from unauthorized agents (7), appropriation or selling of things found (9, 10), making false claim to property (11), kidnapping a free-born child (14), instigating the flight of a slave (15), harboring a fugitive slave (16) or holding one for personal gain (19), highway robbery (22), neglect of duty by subofficers (26), permitting disorder in a beer-shop (109), rape of a betrothed maiden (130), striking and killing a pregnant gentlewoman (209), erasing the brand of slavery (227), defective building, causing the death of the occupant (229), oppression, bribery, misappropriation of public property or persons by magistrates (33–34). In some cases the death penalty was carried out in a special manner; burning was for looting at a fire (25), for a votary's entering a beer-shop (110), for incest with a mother (157). Death by drowning was the penalty for cutting the price of beer (109), adultery (129), being a bad wife (143), incest with daughter-in-law (155), and deserting a husband's house in his absence (133). Impalement was the punishment for procuring a husband's death (153), dismemberment for failing to keep an agricultural agreement (256). The ordeal (2,132) probably implies death by drowning. Examples of prescriptive measures are those which enabled a man who had suffered from highway robbery or, in case of his death his family, to recover from the governor or the city if the thief were not captured. Thus the responsibility for order was placed on the authorities. Damages were assessed for neglect of various sorts, as, neglect to care for the portion of a canal adjacent to one's property, to herd flocks properly, or to till the whole of a field rented on shares or to till it all properly. Similar prescriptive regulations require that certain commercial operations be conducted in the presence of

witnesses under penalty of forfeiture. Such operations as purchase from a minor and deposit of goods or money were illegal if without witnesses.

4. Legal Status of Woman.

The position of woman under the law is interesting. Her oath cleared her of the charge of adultery (131), repudiation by her husband gave her the right to her dowry (137–139), for open contempt of her husband she might be reduced to bondage in her husband's house, provided she had been a slack housewife (141); if she had been a good housewife, she might leave him and take her dowry (142), if she were slack and slandered her husband, she was drowned (143). Concubinage was allowed under certain conditions (145); a woman whose husband had under those conditions married again might elect to stay with the husband or to take her marriage portion and go home (148–149). Property deeded to a wife was hers absolutely (150). By making the agreement at marriage, she could not be seized for a debt contracted before marriage, but she might be held with the husband for one contracted afterward (151–152). The dowry of a mother went to her children at her death, not to her father (162), but the father of a barren wife received back her dowry less the price paid for her (163–164). The widow who remained with the family of her husband shared in the property equally with the sons; if she left she took only her dowry (172). A man was bound to support his wife and she to be faithful to him. Hence if he were captured by an enemy and had left for her means of subsistence, she was bound to remain in the home. If he had not done so, she was blameless if she married during his absence. When he came back, she returned to him, and the children followed the father. So a man who expatriated himself from his city could not hold his wife to marital duty.

5. The Laws not New.

Study of the code reveals that it was not a thing entirely new. Its provisions are such as would naturally suggest themselves in a developing civilization; they are often the result of conservatism and insistence on class rights and privileges, and again as evidently modifications of nomadic custom. Yet the stage of advance is indicated by the facts that the era of blood-revenge is past and that capital punishment is in the hand of the State except in the two cases of violent entry and looting at a conflagration. Another sign of the advanced stage is the protection afforded both to the person and to property, especially in the case of commercial transactions. The developed law might indeed be expected when it was remembered that the processes of justice were implied as in operation at least 2,300 years earlier, when the name of a judge is given on a tablet. Both Sargon and Naram-Sin spoke of public justice, and Gudea named courts of law. That the code is gentler than earlier practise appears manifest, its processes and penalties being on the whole less savage than the custom-code of contemporary peoples. Thus H appears as a register of progress; and this is the more noteworthy when there is taken into account the fact that it is only a code, not a pandect. Many of the provisions have the appearance of being rather examples of procedure than ample statutes for all possibilities. The general trend of opinion among Assyriologists is that H is but the consequence of the centralization of power by a strong and keen-eyed systematizer. The same grouping of factors appears in the administration of the empire as in this collection of statutes.

6. Relation to Pentateuchal Codes.

It was inevitable, in view of the discussion of Babylonian influence upon Hebrew life and literature, that as soon as the code was discovered, comparison should be made with M. It was found that a number of laws were almost exact reproductions or parallels, there were many others in which there was an identity of principle but difference in detail of treatment, still others showing sharp contrast in principle and treatment, while whole groups of laws in one are not represented in the other. In accounting for these facts students find themselves in one of three positions. Since H is indisputably the older, if either is dependent on the other, M must be the derived code. Accordingly some, emphasizing the influence of Babylonia on the West, derived parts of M at a late period from H. Others attribute the similarities in M to transmission from Abraham who had received the laws in Ur. A third view is that the similarities are best explained by regarding both codes as national developments under different environment from a common stock of Semitic custom. A decision is made more difficult because the Hebrew legislation is of at least three different periods, the early kingdom (Ex. xx.–xxiii. 20), the seventh century B.C. (Deuteronomy), and the Exile or later (the Priest-Code). Complicating the situation is the brevity of the earliest code, affording but few grounds of comparison. Moreover, the data obtained by comparison of the longer M codes are claimed by all three parties as favoring their individual contentions. Representative facts are the following:

Correspondence exists in the case of assault upon a betrothed maiden (130; Deut. xxii. 25), of a slave concubine who had borne children (146; Deut. xxi. 14), of adultery with a daughter-in-law, betrothed or married (155–156; Ex. xxii. 16–17; Lev. xx. 12; Deut. xxii. 28), of false witness (3; Deut. xix. 19), of kidnapping (14; Ex. xxi. 16), witchcraft (1; Ex. xxii. 18), and of violence to a pregnant woman (109–114; Ex. xxi. 22). The laws of deposit differ only in detail (100–107; Ex. xxii. 7–15). Divergences are that according to H a man may pledge his wife, son or daughter for payment of a debt for three years only, in M for six years (117; Ex. xxi. 2; Deut. xv. 12). In H no provision is made for absolute release of a slave pledged for debt; in M there was a jubilee release, though whether that was more than theoretical is one of the debated questions. The careful provisions in H, on pain of forfeiture, for witnesses to deposits, loans, or property given or entrusted for purposes of trade or in barter or sale are lacking in M (122, 123). The actual ordeal by water is in H alone (2,123), though the oath (which is an ordeal and one of the most common) is used by both. Necessarily a series of prescriptions with reference to lands let on feudal ten-

ure is in H alone; similar are those sections which deal with the features of the country peculiar to Babylonia, such as the canals and the care of them.

The probability seems to be in favor, therefore, of the position that while in the earlier code of M nothing beyond the most general influence of Babylonian culture is evident, in the later codes that influence was intensified; but direct borrowing is yet to be shown as the true solution of the agreements. Indeed the later codes of M seem to show a knowledge of H or its equivalent of the time by avoiding the specific treatment and substituting that more in accordance with its own genius. The correspondences are as close, though not as numerous, in the earliest code of M, where the theory of direct borrowing is hardly tenable. The agreement of the later codes of M with H are generally of the same kind as that of the earliest and in the same class of cases. GEO. W. GILMORE.

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HAMON, JEAN: French physician and moralist; b. at Cherbourg 1618; d. at Port Royal Feb. 22, 1687. He studied medicine in Paris and quickly attained a prominent position in his profession. In 1651 he sold all his property, except his books, distributed the proceeds among the poor, and sought a life of penitence and solitude at Port Royal. He continued the practise of his profession among the poor of the country, administering to them both medicine and spiritual advice. He wrote a number of works, of which the most important are: *Traités de piété* (2 vols., Paris, 1675); *Sur la prière et les devoirs des pasteurs* (2 vols., 1689); *Pratique de la prière continuelle* (1702); and *Explication du Cantique des Cantiques* (4 vols., 1708).

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HAMPDEN, RENN DICKSON: Bishop of Hereford; b. in Barbados Mar. 29, 1793; d. in London Apr. 23, 1868. He was sent to England in 1798 and entrusted to the care of the Rev. M. Rowlandson, vicar of Warminster, Wiltshire, by whom he was educated till 1810, when he entered Oriel College, Oxford (B.A., 1814; M.A., 1816; B.D. and D.D., 1833). At Oriel, where he became a fellow in 1814, Thomas Arnold and Richard Whately were among his intimate friends, and Keble, Pusey, and Hawkins were among his colleagues. After his ordination in 1816 he filled in succession the curacies of Newton, Blaydon, Faringdon, Hungerford, and Hackney. Afterward he engaged in literary pursuits in London. He was appointed tutor in Oriel College in 1828, principal of St. Mary's Hall in 1833, professor of moral philosophy in 1834, and in 1836 canon of Christ Church and regius professor of divinity. Owing to alleged heretical views expressed by Hampden in his Bampton lectures in 1832 this last appointment was bitterly opposed by the High-church party. The main point urged against him was his statement that the authority of the Scriptures is of greater weight than the authority of the Church. During the ensuing controversy some forty-five books or pamphlets were published. As regius professor he held the living of Ewelme from 1836 to 1847. On Dec. 28, 1847, he was elected bishop of Hereford, and was consecrated on Mar. 26, 1848, despite the remonstrance of thirteen bishops. He led an exemplary life, and in no way did he ever refer to the attacks of which he was the object. Aside from his sermons and charges his principal works are: *An Essay on the Philosophical Evidence of Christianity* (London, 1827); *The Scholastic Philosophy Considered in its Relation to Christian Theology* (Oxford, 1833), Bampton lectures for 1832; and *The Fathers of Greek Philosophy* (1862).

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Cox, *Recollections of Oxford*, pp. 264–271, ib. 1871; T. Mozley, *Reminiscences, chiefly of Oriel College*, pp. 350–386, ib. 1882; *DNB*, xxiv. 264–266.

HAMPTON COURT CONFERENCE: A meeting called by James I. of England at Hampton Court Palace (15 m. w.s.w. of London) in 1604 for the discussion of differences between the Puritans and the High-church party. It was occasioned by certain petitions from the Puritans, particularly the "Millenary Petition" (q.v.), which was presented to James while he was on the way to London in Apr., 1603. The conference met on Jan. 14, 16, and 18. James, who presided, was supported by Archbishop Whitgift, eight bishops, seven deans, and two other clergy. The petitioners were represented by four Puritans of moderate views, John Reynolds, president of Corpus Christi College, Oxford; Laurence Chaderton, master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge; Thomas Sparke and John Knewstubs, —all of James's own selection. After the king had spent the first day in the discussion of various topics with his supporters, the four Puritan representatives were admitted to the second day's conference, and Reynolds, as spokesman, was allowed to present their grievances. He brought forward four headings: (1) purity of doctrine; (2) the ministry; (3) the reform of church government, and (4) the amendment of the Book of Common Prayer. He asked the incorporation of the nine Lambeth Articles (q.v.) with the Thirty-Nine Articles, demanded an enlargement of the catechism and a new translation of the Bible, presented the objections of the Puritans to the Book of Common Prayer, and insisted on the need of a preaching ministry. When he came to speak of disciplinary questions an unfortunate use of the word "presbytery" threw James into such a rage that he broke up the conference for the day. On the third day of the conference James met his clergy, with whom were now associated the leading ecclesiastical lawyers, and later called in the Puritan representatives to hear his decision. The old ceremonies were to continue; there was to be no provision for a preaching ministry; and the existing church order was to be upheld. The following changes—very unsatisfactory to the Puritans—were made in the Prayer-book: mention of baptizing of infants by women was omitted; in the rubric of absolution was inserted "remission of sins"; confirmation was termed "laying on of hands"; all the thanksgivings, except the general one, were inserted; to the catechism was annexed the whole of the latter portion relative to the two sacraments; and some words were altered in the lessons. Reynolds' request for a new translation of the Bible bore fruit in the so-called Authorized Version, by far the most important result of the conference. See PURITANS, PURITANISM, § 15.

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HANDEL, GEORGE FREDERICK (properly **GEORG FRIEDRICH HAENDEL**): Musician and composer; b. at Halle, Prussia, Feb. 23, 1685; d. in London Apr. 14, 1759. At the age of seven he was a skilful performer on the piano and organ, and at nine he began to compose music. In 1702, in obedience to his father's wishes, he began the study of law at the University of Halle, but the following year he abandoned law for music and accepted a position as violinist in the orchestra of the opera-house at Hamburg. Here his first two operas, *Almira* and *Nero*, were produced early in 1705. Two other early operas, *Daphne* and *Florindo*, were produced at Hamburg in 1708. During the years 1707–09 Handel traveled and studied in Italy. His *Rodrigo* was produced at Florence in 1707, and his *Agrippina* at Venice in 1708. Two oratorios, *La Resurrezione* and *Il Trionfo del Tempo*, were produced at Rome in 1709 and 1710, respectively. In 1710 Handel became *Kapellmeister* to George, elector of Hanover, afterward George I. of England. He visited London in 1710 and settled there permanently in 1712, receiving a yearly income of £200 from Queen Anne. He was director of the Royal Academy of Music 1720–28, and a partner of J. J. Heidegger in the management of the King's Theatre 1729–34. He gave up operatic management entirely in 1740, after he had lost a fortune in the business. In 1751 he became blind. He was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Handel's compositions include some fifty operas, twenty-three oratorios, and a large amount of church music, not to speak of his instrumental pieces. Though his operas were superior to those of his contemporaries, they have now been superseded and largely forgotten, with the exception of certain detached arias. It is upon his oratorios that his fame rests. It was his peculiar service to create and perfect the oratorio; and in this field he is still supreme. His best known oratorios are: *Esther* (1720); *Saul* (1739); *Israel in Egypt* (1739); *The Messiah* (1742); *Samson* (1743); *Judas Maccabæus* (1747); and *Jephthah* (1752). His works were edited by S. Arnold (40 vols., London, 1786), and more recently by F. Chrysander, for the German Händel-Gesellschaft (100 vols., Leipsic, 1859–94). See MUSIC, SACRED.

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HANDICRAFTS, HEBREW.

The Beginnings (§ 1).
Developed by City Life. Gilds (§ 2).
Metal-Working (§ 3).
The Goldsmith (§ 4).
Pottery (§ 5).
The Stone-Cutter (§ 6).
The Carpenter (§ 7).
Weaving (§ 8).
Other Trades (§ 9).

Handicraft was for the ancients a gift of God like all other knowledge, so that the Israelites naturally placed its origin in the very earliest ages of hu-

manity (Gen. iv. 17, 22). In the Code of Hammurabi (see HAMMURABI AND HIS CODE) mention is made of fully developed gilds in Babylonia, and doubtless Syria and Palestine also possessed them. It is probable that the Israelites, however, in their nomadic period had only the most elementary knowledge of, perhaps, metal-working and the dressing of leather. The later theory according to which the Israelites in the time of their wanderings in the desert were already skilled craftsmen (Ex. xxv. and following chapters) is altogether erroneous. Even after their settlement in Palestine their progress in this respect was slow. Baking, spinning, weaving, and the sewing of garments were for a long time the work of the housewife; the husband knew how to tan leather and to make leather bottles, sandals, and straps; he could also build his simple dwelling and carve his wooden tools. Only metal-working and pottery appear to have been special trades from the earliest times.

1. The Beginnings.

With the consolidation of the kingdom of Israel under David and Solomon, the Israelites gained access to the cities of the Canaanites and became familiar with their civilization. Greater prosperity naturally brought greater requirements, and special trades were developed for their satisfaction. Above all city life both required and permitted a specialization of labor. In the cities the artisans were grouped together in the bazaars according to their trades. In the rural districts the artisan went from place to place in the exercise of his trade. The maker of agricultural implements wandered from village to village; the goldsmith went to the house of his customer; the armorer always traveled about. The gathering of the workmen in gilds and the transmission of their art from father to son took place in the same way as in Babylonia; the organization was that of the family. In the time of Nehemiah the gilds were put upon the same plane as the great families (Neh. iii. 8). The First Book of Chronicles (iv. 14, 21, 23) names the gilds of the carpenters, byssus-weavers, and potters, who lived in separate localities. Usually people of the same trade lived in the same place—potters in Gaza and Ramleh; soap-boilers in Nablus.

2. Developed by City Life. Gilds.

Metal-working was already well known to the Babylonians about 3000 B.C. Their weapons were always of bronze or of copper, hardened by an alloy of tin. Since copper is found in Lebanon and was brought thence to the Babylonians, it is not surprising that bronze arrow- and lance-heads, axes, knives, chisels, and nails, dating from about 2000 B.C. and later, have been found in Gaza, Megiddo, and Taanach. Iron, on the other hand, was known to the Canaanites and Babylonians only from about 1000 B.C., and it only gradually took the place of bronze. When the "iron" chariots of the Canaanites are mentioned, the writer had in mind the conditions of his own time; chariots sheathed with bronze must be meant. According to the results of the excavations and to the Biblical accounts, bronze was the metal most in use during the earlier years of the monarchy. Helmet, shield, breast-plate, greaves, and sword are of bronze (I Sam. xvii. 5–7; II Sam. xxii. 35). Goliath's iron spear-head is remarked as something unusual (I Sam. xvii. 7). Only later is there frequent mention of iron, as of doors sheathed with iron and iron bolts (Isa. xlv. 2), breast-plates (Job xx. 24), axes, and hatchets (Deut. xix. 5, xxvii. 5). The ore came from Lebanon (cf. Jer. xv. 12), and furnaces for its smelting are mentioned (Deut. iv. 20; Jer. xi. 4; I Kings viii. 51). The Israelites did not advance as far as the casting of iron. For artistic work only bronze was used (cf. the vessels of Solomon's Temple, I Kings vii. 13 sqq.).

3. Metal-Working.

The Phenicians always had a kind of monopoly of the fabrication of vases, dishes, etc., and it can not be determined in the case of such objects whether they were made by the Israelites or were brought from Phenicia. The same may be said of ornaments and other objects made of the precious metals. The goldsmith (*ẓoreph*) is often mentioned. That the people were familiar with his work is shown by the metaphors referring to this craft used by the prophets, such as the melting of gold in the crucible, its purification with alkaline salt (*bor*, Isa. i. 25), soldering (Isa. xli. 7), polishing, and the like. Hammer and anvil, tongs and chisel, crucible and bellows, and especially the graver are the goldsmith's tools. The art of appliqué in gold was in great favor. Idols formed of wood or metal and overlaid with gold were much fancied (Isa. xxx. 22; II Kings xviii. 16). The golden calves of Dan and Bethel were probably made in this style (I Kings xii. 28). Fine gold thread was also produced to be interwoven in costly garments (Ex. xxviii. 6). Gold was brought from southern Arabia (Ophir, Havilah, etc.) by the Sabeans (Ezek. xxvii. 22).

4. The Goldsmith.

Information concerning the potter's art is quite full through the rich results of the excavations at Tell el-Hesy. From about 1400 B.C. can be traced the influence exercised by the art of Mycenæ, through the medium of Phenicians from Cyprus, upon the rude art of the Canaanites. This appears in the engraved and stamped patterns, consisting of wave lines, crosses, straight lines, curves, etc., and also in the painted decorations in the style of Mycenæ; geometric figures (circles, wave lines, etc.) and representations of birds and ibexes, all executed in the very best manner. In the early Israelitic period Phenician influence is dominant both in the form and in the style of decoration. Later, about 700 B.C., Greek influence asserts itself and brilliant yellowish-brown or black ware is found, usually decorated with concentric circles. It is, of course, difficult to determine what was made by the Israelites in their villages and what was brought in by Phenician merchants, but it is known that the Israelites quickly assimilated this art. The prophets took their metaphors from the potter's art, and they speak of kneading the clay (Jer. xviii. 6), which was trodden by the feet (Isa. xli. 25), and of the potter's wheel, upon which the vessel was formed (Jer. xviii. 3). This wheel, as its name (*obhnayim*, dual) indicates, consisted of two disks, which re-

5. Pottery.

volved one above the other. It was worked by the feet (Ecclus. xxxviii. 29).

The stone-cutter (*ḥarash ebhen*) was also a builder. He undertook the entire construction of the house.

6. The Stone-Cutter. As is shown by the excavations, the dwelling-houses were always small huts, with walls made of mud-bricks or of unhewn stones roughly built up; even in the principal cities walls built of hewn stones were rare. As tools of the stone-cutter, in addition to the hammer and chisel, the level (II Kings xxi. 13; Heb. *mishkeleth*, Eng. versions, "line"), the line (Isa. xxviii. 17, and elsewhere), and the plummet (Amos vii. 7) are mentioned.

7. The Carpenter. The carpenter (*ḥarash 'eẓ*) is entrusted with the fabrication of all wooden articles for the household, and also plows, threshing-carts, winnowing-shovels, and the like. Some were able to execute fine work and carved images of the gods (cf. Isa. xl. 20, xliv. 13–14). They worked with saws (Isa. x. 15), axes, and hatchets (Deut. xix. 5), planes (Isa. xliv. 13), hammers (Isa. xliv. 12), and compasses (Isa. xliv. 13); line and rule are also mentioned (Isa. xliv. 13).

8. Weaving. Weaving was mostly done at home; finer fabrics were brought from abroad. The oldest method of weaving is still used by the Bedouins; threads are stretched lengthwise along the ground and the cross-thread is pushed through with the fingers; the web is pushed together with a wooden reed. The Egyptians had two kinds of looms, and they were also known in Palestine. In the Middle Empire the loom is horizontal, the beams are fastened to the ground, and the weavers crouch down in working. This kind of loom is suggested in the story of Samson, where Delilah weaves his hair into the warp while he sleeps (Judges xvi. 13–14). In the New Empire the loom is upright; above and below are stationary beams; the weavers stood and wove from the bottom upward. Greek sources present a third kind of loom, in which the long threads of the warp hung from a beam above, held taut by stones attached to the ends; in this loom the weaving was from above downward. Many such stones have been found in the excavations, and suffice to show that this type of loom existed in Palestine. As early as ancient Egyptian looms, the shifting of the even and uneven threads of the warp, which must lie alternately above and below the woof, was accomplished as follows: the uneven threads were bound by strings to a stick so that they could be lifted up together; the thread of the woof was fastened to another stick and pushed through the warp. How early the shuttle (Job vii. 6) came into use, is not known. Variegated garments, striped or checked, were admired by the Israelites and in Syria generally.

9. Other Trades. It is only by chance that the tanners and dyers are not mentioned among other artisans in the Old Testament. Bakers are found only in the cities, in the country baking being done at home. The fullers have a certain importance, but also a bad repute. They made woolen fabrics waterproof by felting the wool and also cleaned old clothes. They were forced to exercise their trade outside of the city of Jerusalem on account of the bad odors produced and because a good supply of water was needed (Isa. vii. 3).

I. Benzinger.

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HANDS, IMPOSITION OF; LAYING ON OF. See Laying on of Hands.

HANER, hā'ner, **JOHANN:** Humanist; b. at Nuremberg, date not known; d. at Bamberg c. 1544. He probably studied at Ingolstadt, and must have been known in certain circles as a humanist by 1517. He gave personal advice to Leo X. in regard to the Lutheran cause, and in 1524 addressed a letter to Clement VII. recommending certain slight ecclesiastical reforms, in the manner of Erasmus. One month later he urged Erasmus to come forward in behalf of the threatened Church, but his addresses seem to have made no impression. In 1525 he became preacher of the cathedral church in Würzburg, but his leanings toward the Reformation soon compelled him to leave. As he had started from Erasmus, he was more inclined toward Zwingli than toward Luther. He attempted to bring about a reconciliation on the question of the Lord's Supper. At the Diet of Speyer in 1526 he became acquainted with Landgrave Philip, who took him into his service. After giving up his position at Würzburg, he returned to Nuremberg and received a small prebend there; but in consequence of mortified ambition, dissatisfaction with the condition of the church in Nuremberg, and deficient knowledge of the Lutheran doctrine of justification, he went, in 1532, to Regensburg and reentered the Roman Catholic Church. In 1533 he sent to Landgrave Philip and George of Saxony a manuscript treatise, directed against the Evangelical doctrine of justification, *Prophetia vetus ac nova hoc est, vera scripturæ interpretatio. De syncera cognitione Christi*, which Cochlæus published in 1534 against the will of the author. Haner was answered by Thomas Venatorius, preacher of Nuremberg, in his *De sola fide iustificante nos in oculis dei* (1534; reprinted 1556). In the beginning of 1535 Haner had to leave Nuremberg and went to Bamberg, where he was accepted as preacher of the cathedral church late in 1541. In 1535 he sent a treatise on the council to Vergerio and in 1537 made new propositions to the pope. In 1539 he published in Leipsic *Theses Joannis Haneri Noribergensis de pœnitentia*, in which he attacked Luther and tried to influence the antinomian controversy (see Antinomianism and Antinomian Controversies, II).

(T. Kolde.)

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HANNA, WILLIAM: Free Church of Scotland; b. at Belfast, Ireland, Nov. 26, 1808; d. in London May 24, 1882. He was educated at the universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh, was ordained pastor of the parish of East Kilbride, near Glasgow, in 1835, and was translated to the parish of Skirling, Peebleshire, in 1837. He was an active supporter of Thomas Chalmers in the ecclesiastical controversy of the time; and at the disruption of 1843 he joined the Free Church, taking his entire congregation with him. In 1847 he was entrusted with the preparation of the official life of Chalmers, and in the same year he was appointed editor of the *North British Review*. In 1850 he became the colleague of Thomas Guthrie (q.v.) in the St. John's Free Church, Edinburgh, where he preached to many devoted hearers till his retirement in 1866. His principal works are *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers* (4 vols., Edinburgh, 1849–52); *Wycliffe and the Huguenots* (1860); and *Our Lord's Life on Earth* (6 vols., 1869). He edited *The Posthumous Works of Thomas Chalmer* (9 vols., 1847–1849); also *A Selection from the Correspondence of Thomas Chalmers* (1853); and the *Letters of Thomas Erskine of Linlathen* (2 vols., 1877).

Bibliography: *DNB*, xxiv. 300–301.

HANNAH (Hebr. *Hannah*, "grace, winsomeness"): A Hebrew feminine name, occurring in the Bible and Apocrypha in three instances: (1) The mother of the prophet Samuel (q.v.). (2) The wife of Tobit, of the tribe of Nephthali (Tobit i. 9). According to the Vulgate the wife of Raguel bears the same name (Tobit vii. 2, 8, 14, 16, viii. 12; LXX., *Edna*). (3) A "prophetess" of the tribe of Asher (Luke ii. 36–38, where the English versions reproduce the Greek form *Anna*). It is said in praise of her that after seven years in marriage she had continued in widowhood to her eighty-fourth year. Being at all times ready and receptive for divine revelations, she could draw near, like Simeon, at the right hour to greet in the infant Jesus the Redeemer of Israel, prefiguring the widows described in I Tim. v. 5. Arnold Rüegg.

Bibliography: *DB*, ii. 299; *JE*, vi. 219–220, and the literature cited under Samuel.

HANNAH, JOSEPH ADDISON: Church of England; b. at Warrington (15 m. e. of Liverpool), Lancashire, Dec. 1, 1867. He was educated at Queen's College, Cambridge (B.A., 1890), and, after being assistant master at Warrington Grammar-school in 1890–91, was ordered deacon in 1892, and ordained priest in the following year. He was chaplain and tutor in St. John's College, Battersea (1892–95), and since 1895 has been principal of the Norwich and Ely Diocesan Training College at Norwich.

HANNE, hän'e, **JOHANN WILHELM:** German Protestant; b. at Harber (near Lüneburg, 68 m. n.n.e. of Hanover) Dec. 29, 1813; d. at Eppendorf (a suburb of Hamburg) Nov. 21, 1889. He attended gymnasiums at Hildesheim and Brunswick, and the universities of Göttingen, Halle, and Berlin, receiving his degree of Ph.D. from Jena in 1840, after having devoted three years to private patristic studies at Wolfenbüttel. From 1840 to 1848 he was at Brunswick, where he incurred the enmity of the rationalistic clergy of the city, who succeeded in debarring him from position after position, so that, in 1851, he was compelled to accept a country pastorate at the Hanoverian village of Betheln. He removed to a similar position at Salzhemmendorf in 1854. His fortune changed, however, in 1861, when he was called to Greifswald as pastor of St. James's and also as professor of practical theology at the university of the same city. He retained these positions until his retirement from active life in 1886, after which he spent the remainder of his life at Eppendorf.

Hanne's theological position was essentially positive, although his poetic and philosophical tendencies brought him into frequent conflict with the strictly orthodox as well as with the rationalists. At a later period he entered the *Protestantenverein*, but in his concluding years he maintained a distinctly irenic attitude, particularly toward younger colleagues whose views differed essentially from his own. His writings comprise the following works:

Rationalismus und speculative Theologie in Braunschweig (Brunswick, 1838); *Festreden an Gebildete über das Wesen des christlichen Glaubens, inbesondere über das Verhältnis der geschichtlichen Person Christi zur Idee des Christentums* (1839); *Friedrich Schleiermacher als religiöser Genius Deutschlands* (1840); *Sokrates als Genius der Humanität* (1841); *Der moderne Nihilismus und die Strauss'sche Glaubenslehre im Verhältnis zur Idee der christlichen Religion* (Bielefeld, 1842); *Anti-orthodox, oder gegen Buchstabendienst und Pfaffentum und für den freien Geist der Humanität und des Christentums* (Brunswick, 1846); *Der freie Glaube im Kampf mit den theologischen Halbheiten unsrer Tage* (1846); *Religiöse Mahnungen zur Sühne* (1848); *Vorhöfe zum Glauben, oder das Wunder des Christentums im Einklange mit Vernunft und Natur* (3 parts, Jena, 1850–51); *Zeitspiegelungen* (Hanover, 1852); *Bekenntnisse, oder drei Bücher vom Glauben* (1861); *Die Idee der absoluten Persönlichkeit, oder Gott und sein Verhältnis zur Welt, inbesondere zur menschlichen Persönlichkeit* (2 vols., 1861–62); *Die Zeit der deutschen Freiheitskriege in ihrer Bedeutung für die Zukunft des Reiches Gottes und seiner Gerechtigkeit* (1863); *Anti-Hengstenberg* (Elberfeld, 1867); *Der Geist des Christentums* (1867); *Die christliche Kirche nach ihrer Stellung und Aufgabe im Reiche der Sittlichkeit* (Berlin, 1868); and *Die Kirche im neuen Reiche* (1871). (O. Zöckler†.)

Bibliography: His own *Drei Bücher vom Glauben*, pp. 79–122, Hanover, 1865, contains autobiographical material.

HANNINGTON, JAMES: Anglican missionary bishop of Eastern Equatorial Africa; b. at Hurstpierpoint (8 m. from Brighton), England, Sept. 3, 1847; d. in Uganda, Africa, Oct. 29, 1885. He studied at St. Mary's Hall, Oxford (B.A., 1873; M.A., 1875; D.D., 1884); was ordained deacon and became curate at Martinhoe and Trentishoe 1874, and of St. George's, Hurstpierpoint, 1875; was ordained priest 1876. In 1882 he offered himself to the Church Missionary Society for the Central Africa mission at Rubaga for a period of five years, was accepted, and reached Msalala on the Victoria Nyanza the same year, when a severe illness compelled his return. He resumed his duties at Hurstpierpoint, but in 1884 was offered the bishopric named above, then newly created, accepted it, was consecrated June 24, 1884, and sailed the same year, reaching Mombasa Jan. 24, 1885. He determined to open up a new road by a healthier route through

the Masai country to Lake Victoria Nyanza, which he reached Oct. 17. This approach from a new direction alarmed the natives, who feared encroachments from the whites, and the bishop and his company were seized by Chief Mwanga of Uganda, on Oct. 21, and were put to death eight days later.

Bibliography: E. C. Dawson, *James Hannington, First Bishop of Eastern Equatorial Africa*, London, 1887; *DNB*, xxiv. 307–308.

HANOVER. See Prussia.

HANSIZ, hān'sits, MARCUS: Jesuit church historian; b. near Völkermarkt (47 m. s.w. of Graz), Carinthia, Apr. 23, 1683; d. at Vienna Sept. 5, 1766. He was educated at Eberndorf and Vienna, and became a teacher of philosophy and history, first at Graz and later at various other places. Inspired by special histories of the Church in France, Italy, and England, he began a comprehensive *Germania sacra*, commencing with the history of the church at Lorch, the diocese of Passau, and the archbishopric of Salzburg, which formed the first two volumes (Augsburg, 1727–29). After 1731 he occupied himself partly with minor works and partly with the collection of materials for the third volume of his great work, which was designed to comprise the history of the diocese of Regensburg, as well as with gathering data for the bishoprics of Vienna, Neustadt, Seckau Gurk, Lavant, and the history of Carinthia. He was able, however, to publish only the introduction to this volume (Vienna, 1754), for the controversy in which his researches involved him with the canons of St. Emmeram led him to retire from all literary activity. Nevertheless, his interest in the work was unabated until his death. After his decease appeared his *Analecta pro historia Carinthiæ* (Klagenfurt, 1872). Even in its fragmentary state, the *Germania sacra* forms a noteworthy product of German industry and a valuable preliminary for the history of Germany and its Church; and its author was characterized not only by learning, diligence, and perspicuity, but also by love of truth and historical critical ability.

(O. Zöcklerâ€ .)

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HAPAX LEGOMENON or **EIREMENON** (Gk. "Once said" or "spoken"): An expression used in exegetical or text-critical works signifying that the word, phrase, or combination is not known to exist elsewhere, or at least is singular in the book or author under discussion.

HAPHTARAH, hāf-tā'rā ("conclusion," pl. *Haphṭaroth*): Reading lessons or paragraphs taken from the Prophets, read after the Law in the morning services of the synagogues on Sabbaths and feast-days, and in the afternoon services on fast-days. The passage chosen has some relation, which, however, is often very indirect, to the section previously read from the Law. See Bible Text, I., 2, § 2; Synagogue.

Bibliography: C. A. Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, p. 179, New York, 1899.

HAPPER, ANDREW PATTON: Presbyterian; b. near Monongahela City, Penn., Oct. 20, 1818; d. at Wooster, O., Oct. 27, 1894. He was graduated at Jefferson College, Canonsburg, Pa., 1835, at Western Theological Seminary, Allegheny, Pa., 1843, and in medicine at the University of Pennsylvania 1844. In 1844 he became a missionary of the Presbyterian Church in Canton, China. While on a visit to America in 1885–86 he raised funds to establish the Christian College of China, now the Canton Christian College at Honglok opposite the city of Canton. In 1891 he returned to America to live.

HAPPINESS: This is not a simple sensation, like the enjoyment of a piece of good fortune; it is rather a state of complete satisfaction; again, it is not, like bliss, a part of some other-worldly good, and therefore to find its realization in the other life; it rather belongs to the mundane, and is enjoyed in the present life. In this sense the idea is often utilized in ancient ethics as the ruling principle of action. Plato alone regarded as the object of effort participation in an other-worldly good through the knowledge of "ideas," especially of the highest "idea," viz., God. Consequently, Plato's notion approximates that of Christianity, but without being able to bring this bliss into connection with the ethics which has its motive force within. In the development of Christian ethics, the connection of ethics with the striving for happiness was restated in the time of the "Enlightenment," but resulted only in a refined Epicureanism. On the other hand, Kant energetically opposed this eudemonism by emphasizing the absolute and independent worth of the moral law apart from its utilitarian bearing. To be sure, he regarded as man's highest good the union of virtue and happiness, and derived therefrom the notions of immortality and God. But his demand for morality, according to Kant, is to be satisfied for its own sake without reference to these moral postulates. Many efforts were made to mitigate this vigorous legalism, and as a result happiness was brought again into close relations with morality. That happiness is not the highest end of man is emphatically affirmed by that pessimism whose extreme assertion is that man is destined to unhappiness—a position which is at the other extreme from that of a false optimism (see Optimism; Pessimism). The Christian doctrine rejects both extremes. It teaches that man may obtain full self-satisfaction only as something other-worldly, as Blessedness (q.v.). By that bliss which is established in his life and perfected in the life to come, besides obtaining a relative mundane blessedness (cf. Matt. vi. 33), he helps to usher in the kingdom of God with its gifts of peace and joy and its laws of love to God and to neighbor, and so to further the complete development of humanity in this world.

F. Sieffert.

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HARAN, hê'ran (Hebr. *Ḥaran*; Gk. *Karrai*): The name of the most important city in North Meso-

potamia, situated in the valley of the Upper Balich, early celebrated as a seat of worship of the moon-god. Its ruins, three English miles in circuit, lie a day's journey southeast of Urfa-Edessa. The etymology of the name is obscure; the Assyrian form of the word, *Ḫarranu*, connects it with the word for road, and with its location on the caravan route between Syria and the East.

Sources for the pre-Assyrian history of North Mesopotamia unfortunately still lie buried in the mounds of the valleys of the Chabor and the Balich. Slight investigations by Layard along the Chabor brought to light some pre-Assyrian monuments. The course of Babylonian and Assyrian history shows that from prehistoric times North Mesopotamia was a region of great Babylonian-Semitic states; and Winckler places here the state of Kishati, a region which gave one of the titles much used by Babylonian kings, of which region Haran was perhaps the capital and most important city. The "land of Haran" of the Assyrian inscriptions had great importance both for the commerce of Assyria and Babylonia and for the religious development of Assyria. The oldest reports of North Mesopotamia are in the Amarna Tablets (q.v.), and show the region as being at the time under the control of the Mitanni. The rule of the Mitanni was overthrown by Assyria 200 years later, when Shalmaneser I. assumed the title king of Kisshati. Tiglath-pileser I. hunted elephants in the land of Haran; Shalmaneser II. built a temple to Sin in the city. Later the district took part in the revolt against Assyria, and paid a heavy penalty therefor. After the downfall of Assyria the region came under Chaldean control, after devastation by the Umman-Manda, and Nabonidus rebuilt the city of Haran and the temple for the moon-god. In Christian times it was an important center of heathenism until the Middle Ages.

There are still indications in traces of roads of the importance of Haran for trade in early times, and Ezek. xxvii. 23 speaks of its commerce with Phenicia. Of its influence in religion over a large region there are monuments from near Aleppo and Senjirli.

According to the Old Testament, Haran in Aram-naharaim was the place of the theophany which directed Abraham to leave his country and kindred, of Eliezer's wooing of Rebekah for Isaac, of Jacob's fourteen years of servitude, and the place of departure of the migrations of the Terahites to Canaan. According to another tradition, Haran is merely the second point of departure, the original place being Ur of the Chaldees. The version in P, giving the derivation from Ur, is probably based on earlier reports in E, since not without cogent reasons would a narrator of that time derive the Hebrew origins from the land of their foes. The two traditions have a connection in so far as both cities were noted seats of the same cult, though in Ur the moon-god was called Nannar, in Haran, Sin. Laban is itself a poetical name for the deity of Haran, while Sarah recalls the Assyrian *Sarratu*, the consort of the moon-god, and Milcah, the name of the wife of Nahor, is reminiscent of the Assyrian *malkatu*, "princess," a title under which Ishtar was worshiped in Haran. A. Jeremias.

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HARBAUGH, HENRY: German Reformed Church; b. near Waynesborough, Pa., Oct. 28, 1817; d. at Mercersburg, Pa., Dec. 28, 1867. After studying at Marshall College (1840–43), he held pastorates at Lewisburg, Pa. (1843–50), Lancaster (1850–60), and Lebanon (1860–63). From 1863 till his death he was professor of theology at the Mercersburg Seminary. He was a man of indefatigable industry, and a prominent exponent of the Mercersburg theology (q.v.). He edited the *Guardian* 1849–66, contributed to the *Reformed Church Messenger* 1861–67, edited the *Mercersburg Review* for some time before his death, compiled numerous almanacs for the board of publication of the German Reformed Church, and wrote a number of books. His more important works are: *Heaven, or the Sainted Dead* (Philadelphia, 1848); *Heavenly Recognition* (1851); *The Heavenly Home* (1853); *Life of Michael Schlatter* (1857); *Fathers of the German Reformed Church in Europe and America* (2 vols., 1857); *Hymns and Chants* (Lebanon, 1861), of which the best known is the hymn, *Jesus, I live to thee;* and the collection of poems written in "Pennsylvania German," called *Harbaugh's Harfe* (Philadelphia, 1870), which enjoyed a wide popularity.

Bibliography: Linn Harbaugh, *Life of Rev. Henry Harbaugh*, Philadelphia, 1900.

HARDENBERG, ALBERT RIZAEUS: German Lutheran theologian; b. at Hardenberg (75 m. n.e. of Amsterdam), Holland, 1510; d. at Emden (120 m. w. of Hamburg) May 18, 1574. His name was assumed from his birthplace; possibly the family name was Rizäus. At the age of seven he attended the school of the Brethren at Groningen, where Gesewin von Halen was his teacher (see Common Life, Brethren of the). There he must have learned the views of Wessel. In 1527 he went to the "red school" of the famous Aduard monastery, where he read diligently the classics, the Fathers, and, more than anything else, the Bible, and was also a close student of history. By 1530, when he entered the University at Louvain, he had become familiar with the writings of Wessel, and shrank from the quibbles of the scholastic theologians, though he had not consciously joined the Reformation. Although at Louvain the atmosphere was entirely against the Reformation, yet Hardenberg and his friends, through their private reading, became zealous advocates of the new ideas. When he had obtained his degree he left Louvain and turned his steps toward Italy, but, falling ill on the road, betook

Early Life.

himself to Mainz. There he became a doctor of theology; he then returned to Louvain, where he lectured on the Epistles of Paul with great success. He openly taught the doctrine of justification by faith, without, however, ranging himself on the side of the Reformers. Still, his opponents roused themselves against him, and he would have been carried to Brussels and condemned as a heretic if it had not been for the opposition of the citizens and students. He withdrew to Aduard, where he remained three years (1540–42 or 43). While there he visited Hermann of Wied (q.v.) archbishop of Cologne; he also had relations with Melanchthon, and with Johannes a Lasco, who persuaded him to leave Aduard, which meant for him openly to espouse the Reformation. On Melanchthon's advice he went to Wittenberg (June, 1543), where he met Luther; and he became an especial friend of Melanchthon and Paul Eber. Hardenberg was summoned by the archbishop of Cologne to aid in carrying out the Reformation (Feb. or Mar., 1544), with whom he attended the Diet of Speyer. The plan of Reformation, devised by Butzer and Melanchthon, and assented to by the archbishop, was warmly approved by Hardenberg, even in the interpretation of the Lord's Supper, which did not meet the approval of Luther. Hardenberg became very useful to the archbishop, who retained him in service until the archbishopric again became Roman Catholic by the archbishop's resignation (Jan. 25, 1547). Hardenberg was then for a short time pastor at Einbeck, afterward military chaplain to Count Christopher of Oldenburg; in the performance of his duties he distinguished himself at the battle of Drakenberg (May, 1547), and, although wounded, took part in the entry of the victorious army into Bremen.

At Bremen the count appointed him cathedral preacher despite the protests of the Roman Catholic archbishop. Hardenberg retained this position till 1561, and these fourteen years were the most fruitful period of his life. His only official duties were to preach twice a week and to conduct a course of lectures in Latin. At first Jacob Propst and Johann Timann (q.v.), the most noted preachers of the time in Bremen, seemed fully in accord with him; whether they knew nothing of his un-Lutheran views of the Lord's Supper, or whether they were willing to ignore them for the sake of peace, can not be decided. This peace did not last long, for in 1547 the differences concerning the doctrine of the Lord's Supper were discussed, but were smoothed over on the occasion of the first declaration of Hardenberg regarding the Lord's Supper (Jan., 1548), in which he says that Christ is in truth given and received in the Eucharist, in all his entirety both as God and man; that bread and wine are visible, sacred signs which present and impart to us the body and blood of the Lord; whosoever partakes in faith of the sacrament really partakes of the substance of the body and blood of Christ. Melanchthon approved of this, Johannes a Lasco did not.

Views on the Lord's Supper.

When the controversies on the subject broke out again outside of Bremen, and especially the one between Westphal and Calvin, the colleagues of Hardenberg began to question more closely his attitude toward the doctrines of Luther; Lasco also inquired into the difference between him and his colleagues; so it came about that, although Hardenberg still tried to maintain peace, the strife, at first hidden, came to an open rupture. Affairs in East Friesland also brought matters to a crisis; there Lasco had to leave Emden, partly on account of his relations with Hardenberg. Timann saw in these controversies a danger for the Bremen church, and so he published a tract proving that the opinions of all orthodox leaders of the church coincided with Luther's. Hardenberg, against whom the tract was directed, took offense chiefly at the doctrine of the ubiquity of the body of Christ. Timann was desirous that all the ministers at Bremen should sign his tract, and, when Hardenberg and two others refused, began to preach against them (Lent, 1556). The senate tried to allay the controversy by a conference (Easter, 1556). Then Hardenberg asserted that shortly before his death Luther had said to Melanchthon that the doctrine of the Lord's Supper had been too much discussed, and that he did not agree with Melanchthon's suggestion of publishing a pamphlet to assuage the controversy; however, he urged Melanchthon to do something about it after his death. This had been told Hardenberg by Melanchthon in Wittenberg (July, 1554). It is not to be doubted that Hardenberg so understood the declaration of Melanchthon, but he was mistaken; Luther cannot have given such advice to Melanchthon.

Controversy with Timann.

The strife was not ended by the conference; the council sent to Wittenberg for an opinion, also to the ministers in Brunswick, Magdeburg, Hamburg, Lüneburg, and Lübeck. The opinion from Wittenberg was not opposed to Hardenberg's, but it warned against mingling irrelevant subjects with the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, and urged agreement with the form *cum pane sumitur corpus;* the answers of the ministers in the cities approved the creed of the preachers of Bremen, and warned against the sacramentarians. So the council decided fully to remove Hardenberg in order to obtain peace in the church. However, nothing decisive was done at that time. Later, Heshusius, who succeeded Timann at Bremen, advised an open debate, which was scheduled to take place on May 20, 1560. Hardenberg was forbidden to take part, and the archbishop referred the matter to the diet opened at Brunswick (Feb. 3, 1561). The diet decreed that Hardenberg should leave Bremen within fourteen days, which he did. He lived until 1565 in the monastery of Rastede, near Oldenburg, busied with literary labors; he was elected pastor at Sengwarden (1565), and afterward served at Emden, where he continued to find success as a preacher.

Opinion of Wittenberg; Expulsion of Hardenberg.

CARL BERTHEAU.

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HARDING, STEPHEN: Third abbot of Cîteaux; b. of parents in good position at Sherborne, Dorsetshire, England, early in the second half of the eleventh century; d. at Cîteaux Mar. 28, 1134. He was educated in the monastery of Sherborne, and received the tonsure at Molesme, near Dijon, taking the name of Stephen. He became a rigid ascetic, and was one of the party which left Molesme in 1078 to found a new monastery at Cîteaux and the Cistercian Order. In 1110 he succeeded Alberic as abbot. The strictness of his rule repelled new members and the community steadily grew smaller, till in 1113 Bernard of Clairvaux (q.v.) with thirty of his friends came to the monastery and instituted the period of growth and prosperity of the order. Before Stephen's death the number of houses came to be about one hundred, of which he founded thirteen in person. His ability as an organizer was great he had influence with both ecclesiastical and secular rulers, and he was the real founder of the Cistercians. Stephen resigned his office the year before he died. He drew up the *Carta caritatis*, which was confirmed by Pope Calixtus II. in 1119, and made a fine copy of the Bible for use at Cîteaux, revising the Latin text by the help of certain Jews who explained the Hebrew to him. Two sermons are attributed to him, and two of his letters are preserved among the letters of Bernard (xlv., xlix.). See Cistercians.

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HARDOUIN, är″dū′aṅ′, **JEAN:** French Jesuit; b. at Quimper (36 m. s.s.e. of Brest), in Brittany, 1646; d. in Paris Sept. 3, 1729. He early entered the Society of Jesus, in which he remained sixty-seven years. He wrote at first on numismatics. In 1693 he stated in a treatise that nearly all the classics had been written in the thirteenth century by monks under the guidance of a certain Severus Archontius. In a treatise, *De nummis Herodiadum*, he held that Herod was an Athenian, a pagan, and Platonist, and in his commentary on the New Testament he stated that Jesus and the apostles had preached in Latin. The authorities of his order required him to recant his errors, and he submitted, but retained his convictions. He is most worthy of remembrance for his editions of Themistius in Greek and Latin (Paris, 1684), and of Pliny the Elder (1685, 5 vols., *in usum Delphini;* revised, 1723, 3 vols.), which is still the most prized edition of this author. In his *Conciliorum collectio regia maxima* (12 vols., Paris, 1715), he described all the church councils from 34 to 1714, including more than twenty councils whose history had not been published before. Of his numerous other works may be mentioned *Chronologia Veteris Testamenti ad vulgatam versionem exacta et nummis antiquis illustrata* (Paris, 1677); *Paraphrase de l'Ecclésiaste* (1729); *Commentarius in Novum Testamentum* (Amsterdam, 1742). A part of his manuscripts was published after his death by the Abbé d'Olivet, under the title *Opera varia* (Amsterdam, 1733).

(C. Pfender.)

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HARDT, härt, **HERMANN VON DER:** German orientalist, exegete, and historian; b. at Melle (62 m. s.s.w. of Bremen) Nov. 15, 1660; d. at Helmstedt Feb. 28, 1746. His parents had settled at Melle as refugees from the religious persecution in Holland. He was educated at the gymnasia of Herfurt, Osnabrück, and Coburg, and at the University of Jena, where he studied theology and Oriental languages, and took his master's degree in 1683, when he was appointed privat-docent. In 1686 he went to Leipsic, where he established himself as privat-docent in Oriental and classical languages. There he came into contact with Valentin Alberti, who had interested a number of theological students in a deeper and more practical study of the Bible. In order to become better acquainted with the new movement, Hardt went to Dresden and spent a year with Philipp Jacob Spener, and he then resolved to become an expounder of the Scriptures. On the recommendation of Spener, he went to Kaspar Hermann Sandhagen, the famous superintendent of Lüneburg, in order to prepare himself better for his vocation. There he met Rudolf August, duke of Brunswick, who took a lively interest in him, received him into his service as librarian and secretary in 1688, and had him appointed professor of Oriental languages at the University of Helmstedt in 1690. Their friendship ceased only with the duke's death in 1704.

This professorship opened an avenue to Hardt for an extensive literary activity. At the same time his attitude changed in regard to the Bible and Pietism; and under the influence of Thomasius (q.v.) his rationalism became so pronounced that he was censured by the official visitors to the university, and in 1713 forbidden longer to deliver exegetical lectures on the Old Testament. He disregarded this order, however, and complications followed which ended in his retirement as professor (1727), altho he was permitted to act as sublibrarian for the university. A later publication on Job brought on him another and more severe censure, and this decided him to devote his energies thenceforth to investigations of the history of the Reformation and of the Council at Basel. These were never published, but the manuscripts are preserved in the

library at Stuttgart, and are valuable as containing lists and criticisms of books now lost.

Hardt was a genuine admirer and earnest student of the great classical and Oriental scholars. His literary activity resulted in the compilation of over 300 books, pamphlets, and treatises—most of them in advance of his contemporaries. His collection of manuscripts on the Reformation, *Antiqua literarum monumenta, autographa Lutheri aliorumque celebriorum virorum 1517–1546* (3 vols., Brunswick, 1690–1693), and on the Councils of Basel and Constance, *Magnum oecumenicum Constantiense concilium* (6 vols., Frankfort, 1700–02), are still valuable because of his diligent use of the principal archives.

(P. Tschackert.)

Bibliography: F. Lamey, *Hermann von der Hardt*, Carlsruhe, 1891; A. Tholuck, *Akademisches Leben des 17. Jahrhunderts*, ii. 49–61, Halle, 1854.

HARDWICK, CHARLES: English church historian, archdeacon of Ely; b. at Slingsby (15 m. n.n.e. of York), Yorkshire, Sept. 22, 1821; d. near Bagnères-de-Luchon (70 m. s.w. of Toulouse), France, Aug. 18, 1859. He attended St. John's College and Catherine's Hall, Cambridge, and received a fellowship in Catherine's Hall in 1845. In 1850 he was select preacher at Cambridge, and in Mar., 1851, became preacher at the Chapel Royal, Whitehall. From March to September, 1853, he was professor of divinity in Queen's College, Birmingham. In 1855 he was appointed lecturer in divinity at King's College, Cambridge, and Christian advocate in the university. He was elected a member of the newly established council of the senate in 1856, and reelected in 1858. He became archdeacon of Ely in 1859, shortly before his death by a fall in the Pyrenees. He edited a number of books for the Cambridge University Press and the Percy Society, and wrote several scholarly and valuable works, viz.: *A History of the Articles of Religion* (Cambridge, 1851; 2d ed., largely rewritten, 1859); *A History of the Christian Church, Middle Age* (Cambridge, 1853; 3d ed. by W. Stubbs, 1872); *A History of the Christian Church during the Reformation* (1856), and the unfinished treatise, *Christ and Other Masters: an Historical Inquiry into some of the Chief Parallelisms and Contrasts between Christianity and the Religious Systems of the Ancient World* (4 parts, Cambridge, 1855–59; 2d ed., with *Memoir* by F. Procter, 2 vols., London, 1863).

Bibliography: Besides the *Memoir* by Procter, ut sup., consult *DNB*, xxiv. 347–348.

HARDY, EDWARD JOHN: Church of England; b. at Armagh, Ireland, May 7, 1849. He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin (B.A., 1871), and was ordered deacon in 1874, and ordained priest in the following year. He was curate of St. Saviour's, Brockley Hill, Kent, in 1874–77, and in the latter year became an army chaplain, being stationed at Cork (1877–79), Bermuda (1879–82), Dover (1882), Gosport (1882–86), Netley (1886–88), Malta (1888–90), Plymouth (1890–97), Dublin (1897–1901), Hongkong (1901–05), and Cairo (since 1905). In 1898–99 he was Donnellan Lecturer at Trinity College, Dublin. In theology he is an Evangelical High-churchman with liberal leanings. He has written *How to be Happy though Married* (London, 1885); *Manners Makyth Man* (1887); *The Five Talents of Woman* (1888); *The Business of Life* (1892); *Sunny Days of Youth* (1893); *In the Footprints of St. Paul* (1895); *Doubt and Faith* (Donnellan lectures; 1899); *Concerning Marriage* (1901); *Love, Courtship, and Marriage* (1901); *Pen Portraits of Our Soldiers* (1902); and *John Chinaman at Home* (1905).

HARDY, ROBERT SPENCE: English Wesleyan missionary and Buddhist scholar; b. at Preston (28 m. n.e. of Liverpool), Lancashire, July 1, 1803; d. at Headingly (1 m. n.w. of Leeds), Yorkshire, Apr. 16, 1868. He was admitted to the British Conference in 1825, and subsequently appointed missionary to Ceylon. After a faithful service of twenty-three years in this field, he returned to England and served on several important circuits. He was a man of wide culture, and the author of several authoritative works on Buddhism in Ceylon and on Pali literature, viz.: *The British Government and the Idolatry of Ceylon* (London, 1841); *Eastern Monachism: an Account of the Origin, Laws, Discipline, Sacred Writings . . . and Present Circumstances of the Order of Mendicants, founded by Gótama Buddha* (1850); *A Manual of Buddhism in its Modern Development, translated from Singhalese MSS.* (1853); and *The Legends and Theories of the Buddhists compared with History and Science* (1866).

HARE, AUGUSTUS WILLIAM: Church of England; b. in Rome Nov. 17, 1792; d. there Feb. 18, 1834. At the age of five he was adopted by his aunt, the widow of Sir William Jones, and was brought up in her home near Basingstoke, Hampshire. He attended Winchester College and New College, Oxford, and in 1818, after a long visit to Italy, returned to the latter college as tutor. He incurred his aunt's displeasure by declining to qualify for the rich family living of Hurstmonceaux, but he received ordination in 1825, and in 1829 became rector of the small country parish of Alton-Barnes. In 1833 failing health drove him to Italy. By his plain and fervent preaching and unselfish devotion to his duties he won the hearts of the people, and came to be justly regarded as a model rural clergyman. His important works are: *Guesses at Truth* (London, 1827), in collaboration with his brother, Julius Charles Hare (q.v.); and *Sermons to a Country Congregation* (2 vols., 1836), which have been widely read and often reprinted as *The Alton Sermons*.

Bibliography: A. J. C. Hare, *Memorials of a Quiet Life*, 2 vols., London, 1872; *DNB*, xxiv. 364.

HARE, JULIUS CHARLES: One of the most influential of the English theologians of the first half of the nineteenth century; b. at Valdagno (14 m. n.w. of Vicenza) Italy, Sept. 13, 1795; d. at Hurstmonceaux (20 m. e.n.e. of Brighton), Sussex, England, Jan. 23, 1855. He was sent to the Charterhouse School, London, in 1806; in 1812 he entered Trinity College, Cambridge; in 1818 was made fellow and tutor, and gathered about him a circle of admiring students, among them John Sterling, Richard Chenevix Trench, and Frederick Denison Maurice, whose sister he married in 1844. He was ordained

in 1826, and in 1832 became rector of Hurstmonceaux, where he labored till his death, surrounded by a large circle of friends, and highly esteemed. In 1840 he was appointed archdeacon of Lewes in the diocese of Chichester, and chaplain to the queen.

Archdeacon Hare combined thorough scholarship, original thought, noble character, harmless wit, and manly piety. He was as familiar with Luther, Schleiermacher, Neander, Olshausen, Nitzsch, Tholuck, and other German theologians as with Cranmer, Hooker, Leighton, Pearson, and Tillotson. His love for German scholarship was intensified by his study of Coleridge's works, whom he profoundly esteemed as a Christian philosopher, and by his intimacy with Thomas Arnold of Rugby, and with Bunsen, whom he met in Rome in 1832. This visit to Rome formed an epoch in his life. In philosophy Archdeacon Hare was an independent disciple of Coleridge. In theology he had most sympathy with Dr. Arnold, but excelled him in the extent of his scholarship. He was one of the founders of the Evangelical Broad-church school, which seeks to liberalize the Anglican communion by keeping it in friendly intercourse with Continental thought and learning. He was a sturdy champion of Protestantism against the encroachments of Romanism and Tractarianism, but he never exposed himself to the charge of disloyalty to the Church, nor forgot the personal respect due to his opponents. His strength lay in his combination of theological attainments with purity of character, and in his talent for stimulating others to study and investigation.

Archdeacon Hare first became known as an author through *Guesses at Truth by Two Brothers* (London, 1827; last ed., much enlarged, 1871; selections, ed. P. E. G. Girdlestone, 1897), written by himself and his elder brother, Augustus William Hare (q.v.). With Bishop Thirlwall he translated Niebuhr's history of Rome (2 vols., 1828–32). His ablest theological work was *The Mission of the Comforter, with Notes* (1846), which contains five sermons preached at Cambridge in 1840 on the words of Jesus on the office of the Holy Spirit (John xvi. 7–11). More than half of the work consists of learned notes and excursuses. His defense of Luther, originally the tenth note of this work, separately issued in an enlarged form shortly before Hare's death, is the ablest vindication of the Reformer against the attacks of Bossuet, Hallam, Sir William Hamilton, and the Oxford Tractarians. Hare also contributed the text for the English edition of König's illustrations of the life of Luther. In 1839 he delivered at Cambridge a series of instructive and inspiring sermons on I John v. 5, published in 1840 as *The Victory of Faith* (3d ed. by E. H. Plumptre, London, 1874). The sixth sermon contains one of the most eloquent descriptions of the conquering power of faith in the English language (pp. 225 sqq.), but the extreme length of the sermons elicited expressions of disapproval when they were delivered. *The Contest with Rome* (1851) is one of the most trenchant of the Anglican writings called forth by the controversy with Romanism and Puseyism. A collection of his *Charges* was published in 1856, a year after his death.

(Philip Schaff†.) D. S. Schaff.

Bibliography: A. J. C. Hare, *Memorials of a Quiet Life*, London, 1872; the essay by F. D. Maurice prefixed to the *Charges* collected London, 1856, and A. P. Stanley, in *Quarterly Review*, July, 1855, both prefixed to *The Victory of Faith*, London, 1874; *DNB*, xxiv. 369–372; and the *Memoir* by E. H. Plumptre, prefixed to the later editions of *Guesses at Truth*, e.g., London, 1871.

HARE, WILLIAM HOBART: Protestant Episcopal missionary bishop of South Dakota; b. at Princeton, N. J., May 17, 1838. He was educated at the University of Pennsylvania, but was obliged to leave at the close of his junior year. He then engaged in teaching while pursuing his theological studies, and was ordered deacon in 1859, and ordained priest in 1860. He was assistant at St. Luke's, Philadelphia, in 1859–62, and rector of St. Paul's in the same city in 1862–63. He then returned to St. Luke's for a year, after which he was rector of the Church of the Ascension, Philadelphia, from 1864 to 1870. He was secretary and general agent of the foreign committee of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society (1870–73). He was nominated missionary bishop of Cape Palmas, West Africa, in 1871, by the House of Bishops, but the nomination was withdrawn at the request of the House of Deputies, in view of his valuable services as secretary. In 1873 he was consecrated missionary bishop of Niobrara, which was enlarged in 1883, and renamed the diocese of South Dakota. Theologically he holds to the catholic faith, and also keeps his mind open to the thought of the present day.

Bibliography: W. S. Perry, *The Episcopate in America*, p. 213, New York, 1895.

HARING, JOHANN BAPTISTA: Austrian Roman Catholic; b. at Wettmannstetten, a village of Styria, Aug. 5, 1867. He was educated at the University of Graz, where he took both the theological (D.D., 1896) and the law (LL.D., 1902) courses. He was ordained to the priesthood in 1891, and after a brief term as curate in Leibnitz and Schladming (1891-92), was superintendent of studies in the theological seminary at Graz from 1892 to 1900. In 1900 he was appointed associate professor of canon law in the theological faculty of the University of Graz, and in 1906 was promoted to his present position of full professor of the same subject in that institution. He has written *Der Rechts- und Gesetzesbegriff in der katholischen Ethik und modernen Jurisprudenz* (Graz, 1899); *Die Schadenersatzpflicht des Erben für Delikte des Erblasses nach kanonischem Rechte* (Vienna, 1903); and *Grundzüge des katholischen Kirchenrechtes, i.* (Graz, 1906).

HARKAVY, ALBERT (Abraham Yakovlevich): Russian Jewish scholar; b. at Novogrudok (80 m. s. of Wilna) Oct. 27, 1839. He was educated at the rabbinical schools of Volozhin (1854–58) and Wilna (1858–63), and at the universities of St. Petersburg (1863–68; doctor of history, 1872), Berlin and Paris (1868–70). Since 1877 he has been librarian of the Semitic department of the Imperial Public Library at St. Petersburg. He has written "On the Language of the Jews" (St. Petersburg, 1865); "Statements of Mohammedan Writers on the Slavs and Russians" (1870); "On the Original Home of the Semites" (1872); "Statements of

Jewish Writers on the Chazar Kingdom" (1874); "Catalogue of the Samaritan Manuscripts in the Imperial Public Library" (2 vols., 1874–75); *Katalog der hebräischen Bibelhandschriften der kaiserlichen öffentlichen Bibliothek in St. Petersburg* (in collaboration with H. L. Strack; 1875); *Altjüdische Denkmäler aus der Krim* (1877); *Studien und Mitteilungen aus der kaiserlichen öffentlichen Bibliothek zu St. Petersburg* (8 vols., 1879–1903); "On the Language of the Jews living in Russia in Ancient Times" (1886); *Leben und Werke des Saadjah Gaon* (1892); "An Unedited (Hebrew) Version of the Romance of Alexander" (1892); and *Ozar Israel* (Warsaw, 1893). The titles in English are of works written in Russian.

HARLESS, GOTTLIEB CHRISTOPH ADOLF VON: German Lutheran; b. at Nuremberg Nov. 21, 1806; d. at Munich Sept. 7, 1879. He early devoted himself to music and poetry, and was attracted by ancient and German classical literature, especially by Jean Paul. But he was indifferent to Christianity, and even felt an aversion to it, and firmly decided never to study theology. In 1823 he entered the University of Erlangen, at first studying philology, and then law. But he was interested in neither science, and finally tried theology. He was not decisively influenced by any of the professors, except perhaps by Winer, and was, indeed, in his spiritual development independent of his teachers. His chief desire was to understand the reasons for the objective power of the Christian religion in the life of the people and the history of the world. He thought the philosophy of Hegel best adapted to the solution of this problem, but later found that even this system did not satisfy his innermost needs. Thus he was at last led to the philosophy of Spinoza, in whose system he searched for the roots of Hegel's and Schelling's philosophy. For this purpose he removed, in 1826, to the University of Halle, where he was especially attracted by Tholuck's personality. In the midst of these philosophical studies he conceived the plan of studying the whole literature of the ancient philosophers, of the earlier teachers of the Church, of the theologians of the Reformation, and of the later theologians and philosophers from the standpoint of human freedom and evil, and to put the results in writing. Although the work was never published, it contributed much to his development. Harless received a further impulse from his study of Pascal's *Pensées*, but about this time became convinced that his heart was not right with God, and that his ways were perverse. He now turned to the confessional writings of the Lutheran Church and, to his surprise, found their contents in conformity with the experience of his faith. The chief attraction in the Lutheran confession was, for him, the doctrine of justification, which henceforth became the central point of his Christianity and theology.

Student Days.

In 1828 Harless returned from Halle to Erlangen as privat-docent in theology, and three years later became professor of New Testament exegesis. The appointment was important not only for the history of the theological faculty at Erlangen, which owed its later conservative tendency and its flourishing condition chiefly to Harless, but for Lutheran orthodox theology in general. In 1836 he became ordinary professor, and as such lectured also on Christian ethics, theological encyclopedia, and methodology. In 1836 he became preacher of the university. He declined calls to Rostock, Berlin, Dorpat, and Zurich. In 1840 he was appointed delegate of the chamber of states in Munich to defend the rights of the Lutheran Church against the violent measures of the ministry. Harless won great popularity by defending the interests of his church with ability and manliness, but the opposition party succeeded in removing him in 1845 to Baireuth as second councilor of the consistory. In the same year, however, he was appointed professor of theology in Leipsic, where his activity reached its highest development. In Saxony rationalism was still flourishing, but the brilliant personality of Harless and the earnestness and depth of his presentation of Evangelical truth soon conquered it, and his influence upon the students was not less powerful than in Erlangen. In Leipsic he lectured for the first time on dogmatics, and also developed into one of the most powerful and brilliant preachers of his time. Before the end of two years he was appointed preacher at St. Nicolai, in addition to his duties as professor.

Professor at Erlangen and Leipsic.

In 1850 he removed to Dresden as court preacher, reporting councilor in the ministry of public instruction, and vice-president of the state consistory, but two years later was called by King Max II. to his native state of Bavaria as president of the supreme consistory. Here the soil had been already prepared for the Lutheran confession. It was only Löhe and his adherents who opposed the existing condition of the State Church, and insisted upon an entire change, or, if this should be impossible, upon separation. Owing to the influence of Harless, however, who was a friend of Löhe from former days, the latter did not altogether separate himself from the State Church. Harless conquered the remaining opposition of rationalism in the congregations by his manly conduct and his personal spirit of reconciliation. A new hymn-book in the spirit of orthodox Lutheranism was soon introduced. The introduction of a new order of church service was more difficult. Here the question of private confession, which was confused with auricular confession, occasioned a new revolt of the opposition, but the organization of the State Church, firmly established under Harless, finally achieved the victory.

President of the Bavarian Consistory.

Harless now became the universally acknowledged leader and faithful mentor of the whole Lutheran Church, and his advice was eagerly sought in all quarters of the world. He presided for a long time over the missionary board at Leipsic. During the later years he was almost blind from cataract.

His three most important works were written while professor at Erlangen, as his later public activity left him little time for literary work. They are: *Commentar über den Brief Pauli an die Ephesier*

(Erlangen, 1834); *Theologische Encyklopädie und Methodologie vom Standpunkte der protestantischen Kirche* (Nuremberg,-1837); and *Christliche Ethik* (Stuttgart, 1842); Eng. transl., Edinburgh, 1868). The commentary and the work on ethics marked an epoch in their respective spheres. The encyclopedia is less important for its methodological arrangement than for Harless' clear and energetic views of the Church, the main points being the close relation of theology to the Church; the unity of theory and practise in a common living faith; the living continuity of the Church from her very foundation as an ideal factor of history; the emphasis of a common faith as the basis of Protestant theology; the entire transformation of this theology by the principle of justification; the necessity of preserving the principles of the Reformation in their purity; the obscurity caused by the later Protestant scholasticism, which considered the dogmas laid down in the confessional writings of the Church as the final conclusion of all dogmatic knowledge; and the sound reaction against this tendency by the Pietistic movement. The *Christliche Ethik* (Eng. transl., *System of Christian Ethics*, Edinburgh, 1865), is without doubt Harless' most important work. Its chief excellences are its scientific structure, the emphasis and consistent application of the Christian ethical principle, and the interrelation and connection of the Biblical factor with the historical factor in the more general sense of the word.

(R. Stähelin.)

Writings.

Bibliography: Stähelin, in *Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft und Leben*, 1880, pp. 88 sqq., 145 sqq.; idem, *Löhe, Thomasius, Harless. Drei Lebens- und Geschichtsbilder*, Leipsic, 1887; C. Mirbt, in *Blätter für bayerische Kirchengeschichte*, 1896; Langsdorff, *A. von Harless*, Leipsic, 1888.

HARMER, JOHN REGINALD: Church of England bishop of Rochester; b. at Maisemore (2 m. n.w. of Gloucester), Gloucestershire, Aug. 11, 1857. He was educated at King's College, Cambridge (B.A., 1881; M.A., 1883), where he was fellow from 1883 to 1889, while from 1890 to 1899 he was fellow of Corpus Christi College in the same university, being also dean from 1892 to 1895. He was ordered deacon in 1881, and ordained priest two years later, and was domestic chaplain to Bishop Lightfoot of Durham in 1884–89, and examining chaplain to Bishop Westcott of the same diocese in 1889–95. He was vice-principal of the Cambridge Clergy Training School from 1889 to 1893. In 1895 he was consecrated bishop of Adelaide, South Australia, and ten years later was translated to the see of Rochester. He edited (London, 1890–93) eight volumes of the posthumous writings of Bishop Lightfoot, namely, five volumes of sermons, the abridged edition of the Apostolic Fathers, *Biblical Essays*, and *Notes from Unpublished Commentaries*.

HARMER, THOMAS: English Independent; b. in Norwich, probably in Oct., 1714; d. at Wattisfield (21 m. n.n.w. of Ipswich), Suffolk, Nov. 27, 1788. He was prepared for the ministry by Thomas Ridgley and John Eames, at the Fund Academy, Moorfields, and was elected to the pastorate of the Independent church at Wattisfield in July, 1734. He led an industrious but unambitious life, preached every Sunday during fifty-four years, and exerted much influence in the dissenting churches of the eastern counties of England. His principal works are: *Observations on Divers Passages of Scripture. . . Compiled from . . . Books of Voyages and Travels into the East* (4 vols., London, 1764–87; 4th ed. by Adam Clarke, 4 vols., 1808); *Outlines of a New Commentary on the Book of Solomon's Song* (1768); and *Some Account of the Jewish Doctrine of the Resurrection* (1771). His *Miscellaneous Works* were edited, with a *Memoir*, by W. Youngman (1823), while his manuscript accounts of the dissenting churches of Norfolk and Suffolk were utilized by John Browne (q.v.) in his *History of Congregationalism, and Memorials of the Churches in Norfolk and Suffolk* (1877).

Bibliography: Besides the *Memoir* by Youngman, ut sup., and Browne, *Hist. of Congregationalism*, pp. 199, 471–472, ut sup., consult *DNB*, xxiv. 414.

HARMONISTS. See Communism, II., 6; Rapp, Georg.

HARMONIUS: Syrian hymn-writer of the first half of the third century. He was a son of the Gnostic Bardesanes (q.v.), whose heretical views he shared. According to Sozomen, he received a Greek education (*Hist. eccl.*, iii. 16; cf. Theodoret, *Hist. eccl.*, iv. 29, and *Hær.*, i. 22). He originated the Syrian hymnology, and his hymns were long popular. In the fourth century Ephraem Syrus sought to crowd them out by writing orthodox hymns in the same meters and to the same airs. Ephraem ("Sermons against Heretics," liii., *Opera Syr.*, ii. 554 B) regarded Bardesanes as the composer of the objectionable hymns; but the hymnal attributed by him to Bardesanes was probably composed by Harmonius.

G. Krüger.

Bibliography: Consult, besides the literature under Bardesanes, *DCB*, ii. 845–846; Ceillier, *Auteurs sacrés*, i. 455, 466; Harnack, *Litteratur*, i. 174, 184, 187.

HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.

I. Harmonies as Interwoven Gospels.
  No Harmonies before Tatian (§ 1).
  Tatian's Diatessaron and its History (§ 2).
  The Diatessaron Originally Greek (§ 3).
  Reconstruction of the Diatessaron through the Versions (§ 4).
  Modern Works of the Kind (§ 5).
II. Harmonies in Parallel Arrangement.
  Ammonius and Augustine (§ 1).
  Clericus and the Griesbach School (§ 2).
  Rushbrooke and Later Harmonists (§ 3).

[Under the name of "harmony of the Gospels" as commonly applied in English are embraced two classes of works: (1) those which combine into a continuous narrative more or less completely the accounts of the four Evangelists or of the Synoptists, the different accounts being interwoven (to these is sometimes given the name "Diatessaron"); (2) those in which the text of the Gospels is arranged in parallel columns, the sections which deal with the same episodes being placed together. In the usage of German and some other scholars a distinction is made between "harmony" and "synopsis," the former name being used for the interwoven narrative, the latter for the parallel arrangement. A few works unite the two forms. See Gospel and the Gospels.]

I. Harmonies as Interwoven Gospels: From the early Church the only work of this character known is the celebrated Diatessaron of Tatian.

1. No Harmonies before Tatian. The chance remark of Jerome that Theophilus of Antioch had collected the words of the four Gospels in one work refers to a commentary by Theophilus which embraced all four without sharp distinctions between them. The remark of Ambrose, which may be derived from Origen, to the effect that many heretical teachers collected out of the four Gospels that which suited their form of teaching, hardly proves the existence of a number of old harmonies, but rather refers to the Apocryphal Gospels, which got some of their material from the canonical Gospels, such as the Gospel of Marcion, based on Luke and containing excerpts from Matthew and John. And to this class of composition the work of Ammonius, known only from the letter of Eusebius to Carpianus, does not belong, in which he is said to have taken Matthew as a basis and added the parallels from the other Gospels. While the descriptions do not permit dogmatizing upon the character of this work, it can hardly have been anything other than a handbook for exegetes and especially for harmonists, and it belongs to the class of books called by the Germans synopses.

2. Tatian's Diatessaron and Its History. The oldest trustworthy report of the Diatessaron of Tatian is contained in Eusebius (*Hist eccl.*, IV., xxix. 6), but the character of the description implies that its use was limited to certain circles and that it was not studied by Eusebius. This limitation in circulation is confirmed by Epiphanius, and still more definitely by Jerome when he says that out of all the productions of Tatian, only the *Contra gentes* remained, and omits mention of the Diatessaron. In Palestine during the fourth century even to the most learned authors the Diatessaron was but the title of an unknown book. If Hegesippus can be held to have referred to the Diatessaron under the term "the Syriac (Gospel)," according to Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.*, IV., xxii. 7) this is the earliest testimony to the existence of that work, and it involves the conclusion that the language was Syriac; but that Hegesippus, writing in Greek, should have cited the Syriac translation of a Gospel harmony which must have followed its Greek original is highly improbable. But the testimonies in the Syrian region to the existence of the Diatessaron are abundant, and from direct knowledge, as when Theodoret, bishop of Kyros (or Kyrrhos), removed about 200 copies of the work from the orthodox churches and substituted the canonical Gospels. Completer knowledge has been recently gained through the discovery of the Armenian translation of the commentary of Ephraem Syrus, made accessible to larger circles by the Latin translation of J. Aucher (ed. G. Mösinger, Venice, 1876; cf. J. H. Hill, *Dissertation on the Gospel Commentary of S. Ephraem*, Edinburgh, 1896). The legends of the Christianizing of Edessa, older than Eusebius, mention the Diatessaron as the chief sacred book alongside the Old Testament. Aphraates calls it "the Gospel of our Savior." In the Syriac translation of the *Hist. eccl.* of Eusebius, known to have existed as early as Ephraem Syrus' time, the "Diatessaron" of IV., xxix. 6 is translated by "the mingled (Gospel)," showing that in its home that was the name by which it was known, while in distinction from this the other Gospels were known as "the separated (Gospels)," as a canon of Rabbula of Edessa (412–435) makes clear. In the fifth century there was a definite rejection of the Diatessaron and exclusion of it from use in service, and that without distinction of party affiliations of the bishops who directed the movement. But from near Mosul to the bishopric of Kyros the Diatessaron must have been for the churches long the service-book in the Gospels, while the translations of the separate Gospels were used in the studies of the theologians, a condition which prevailed at least till about 370 A.D., when Ephraem Syrus lectured upon the Diatessaron with only occasional references to the canonical Gospels. Similar evidence comes from other writers. Mar Abba, a disciple of Ephraem, had an "Exposition of the Gospel" the fragments of which appear to show that it was based on Tatian's work. From the fifth century the relations of the two forms of the Gospels were reversed; the separated Gospels were in use in the churches, the Diatessaron was referred to only by the learned.

Apart from the two translations already mentioned, the history of the Diatessaron seems to have run its course entirely in the region of Syria. And it is to be noted that in its original form it was Greek, and was translated into the Syriac. The lack of any testimony for its existence among the Greek churches and the way in which Greek writers refer to it confirm the conclusion already reached. That Tatian, the writer of an apology in Greek, if he was in any event the author of the Diatessaron, could have written it only in Greek is an opinion founded upon ignorance of historical facts. Tatian, "born in the land of the Assyrians," had the Syriac as his mother tongue. After long years of travel in the West he returned to the East and settled down and gave his countrymen the Gospel, not in the form of four books, but, as he himself called his volume, in the form "The Gospel of Jesus Christ the Son of God through four." That the Greek apologete Tatian gave the Diatessaron in Syriac is an improbable supposition, and against it is the discrimination he makes between Matt. x. 10 and Luke ix. 3 on the one hand and Mark vi. 8 on the other, "a rod and not a staff." But the Diatessaron became a household book in the Syrian Church. Whether it was the oldest Gospel, which was later displaced by a translation of the four Gospels, is a question for further examination.

3. The Diatessaron Originally Greek.

A reconstruction of the Diatessaron from the translations in other languages can not be dispensed with, for no sure traces exist of the Greek. From a sermon wrongly attributed to Gregory of Nyssa and to Severus, but really by a certain Hesychius, probably the presbyter of Jerusalem (c. 438), a man interested in the matter of harmony of the Gospels,

it appears that he knew nothing of a Greek harmony. In the sixteenth century O. Nachtigall found some Greek fragments which he thought belonged to the harmony of Ammonius (*Evangelicae historiæ ex IIII Evangelistis continuata narratio, ex Ammonii Alexandrini fragmentis*, Basel, 1550); but these may have depended upon the Syriac and may have been by a Greek writer, just as the *Instituta regularia* of Junilius in Constantinople depended upon the lectures of the Syrian Paul of Nisibis. The Arabic Diatessaron is not a simple translation from the Syriac, but depends in part upon the Gospel text of the Peshito. The translator, or perhaps better the editor, has permitted himself to make important alterations; and in view of the fact that it was often difficult to find in the original the passages from which the elements of the Diatessaron were taken, the consequence is that, instead of the artistic Diatessaron, there is a rough Arabic work. Little use could be made of the Arabic translation were there not a Latin translation also, which latter is as closely related to the Syriac as is the Arabic, and which exists in the *Codex Fuldensis*, made under the direction of Victor of Capua, c. 546 A.D. About the lineage of this "One Gospel from Four" nothing was known by Victor; it fell into his hands by chance. But Victor clearly did not think that it originated in the Latin Church; he knew only that Eusebius had mentioned two works of the kind in the Greek, and he thought he had a translation of one or the other of these. That it was not an exact and independent translation of a work in a foreign tongue was evident from its agreement with the text of the Vulgate. If it was based on a foreign harmony, it had been worked over to accord with the text of Jerome. As a result, this corresponded exactly with the work done in the Arabic translation of the Syriac, and the individual features of the Diatessaron were lost. It has been shown that while, as a whole, the Latin depends upon Tatian's Diatessaron, the original form of the Latin has not come down unchanged. It can not have depended upon a Greek harmony, since in the Greek Church up to the time of Victor neither Tatian's nor any other harmony was known. The presence of the original of the Latin translation is accounted for by the many Syrian Christians in the West in the fifth century. Victor's manuscript came to Fulda, probably into the hands of Boniface, and became the exemplar of all codices which contain this text. From it was made the German Tatian belonging to 820–830 A.D., now found in Codex 56 of St. Gall. In the Middle Ages the Latin Tatian was much used, and there are extant commentaries on it by Zacharias of Chrysopolis and Peter Cantor. Other harmonies were circulated in the latter half of the Middle Ages, the relation of which to the Victor manuscript needs investigation. One in particular (Codex Monac. Lat. 10,025, of the thirteenth century) has interesting relationship both to the Syriac and the Arabic, and it also seems to be independent of the text of Victor. The original of the Victor text has not been found; but that it had considerable circulation is proved by the existence of texts independent of the Victor type in Dutch. It is from manuscripts of this type that the text published by O. Nachtigall (ut. sup.) was derived.

4. Reconstruction of the Diatessaron Through the Versions.

The Monotessaron of John Gerson (*Opera*, iv. 83–202, Antwerp, 1706) must be discriminated from this type as altogether modern. Since Augustine's unfinished *De consensu evangeliorum* this was the first attempt of the kind. The text is divided into 150 (151) rubrics, and in that in which the Sermon on the Mount fell the author engages in a critical discussion, and remarks on the *concordantia dissonantia* of the Gospels, considering them aids to faith. From harmonizing in the strictest sense Gerson is free. A work of independence, pains, and learning, and having important results upon further efforts, was that of Andreas Osiander of Nuremberg, *Harmoniæ evangelicæ libri quattuor*, . . . Basel, 1537. In the dedication Osiander named as his three predecessors Eusebius, Augustine, and Gerson, and, besides these, two *Evangelia dia tessarōn* in manuscript in the monastery at Heilbronn, and the work of Zacharias of Chrysopolis, which last is a commentary on the Latin Tatian. While in this place Osiander appears to have passed by Ammonius, he mentions him in the preface alongside the others. What he regretted in all these works was a lack of reverence for the text of the Gospels in that this was changed in order and in letter, even arbitrarily. It was his desire to express in his work the full purport of the original text and to have shine through it all the original inspiration. If Christ himself (Matt. v. 18) had said that not one jot of the law of Moses was to fall, much more was every word and letter of the Gospels to be taken into account. From no consequence of this principle did Osiander shrink. He regarded as accounts of different events the cleansing of the Temple as given in the Synoptics and in John, and even distinguished between two events as narrated in Matt. xxi. 12; Luke xix. 45; and Mark xi. 15. And so throughout, slight differences in statement seemed to justify him in regarding the narratives as dealing with different events. Similarly his rule that each of the Gospel texts must stand in its own order involved him in difficulties solved in the same manner. And in this way he thought he had accomplished new results in a real *Harmonia evangelica*. This name was kept by those who, with as great regard for Scripture, were not carried to an excess of unnaturalness. This was the case with Calvin, in whose commentary on the separate Gospels and in his *Commentarii in harmoniam ex Matthaeo, Marco et Luca* (1555) the material is divided into 222 sections. In this the genealogies of Matthew and Luke are referred to Joseph, the Sermon on the Mount of Matthew and Luke are worked together, and a similar plan rules throughout. In the work an unfavorable opinion is pronounced upon the work of Osiander. With a milder expression of opinion of Osiander's work was the *Harmonia quatuor evangelistarum*, by M. Chemnitz, published after his death by P. Leyser and continued by J. Gerhard (Frankfort, 1593–1611, improved and issued Frankfort and Hamburg, 1652). The Greek text is accom-

5. Modern Works of the Kind.

panied by a translation in Latin and a learned commentary. Parallels follow each other. Regard for the text involves often a doubling of the text and comment. There is evident all the way along a wide separation in idea from that of the Tatian Diatessaron. It is no longer a history of Jesus that is sought, in the words of the Gospel, but a learned investigation of the different reports of the Evangelists in order to secure a well-grounded history of Jesus. John Lightfoot undertook a harmony arranged in four columns (part 1, London, 1644). The design was carried out, however, by J. Clericus, in his *Harmonia evangelica*, Amsterdam, 1699, in which the text was in four columns, and at the foot an account interwoven from the four of the life of Christ. (T. ZAHN.)

The principle of the Diatessaron or interwoven Gospel has been employed somewhat extensively. How constantly and variously this has been the case is illustrated by the following list of works, which is merely representative, not at all exhaustive: Johan Hind, *The Storie of Stories; or, the Life of Christ according to the foure holy Evangelists, with a Harmonie of them*, London, 1652; [John Locke,] *Hist. of our Saviour Jesus Christ, Related in the Words of Scripture*, ib. 1705; R. Willan, *The Hist. of the Ministry of Jesus Christ, Combined from the Narrations of the Four Evangelists*, ib. 1782, and often; J. White, *Diatessaron; sive integra historia . . . Jesu Christi Græce, ex iv. evangeliis . . . confecta. Subjungitur evangeliorum harmonia brevis*, Oxford, 1799, and often; C. G. Küchler, *Vita Jesu Christi Græce*, Leipsic, 1835; S. T. Bloomfield, *Epitome evangelica; being a Selection from the Greek Testament, forming a connected Narrative of . . . the Life and Ministry of Christ*, London, 1846; P. Lachèze, *Concorde des évangiles*, Paris, 1854. In particular, the demand that the life of Christ be studied from the sources apart from the deliverances of the councils and from church dogma has resulted in the last quarter of a century in a large number of lives of Christ told in the form of the combined narratives of the Gospels. Representative works of this character in English are: W. S. White, *The Hist. of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Being the four Gospels combined in one continuous Form*, Lincoln, 1884; J. Mostyn, *The Four Gospels in One*, London, 1889; A. T. Pierson, *The One Gospel; . . . the four Evangelists in one complete Record*, New York, 1889; J. G. Butler, *The Fourfold Gospel*, ib. 1890; C. C. James, *The Gospel Hist. of Jesus Christ in a Connected Narrative*, London, 1890; *Earthly Footprints of our Risen Lord, . . . Introduction by J. Hall*, New York, 1891; R. W. Rawson, *Gospel Narrative, or Life of Jesus Christ . . . and Epitome and Harmony of the Gospels*, London, 1892; J. Strong, *Our Lord's Life; a continuous Narrative in the Words of the Four Gospels*, New York, 1892; W. Pittenger, *Interwoven Gospels and Gospel Harmony*, ib. 1893; A. E. Hillard, *A Continuous Narrative of the Life of Christ in the Words of the Four Gospels*, London, 1894; W. H. Withrow, *A Harmony of the Gospels; being the Life of Jesus in the Words of the Four Evangelists*, New York, 1894; *The Life and Teachings of Jesus Christ, a Continuous Narrative Collated from the Gospels*, ib. 1898; Anna M. Perry, *The Life of our Lord in the Words of the Four Evangelists*, ib. 1901; W. E. Barton, T. G. Soares, and S. Strong, *His Life; a complete Story in the Words of the four Gospels*, 1906. Consult also E. A. Abbott, *Indices to Diatessarica*, New York, 1908.

II. Harmonies in Parallel Arrangement: The oldest precursor of modern harmonies in the form of three- or fourfold arrangement is the work of Ammonius of Alexandria (q.v.), who published an edition of the Gospel of Matthew, on the margin of which he noted the relation of the other Gospels to Matthew. According to his own statement, this work induced Eusebius to write a similar one, but on a different method. He divided the four Gospels into sections (*perikopai* or *kephalaia*), assigning to Matthew 355 sections, to Mark 233, to Luke 342, and to John 232. Beside each number Eusebius added in red ink a second number that referred to the canons or tables in front of the work, of which he had made ten for the purpose of finding the parallel or related passages. The first canon contained the numbers of those sections for which Eusebius found parallels in all four Gospels; the second the parallels in Matthew, Mark, Luke; the third those in Matthew, Luke, John; the fourth those in Matthew, Mark, John; the fifth those in Matthew, Luke; the sixth those in Matthew, Mark; the seventh those in Matthew, John; the eighth those in Luke, Mark; the ninth those in Luke, John; the tenth the pericopes in each Gospel without parallels in the others. If one looked in this canon for the respective number of the section, he found parallel to it the number of the related section from the other Gospels. Augustine's *De consensu evangelistarum libri quattuor* had chiefly an apologetical and harmonistic purpose, but it was used as a text of the Gospels, revised by Jerome, and was provided with the sections and canons of Eusebius. From Augustine until J. Clericus' (Le Clerc) *Harmonia evangelica* (Amsterdam, 1699), the material of the Gospels was treated preponderatingly from the view-point of the interwoven narrative.

1. Ammonius and Augustine.

Clericus was the first in whom the interest in the fourfold or comparative arrangement became distinctly prominent. Another work representing the transition from the interwoven Gospels to the fourfold arrangement was by Nicolas Toinard, *Evangeliorum Harmonia Græco-Latina* (Paris, 1707), which, although compiled for chronological and historiographical purposes, gives so much attention to the comparative presentation of the texts that one is reminded of Rushbrooke (see below). The first real parallel arrangement is that of J. J. Griesbach—*Synopsis evangeliorum* (Halle, 1776, and often), which grew out of the need for a proper basis for exegetical lectures on the Gospels. Griesbach felt that if Matthew, Mark, and Luke were interpreted in their order, many repetitions would be necessary; while, on the other hand, many peculiarities of Mark and Luke would be unconsidered if, after the interpretation of Matthew, there were treated only that material from the second and third Gospels which is not contained in Matthew; and, further, that it was not sufficient to interpret only one of the three Gospels. Therefore he printed the text of the first three Evangelists in such a way that the common subjects stood side by side and the parallels could be at once considered. He did not include the fourth Gospel in this arrangement. The work of Griesbach became the norm for the following time. Anger in his *Synopsis evangeliorum Matthæi, Marci, Lucæ* (Leipsic, 1852) made a valuable addition by including parallels from the Apocryphal Gospels. Other synoptical works are: G. M. L. de Wette and F. Lücke, *Synopsis evangeliorum* (Berlin, 1818, 2d ed., 1842; on the basis of Griesbach); J. Gehringer, *Synoptische Zusammenstellung des griechischen Textes der vier Evangelien* (Tübingen, 1842); J. H. Friedlieb, *Quatuor evangelia sacra in harmoniam redacta*

2. Clericus and the Griesbach School.

(Wratislaw, 1847); Tischendorf, *Synopsis evangelica* (Leipsic, 1851, 7th ed., 1898).

3. Rushbrooke and Later Harmonists.

A step in advance was made by W. G. Rushbrooke in *Synopticon. An Exposition of the Common Matter of the Synoptic Gospels* (London, 1880–82). In order to facilitate the criticism and analysis of the Synoptic Gospels, he presents the common material of the three Synoptists in three columns and distinguishes by types and colored print (1) the material common to all three Evangelists; (2) the parts which each of them has in common with another; (3) the text peculiar to each one. Where John or Paul offer real parallels to the synoptical tradition, their material is also given. The text of Mark is used as the basis without deviation from its order. Since in this way the material common only to Matthew and Luke and the singular tradition of the first and third Synoptists are left out of consideration, there are added three appendixes: (1) the double tradition of Matthew and Luke; (2) the single tradition of Matthew; (3) the single tradition of Luke. This arrangement brings out (1) Mark as the source of historical tradition; (2) the fact of a second body of tradition, the collection of sayings. Moreover, material peculiar to Matthew and Luke becomes more prominent, and the points of agreement and discrepancy of the traditional synoptic text is well presented to the eye by differences in print. A second English work by A. Wright, *A Synopsis of the Gospels in Greek* (London, 1896, enlarged ed., 1903), combines with the representation of the material discussions of the sources. Rushbrooke's method was followed by R. Heineke, *Synopse der drei ersten kanonischen Evangelien* (3 parts, Giessen, 1898). Other works of the same kind are A. Huck, *Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien* (Freiburg, 1892, 3d ed., Tübingen, 1906), and K. Veit, *Die synoptischen Parallelen* (Gütersloh, 1897). A harmony, to satisfy modern scientific needs, should present the entire material of the Synoptics in an arrangement like that of Rushbrooke or Heineke, and should include full critical apparatus.

(P. Feine.)

Besides the works mentioned in the text, a number of others modeled on the same general principles have by their usefulness merited mention here. Such are: J. Macknight, *A Harmony of the Four Gospels . . . with a Paraphrase and Notes*, 2 vols., London, 1756, and often; W. Newcome, *An Harmony of the Gospels*, 2 parts, Dublin, 1778 (in Greek, includes many of Wetstein's variant readings); M. Rödiger, *Synopsis evangeliorum Matthæi, Marci et Lucæ cum Joannis pericopis parallelis*, Halle, 1829; E. Greswell, *Harmonia evangelica, sive quatuor evangelia Græca*, Oxford, 1830, and often; E. Robinson, *Harmony of the Gospels in Greek . . . with the Various Readings of Knapp*, Andover, 1834, on the basis of Hahn's text, Boston, 1845, and often (after Clericus and Newcome); idem, *Harmony of the Gospels in English*, new ed., ib. 1889; I. Da Costa, *The Four Witnesses, Being a Harmony of the Gospels on a New Principle*, London, 1851; J. Strong, *New Harmony and Exposition of the Gospels . . . a Parallel and Combined Arrangement, according to the Authorized Translation*, New York, 1852; idem, *Harmony of the Gospels, in Greek, of the Received Text*, ib. 1854; W. Stroud, *A New Greek Harmony of the Four Gospels, Comprising a Synopsis and a Diatessaron, together with an Introductory Treatise, Tables and Indexes and Diagrams*, London, 1853; F. Gardiner, *Harmony of the Four Gospels in Greek according to the Text of Tischendorf*, Andover, 1871, 1876; idem, *Harmony of the Four Gospels in English*, idem, 1871; G. Clark, *New Harmony of the Four Gospels in English*, New York, 1870, new ed., Philadelphia, 1892; J. A. Broadus, *Harmony of the Gospels in The Revised Version*, New York, 1893; W. A. Stevens and E. D. Burton, *Harmony of the Gospels . . . in the Version of 1881*, Boston, 1894, new ed. 1904.

Bibliography: E. Greswell, *Dissertations upon the Principles and Arrangement of an Harmony of the Gospels*, 4 vols., Oxford, 1837; T. Zahn, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, vols. i.–iv., Erlangen, 1881–91; idem, *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, 2 vols., Leipsic, 1890–92; J. W. Burgon, *Last Twelve Verses of S. Mark*, pp. 126–131, 295–312, London, 1871; G. Phillips, *Doctrine of Addai*, London, 1876; F. Baethgen, *Evangelienfragmente*, pp. 62 sqq., Berlin, 1886; E. Sievers, *Tatian*, Paderborn, 1892; J. H. Hill, *Dissertation on the Commentary of Ephraem the Syrian*, Edinburgh, 1896; C. Holzhey, *Neuentdeckte Syrus Sinaiticus*, pp. 42 sqq., Munich, 1896; J. A. Schmeller, *Ammonii . . . harmonia Evangeliorum*, Vienna, 1841; G. J. Meijer, *Het Leven van Jesus*, Groningen, 1838 (cf. A. Robinson, in *Academy*, Mar. 24, 1894); J. Gildemeister, *De evangeliis in Arabicum de simplici Syriaco translatis*, p. 35, Bonn, 1865; Magister de Hussinetz (John Huss), *Historia gestorum Christi*, ed. Landstroem, Upsala, 1898; C. A. Briggs, *New Light on the Life of Jesus*, New York, 1904 (discusses the principles of a harmony). A full bibliography on the Diatessaron of Tatian will be found under Tatian. The separate works on the subject usually discuss the principles upon which a harmony is to be constructed, and the same is often done in works on the life of Christ.

HARMONY SOCIETY. See Communism, II., 6.

HARMS, CLAUS: German Lutheran; b. at Fahrstedt, near Marne (50 m. n.w. of Hamburg), South Ditmarsh (Sleswick-Holstein), May 25, 1778; d. at Kiel Feb. 1, 1855. He received merely the rudiments of an education in the village school and from the village pastor, and worked in his father's mill till he was nineteen. Then, coming into possession of a little property by his father's death, he entered the gymnasium of Meldorf, and by extraordinary industry finished the course in two years. In 1799 he went to the University of Kiel to study theology. This university was dominated at that time by rationalism, but Harms, studying the writings of Kant and reading Schleiermacher, suddenly felt that all rationalism and human science could not help him, that his salvation must be sought elsewhere; the study of Holy Scripture brought about his complete conversion. In 1802 he finished his theological studies and became private tutor in Probsteierhagen in Holstein.

Student Life.

In 1806 the congregation of Lunden, in the district of North Ditmarsh, chose him deacon. He devoted himself with great energy to the art of preaching, and extended his care for his parishioners to all their spiritual and secular affairs. His sermons became very popular, even outside of his parish; and he was at times so fearless in denunciations of existing shortcomings of the government that he was called to account. In 1816 he was appointed archdeacon of St. Nicolai in Kiel, where he was equally popular. Since, however, he became more and more convinced that his time had declined from the faith of the Reformation, and thus from the source of salvation, he considered the year 1817, the three hundredth anniversary of the Reformation, as an opportune time to speak his

Pastor and Preacher.

mind. Accordingly he published (Kiel, 1817) the ninety-five theses of Luther with ninety-five theses of his own, needed in his opinion by the nineteenth century, and directed against various supposed abuses in the Lutheran Church, especially against rationalism; he declared his willingness to defend and vindicate his theses and to avow his errors if any should be proved. His first thesis was aimed at the prevailing Pelagianism, while others were: "We make reason the pope of our time in regard to faith, conscience in regard to action, and upon the latter has been placed a triple crown—lawmaking, praise, and punishment" (ix.); "conscience can not forgive, since forgiveness belongs to God" (xi.); "if conscience ceases to read and begins to write, the result will be as different as the handwritings of men" (xvii.); "forgiveness of sins at least cost money in the sixteenth century, but in the nineteenth century it costs nothing, since people help themselves" (xxi.); "according to the old faith, God created man; according to the new faith, man creates God" (xxvii.); "the 'religion of reason' is bare either of reason or of religion, or of both" (xxxii.). The following theses asserted for religion its independent sphere: "That anybody should misconstrue the fixed word of the Bible is prevented by our symbolical books" (l.); "the words of our revealed religion we regard as sacred in their original language, and do not consider them a dress which may be taken off from religion, but as its body in union with which it has its life. But a translation into a living language must be revised every hundred years in order to remain alive" (li., lii.). Harms then attacked the rationalistic Bible of Altona (see Bible Versions, VII., § 4) and the laxity of the church government. The last twenty theses were directed against the Union.

Harms's Ninety-five Theses.

Harms's theses naturally created a sensation and called forth about two hundred pamphlets. The rationalists were offended, but others recognized the theses as a wholesome ferment and a bitter medicine for the weak faith of the time. Court preacher C. F. von Ammon (q.v.) in Dresden approved them and Schleiermacher also took the part of Harms.

The position of Harms became more and more important. His merits were more widely recognized, and the number of his hearers increased. In the University of Kiel the spirit of rationalism began to disappear. In 1819 he declined a call to St. Petersburg as Evangelical bishop, and in 1834 one to Trinity Church in Berlin as the successor of Schleiermacher. After Fock's death in 1835 he was promoted chief preacher at St. Nicolai and provost of Kiel. In 1849 blindness compelled him to lay down his offices.

His Influence.

Harms was before everything a powerful preacher. Great crowds came to hear him; it was the content of his sermons which attracted, in spite of their lack of ornament and embellishment. Controversy deepened his convictions, which he expressed decidedly and sharply in his writings. Among these must be mentioned first his sermons, of which he published sixteen collections between 1808 and 1858. He wrote a number of catechisms and other books for religious instruction (*Das Christentum in einem kleinen Katechismus*, 1810; *Die Religion der Christen in einem Katechismus aufs neue gelehrt*, 1814; etc.). His *Pastoraltheologie* (1830), the fruit of his informal talks on practical theology, appeared in a third edition as late as 1878. He also wrote hymns, a few of which have passed into German hymn-books.

(H. C. Carstens†.)

Bibliography: Harms's autobiography (*Lebensbeschreibung*) appeared Kiel, 1852; some of his letters are in P. Petri, *L. A. Petri Leben*, Hanover, 1888. Consult: Dorner, *Blätter der Erinnerung an das Jubiläum von C. Harms*, Kiel, 1842; K. Schneider, *C. Harms, der evangelische Prediger, Priester und Pastor*, Bielefeld, 1861; idem, *Schleiermacher und Harms*, Berlin, 1865; J. Kaftan, *C. Harms*, Basel, 1875; C. Lüdemann, *Erinnerung an Claus Harms und seine Zeit*, Kiel, 1878; F. Volbehr, *C. Harms an seinem hundertjährigen Geburtstag*, ib. 1878. Further literature is given in Hauck-Herzog, *RE*, vii. 433.

HARMS, GEORG LUDWIG DETLEV THEODOR (commonly known as **Ludwig Harms**): German Lutheran and founder of the Hermannsburg mission; b. at Walsrode (45 m. s.w. of Lüneburg), Hanover, May 5, 1808; d. at Hermannsburg (50 m. s. of Hamburg), Hanover, Nov. 5, 1865. He studied theology at Göttingen from 1827 to 1830; but while at first influenced by the prevailing rationalism, his trial sermon of 1833 emphasized justification by faith. Harms became private tutor at Lauenburg, in the house of Chamberlain von Linstow, where he met a small circle of Pietists. He shared at this time their views of a living faith and of the gratuitous justification of the sinner by faith, but also their indifference toward confessional distinctions, their other-worldliness, and their lack of appreciation of the Church and its ordinances. He soon became the leading personality in this circle, and developed especial interest in missions. In 1834 he founded a missionary society in Lauenburg, which in 1836 became a branch of the newly organized North-German Missionary Society. In 1839 Harms returned to the home of his parents and assisted his father during the winter. In 1840 he again became private tutor at Lüneburg, where an active Christian life had developed under the influence of the Lüneburg preacher Deichmann. Harms now became the leading spirit of this circle. He preached often, and was also active in the practical duties of the ministerial office; but at the same time he did not lose sight of the cause of missions, to which he attributed the greatest importance for the development of the Church in modern times.

Early Life.

In spite of his successful activity at Lüneburg, however, he longed for a position as preacher, but owing to the superabundance of candidates, it was impossible for him to realize his desire. He declined a call as teacher at the missionary institution at Hamburg and another as pastor in New York. He wished to preach among his own Lüneburg people, and his longing was fulfilled in 1844, when the consistory made him his father's assistant. His great activity now began, and with it an awakening such as has seldom been seen in North Germany. His father had prepared the way, but Harms himself

Pastor in Lüneburg.

worked unremittingly, not only by sermons and services which took up the whole Sunday, but also by his personal association with his congregation. A feature of his work was the meetings held in his house every Sunday afternoon. Harms always used the Low-German dialect, the common speech of the peasants, and his gift of popular story-telling aided him greatly in these social gatherings.

His Preaching.

But after all his main power lay in his sermons. Harms understood, as few have done since Luther, how to preach to the people, especially to the peasants. Popularity formed the fundamental trait of his manner of preaching, which was based upon simplicity and clearness. His sermons were not artistic from the homiletic point of view, the themes being in most cases mere headings, the different parts only loosely connected, and the structure simple, nor were his sermons above the average from the exegetical standpoint. The range of thought was narrow, the same ideas occurring again and again, often even in the same words. The main theme was the necessity of a thorough conversion, justification by faith, and the proof of faith in Christian conduct. In bodily gifts Harms was sadly lacking. His voice was hollow and at times shrill, his manner in the pulpit somewhat stiff. But the result of his devoted labor soon showed itself in a real change of life in his congregation. Regular attendance at church, regular devotions at home, and strict observance of Sunday became a fixed rule in his congregation. The charitable work of the congregation assumed large dimensions. People from other parishes poured into his church, and Harms became their spiritual father, and even in their absence remained their faithful adviser by an extensive correspondence.

The Hermannsburg Mission.

In this way Harms laid the basis for his missionary congregation; for that was his idea from the beginning: a parochial mission, a mission of the State Church. In his earlier years he had been asked to found a missionary institution, but he declined until he became the official pastor of Hermannsburg in 1849, after his father's death. In his report to the consistory he stated his reasons for founding his own missionary establishment instead of joining one of the existing institutions. He cherished the idea of colonial missions, holding that missionaries should not be scattered, but form a Christian colony in heathen countries. In this way, he thought, it would be easier to gather a strong congregation. After its development a second colony should be founded in the vicinity of the first, and after the second a third, and so on, so that a connecting chain of congregations would come into existence. Harms thought that by virtue of the close connection of these colonies with the mother congregation, the solidarity of Lutheran confessionalism would be guarded against the disintegrating influences of other denominations. But the consistory did not agree with him; and he was compelled to follow substantially the plan of other missionary societies. He lived long enough to see the growth of his missionary enterprise, but he might have lived longer if he had not undermined his health by excessive work, without even temporary recreations. His publications were sermons and devotional writings, which achieved an extraordinary popularity in Germany. (G. Uhlhorn†.)

Bibliography: T. Harms, *Lebensbeschreibung des Pastors Louis Harms*, Hermannsburg, 1874 (by his brother); H. Knaut, *Louis Harms*, Göttingen, 1899.

HARNACK, (KARL GUSTAV) ADOLF: German Lutheran; b. at Dorpat, Livonia, May 7, 1851. He was educated at Dorpat (1869–72), and two years later became privat-docent at Leipsic, where he was appointed associate professor in 1876. In 1879 he accepted a call to Giessen as full professor of church history, and remained there until 1886, when he went to Marburg in a similar capacity. In 1889 he was called to Berlin. In addition to his professorship of church history, he has since 1905 held the post of director of the Royal Library there. He is recognized as one of the leaders of the critical school of theology and an authority on the history of the antenicene period. Since 1881 he has been one of the editors of the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, and since 1882 of the well-known *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur*, to which series he has contributed many monographs. He has written:

Zur Quellenkritik der Geschichte des Gnostizismus (Leipsic, 1873); *De Appellis gnosi monarchica* (1874); *Die Zeit des Ignatius und die Chronologie der antiochenischen Bischöfe bis Tyrannus* (1878); *Evangeliorum codex purpureus Rosanniensis* (in collaboration with the late Oscar von Gebhardt, Leipsic, 1880); *Das Mönchthum, seine Ideale und Geschichte* (Giessen, 1881, 6th ed. 1903, Eng. transl. by C. R. Gillett, *Monasticism: its Ideals and its History*, New York, 1895); *Augustin's Confessionen* (Giessen, 1888, 3d ed., 1903; Eng. transl. by E. E. Kellett and F. H. Marseille, together with their transl. of the lecture on Monasticism, London, 1901); *Martin Luther in seiner Bedeutung für die Geschichte der Wissenschaft und der Bildung* (Giessen, 1883); *Die Apostellehre und die jüdischen beiden Wege* (Leipsic, 1886); *Die Quellen der sogenannten apostolischen Kirchenordnung* (1886, Eng. transl. by L. A. Wheatley, *Sources of the Apostolic Canons; with a Treatise on the Origin of the Readership and Other Lower Orders*, London, 1895); *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* (3 vols., Freiburg, 1886–90, 3d ed., 1894; Eng. transl. by Neil Buchanan, *History of Dogma*, 7 vols., London, 1895–1900); *Grundriss der Dogmengeschichte* (1889, 4th ed., 1905; Eng. transl. by Edward K. Mitchell, *Outlines of the History of Dogma*, New York, 1893); *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius* (3 vols., Leipsic, 1893–1904, in collaboration with Edwin Preuschen in the first volume); *Thoughts on the Present Position of Protestantism* (Eng. transl. by Thomas Bailey Saunders, London, 1899); *Geschichte der königlichen preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (3 vols., Berlin, 1900); *Das Wesen des Christentums* (Leipsic, 1900, 52d thousand, 1905; Eng. transl. by T. B. Saunders, *What is Christianity?* London, 1901, 3d ed. (1904); *Das Christentum und die Geschichte* (Leipsic, 1897, 5th ed., 1904; Eng. transl. by T. B. Saunders, *Christianity and History*, London, 1900); *Apostles' Creed* (Eng. transl. by Stewart Means from 3d ed. Herzog's *Real-encyklopädie*, London, 1901); *Die Aufgabe der theologischen Fakultäten und die allgemeine Religionsgeschichte* (Giessen, 1901); *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* (Leipsic, 1902, 2d ed., 1906; Eng. transl. by James Moffatt, *The Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*, 2 vols., London, 1904–05, new ed. 1908); *Reden und Aufsätze* (2 vols., Giessen, 1904, 2d ed. 1906); *Militia Christi. Die christliche Religion und der Soldatenstand in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* (Tübingen, 1905); *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (3 parts, Leipsic, 1906–08; Eng. transl. of part I., *Luke the Physician, the Author of the Third Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles*, London, 1907), *Zwei Worte Jesu* (Berlin, 1907); *Essays on the Social Gospel* (London, 1907;

in collaboration with W. Herrmann), and *The Acts of the Apostles* (1908). He first made his mark by his work on the text of the Apostolic Fathers, in collaboration with Oscar von Gebhardt and T. Zahn (3 vols., Leipsic, 1875–77, minor ed., 1877, 5th ed., 1906).

HARNACK, THEODOSIUS: German theologian; b. at St. Petersburg Jan. 3, 1817; d. at Dorpat Sept. 23, 1889. In 1834 he entered the University of Dorpat and pursued the study of theology under the prevailing conservative influences. In 1837 he left Dorpat and, after living for some time as tutor in the family of a Livonian nobleman, finished his studies at Berlin, Bonn, and Erlangen. Returning to Dorpat, he became extraordinary professor of practical theology in 1847 and ordinary professor in the following year. His adherence to the confessional standpoint appeared in his *Grundbekenntnisse der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche* (Dorpat, 1845), a work which reveals depth of insight, skill in the elaboration of a thesis, and a style of exposition which was always attractive and often fascinating. Besides the professorship in systematic theology for which he exchanged his earlier chair, he held, after 1847, the post of university preacher. He presided over a committee of the synod of Livonia entrusted with the task of gathering material for the elaboration and improvement of the liturgy of the province, and his *Liturgische Formulare für die evangelische Kirche in Russland* (2 vols., Dorpat, 1872–74) was made the basis of subsequent revisions in 1885 and in 1898. He took an active part in the conflict between the orthodox clergy and the Moravians, publishing against them *Die lutherische Kirche Livlands und die herrnhutische Brüdergemeinde* (Erlangen, 1860). In 1853 Harnack was called to Erlangen, where he published in 1862 the first volume of his *Luthers Theologie mit besonderer Beziehung auf seine Versöhnungs- und Erlösungslehre.* In 1866 he returned to Dorpat, but retired from active duty in 1875. In the quiet of his last years he produced the greatest of his works, *Praktische Theologie* (Erlangen, 1877), supplemented by the *Katechetik- und Katechismus-Erklärung* (Erlangen, 1882). He contributed articles on liturgical subjects and pastoral theology to Zöckler's *Handbuch der theologischen Wissenschaften*, and entered into the discussion of modern problems with *Ueber den Kanon und die Inspiration der heiligen Schrift* (Dorpat, 1885). He published a second volume on Luther's doctrine (Leipsic, 1886), which was his last production; in this he took occasion to express his dissent from the latest theological developments. In addition to the books mentioned he published *Der christliche Gemeindegottesdienst im apostolischen und altkatholischen Zeitalter* (Dorpat, 1854); *Die Union und ihre neuester Vertreter* (Erlangen, 1855); *Der kleine Katechismus M. Luthers* (Stuttgart, 1856); and *Die Kirche, ihr Amt und Regiment* (Nüremberg, 1862). He was the father of Adolf Harnack (q.v.).

(F. Hoerschelmann†.)

HARPER, ROBERT FRANCIS: Baptist layman; b. at New Concord, O., Oct. 18, 1864. He was educated at Muskingum College, New Concord, O., at the University of Chicago (B.A., 1883), and at the universities of Berlin and Leipsic (Ph.D., 1886). He was instructor in Semitic languages at Yale from 1886 to 1891, as well as Assyriologist (and delegate of Yale) to the expedition of the Oriental Exploration Fund (under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania) in 1888–89. He has been at the University of Chicago in the capacities of associate professor of Semitic languages (1892–1900), and professor (since 1900), and is at present (1908) the acting head professor of the Semitic department. He is editor of *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* and associate editor of *The Biblical World* and *The American Journal of Theology.* In theology he adheres to the views of the liberal school. He has written *The Esarhaddon Inscriptions* (New Haven, Conn., 1888); *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters Belonging to the Kouyunjik Collections of the British Museum* (8 parts, London and Chicago, 1892–1902); *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature* (New York, 1901); and *The Code of Hammurabi, King of Babylon (about 2250 B.C.)* (Chicago, 1904).

HARPER, WILLIAM RAINEY: Baptist layman; b. at New Concord, O., July 26, 1856; d. at Chicago Jan. 10, 1906. He was educated at Muskingum College, New Concord (B.A., 1870), and Yale (Ph.D., 1875). After being principal of Masonic College, Macon, Tenn. (1875–76), he was tutor (1876–79) and principal (1879–80) of the preparatory department of Denison University, Granville, O., and professor of Hebrew and Old Testament exegesis in Baptist Union Theological Seminary, Chicago (1880–86). He then went to Yale as professor of Hebrew, where he remained until 1891, when he became president and head professor of Semitic languages and literatures in the newly established University of Chicago. He was also principal of the Chautauqua College of Liberal Arts in 1885–91, Woolsey professor of Biblical literature in Yale University, and instructor in Semitics in Yale Divinity School in 1889–91, a member of the Chicago Board of Education in 1896–98, and director of the Haskell Oriental Museum in the University of Chicago. In 1881 he commenced to teach Hebrew by correspondence, thus inaugurating a movement which culminated in the organization of the American Institute of Sacred Literature, and three years later (1884) he founded the American Institute of Hebrew. His remarkable ability as an organizer was strikingly exemplified by his development of the University of Chicago into one of the leading American institutions of learning. Harper was likewise an editor of *The Biblical World, The American Journal of Theology,* and *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures,* all published under the auspices of the University of Chicago. Among his numerous publications, special mention may be made of his *Elements of Hebrew* (New York, 1881); *Elements of Hebrew Syntax by an Inductive Method* (1883); *Introductory New Testament Greek Method* (in collaboration with R. F. Weidner; 1888); *Constructive Studies in the Priestly Element in the Old Testament* (Chicago, 1902); *Religion and the Higher Life* (1904); *The Structure of the Text of the Book of Amos* (1904); *The Prophetic Element in the Old Testament* (1905); *The Structure of the Text of the Book of Hosea* (1905); *The Trend in Higher*

Education (1905); and *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Amos and Hosea* (New York, 1905).

Bibliography: A sketch of his life is given in *Old Testament and Semitic Studies. In Memory of William Rainey Harper*, ed. Robert Francis Harper, Francis Brown, and George Foot Moore, 2 vols., Chicago, 1907.

HARRACH, hār'rāh, COUNT KARL PHILIPP VON: German philanthropist; b. at Prague Nov. 16, 1795; d. at Breslau Nov. 25, 1878. Destined for a military career by his father, a Roman Catholic, after completing his education at the academy of engineering in Vienna, he entered the Austrian army in 1813. He took part in the campaigns of 1813 and 1814, but, finding no satisfaction in the service, he resigned in the early twenties and bought the estate of Rosnochau, near Oberglogau, in Prussian Silesia. There he devoted himself to agriculture until the later years of his life. He gradually became a convert to the Evangelical Church, which he formally joined in 1852, determining, in his zeal, to spend a considerable portion of his wealth for religious purposes. In this he was encouraged by Johann Heinrich Wichern (q.v.), the father of home missions in Germany. During a temporary residence at Berlin, Harrach spent large sums for the advancement of home missions, and he was equally generous at Breslau. He was a member of the board of directors of the Silesian provincial society for home missions, which came into existence in the beginning of the sixties, and bequeathed to it a capital of 60,000 marks, in addition to 30,000 marks for the purpose of educating young men as teachers of Evangelical schools in the province of Silesia.

Harrach also conceived the plan of aiding theological students by giving them an opportunity for a strictly scientific education on the basis of the Gospel. This idea took more definite shape under the guidance of Tholuck, who had long been animated by the same desire. In accordance with their plan, a *Konvikt* for nine theological students from Silesia and three from other provinces was founded at Halle in 1865, Tholuck being its first president. All the expenses of the students are paid, and those from Silesia are required to devote their services to the Evangelical Church in their native province. Harrach also manifested his interest in the advancement of Christian life by supplying funds for the continuance of the parochial visitations in Silesia, which had been instituted by Frederick William IV., but which had ceased in the early sixties for financial reasons.

(David Erdmann†.)

HARRIS, GEORGE: Congregationalist; b. at East Machias, Me., Apr. 1, 1844. He was educated at Amherst (B.A., 1866) and Andover Theological Seminary (1869). He was then pastor of High Street Congregational Church, Auburn, Me. (1869–1872), and of Central Congregational Church, Providence, R. I. (1872–83). He was professor of Christian theology in Andover Theological Seminary (1883–99), being also president of the faculty (1869–99). In 1884 he began, with four colleagues, to edit *The Andover Review*, which he conducted until 1893, and, in consequence of certain articles published in it, was tried, together with the other editors, for heresy in 1886, being acquitted, however, in 1892. Since 1899 he has been president of Amherst College. Besides editing *Hymns of the Faith* in collaboration with W. J. Tucker and E. K. Glezen (Boston, 1888), he has written *Moral Evolution* (Boston, 1896) and *Inequality and Progress* (1897).

HARRIS, HOWEL: Welsh revivalist, one of the founders of Methodism in Wales; b. at Trevecca, in the parish of Talgarth, Breconshire, Jan. 31, 1714; d. there July 21, 1773. He entered St. Mary Hall, Oxford, on Nov. 25, 1735, but returned to South Wales at the close of his first term and began his evangelistic labors, traveling through the country and preaching as often as five times a day. He was the first lay preacher in the great Methodist movement, and was even a year or more ahead of Whitefield and Wesley. By 1739 he had founded thirty societies in South Wales, and in 1741 the number had grown to 300. In 1751, as a result of a disagreement with Daniel Rowlands (q.v.), his great coadjutor in the establishment of Methodism in Wales, he retired to his home at Trevecca, and founded there, in 1752, a sort of Protestant monastery. This institution, which has long been extinct, had 120 inmates in 1755, not counting a number of families from North Wales, which had settled in the neighborhood. In 1759, when a French invasion was imminent, Harris accepted an ensigncy in the Breconshire militia, and during his three years' service preached in his regimental dress in various parts of England. He had the hearty support of Whitefield and the Wesleys. Toward the close of his life he preached in Whitefield's tabernacle in London, and also before aristocratic assemblies in private houses there. He was repeatedly assaulted by mobs, continually persecuted by the magistrates and the clergy, and denied ordination on account of the irregularity of his methods.

Bibliography: *A Brief Account of the Life of Howel Harris . . . from Papers Written by Himself*, ed. B. T., Trevecca, 1791; T. Jackson, *The Life of Howel Harris*, vol. xii. of *A Library of Christian Biography*, London, 1837 sqq.; H. J. Hughes, *Life of Howel Harris*, ib. 1892.

HARRIS, JAMES RENDEL: English Friend; b. at Plymouth, Devonshire, Jan. 27, 1852. He was educated at Clare College, Cambridge (B.A., 1874, graduated third wrangler), where he was fellow in 1875–78, 1892, 1898, and 1902–04. He was professor of New Testament Greek at Johns Hopkins University (1882–85), and at Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. (1886–92). He was then university lecturer in paleography at Cambridge, and, after being professor of theology at the University of Leyden in 1903–04, was appointed to his present position of director of studies at the Friends' Settlement for Social and Religious Study at Woodbrooke, near Birmingham. He has written or edited:

The Teaching of the Apostles and the Sibylline Books (Cambridge, 1885); *Fragments of Philo Judæus* (1886); *The Origin of the Leicester Codex* (1887); *The Teaching of the Apostles* (Baltimore, Md., 1887); *The Rest of the Words of Baruch* (Haverford, Pa., 1889); *Biblical Fragments from Mount Sinai*, (Cambridge, 1890); *The Diatessaron* (1890); *The Acts of Perpetua* (1890); *A Study of Codex Bezæ* (1890);

The Apology of Aristides (1891); *Codex Sangallensis* (1891); *Some Interesting Syrian and Palestinian Inscriptions* (1891); *Memoranda Sacra* (London, 1892); *Popular Account of the Newly Recovered Gospel of St. Peter* (1892); *Origin of the Ferrar Group* (Cambridge, 1893); *Stichometry* (1893); *Lectures on the Western Text of the New Testament* (1894); *Fragments of the Commentary of Ephrem Syrus upon the Diatessaron* (1895); *Union with God* (London, 1895); *Hermas in Arcadia and Other Essays* (Cambridge, 1896); *Letters from Armenia* (in collaboration with his wife, Helen B. Harris; London, 1897); *The Homeric Centones and the Acts of Pilate* (Cambridge, 1898); *Life of Francis William Crossley* (London, 1899); *The Gospel of the Twelve Apostles* (Cambridge, 1900); *Further Researches into the History of the Ferrar Group* (Cambridge, 1900); *Annotators of the Codæ Bezæ* (1901); *The Dioscuroi in Christian Legend* (1903); *The Guiding Hand of God* (London, 1905); and *Cult of the Heavenly Twins* (Cambridge, 1906). He likewise collaborated with R. L. Bensly and F. C. Burkitt in editing *The Four Gospels in Syriac Transcribed from the Sinaitic Palimpsest* (Cambridge, 1894), and with F. C. Conybeare and Agnes Smith Lewis in editing *The Story of Aḥiḳar from the Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, Ethiopic, Greek, and Slavonic Versions* (London, 1898).

HARRIS, JOHN: English Congregationalist; b. at Ugborough (12 m. e. of Plymouth), Devonshire, Mar. 8, 1802; d. at St. John's Wood, London, Dec. 21, 1856. As a boy he began preaching in the villages around Bristol, whither his parents had moved about 1815, and quickly won local fame as "the boy preacher." He entered the independent college at Hoxton in 1823, and in 1825 became pastor of the Congregational Church at Epsom, where he established his reputation as a preacher. In 1837 he was appointed to the chair of theology at Cheshunt College. When the independent colleges of Highbury, Homerton, and Coward were amalgamated into New College (London) in 1850, he became principal of this institution, and in 1851 professor of theology. In 1852 he was chosen chairman of the Congregational Union of England and Wales. He was also one of the editors of the *Biblical Review*, a regular contributor to Congregational and Evangelical periodicals, and the author of a number of meritorious works that have had a large circulation, particularly in America. The more important are: *The Great Teacher* (London, 1835), which is considered his best book; *Mammon* (1836), a prize essay of which more than 100,000 copies were sold; *The Great Commission* (1842), a prize essay on Christian missions; *The Pre-Adamite Earth* (1846); and *Man Primeval* (1849). His *Posthumous Works*, composed of sermons only, were edited by P. Smith (2 vols., 1857).

Bibliography: *Eclectic Review*, 4th ser., iv. 303–319, xxi. 137–154, xxvi. 612–625; *DNB*, xxv. 15–16.

HARRIS, SAMUEL: Name of two American clergymen.

1. Baptist, called the "Apostle of Virginia"; b. in Hanover County, Va., Jan. 12, 1724; d. there probably in 1794. In his early and middle life he held many public offices, including those of sheriff, burgess for the county, and colonel of militia. In 1758 he was converted under the preaching of two itinerant Baptist preachers, and became a distinguished exhorter among the poor white settlers. He was ordained in 1769, and in 1774 was invested by the General Association of Separate Baptists with the office of "apostle." He devoted his fortune to religious and charitable work, lived with extreme frugality, and suffered much persecution from the Established Church.

2. Congregationalist; b. at East Machias, Me., June 14, 1814; d. at Litchfield, Conn., June 25, 1899. He was graduated at Bowdoin College (1833), and after being principal of Limerick Academy, Me. (1833–34), and of Washington Academy, East Machias, Me. (1834–35), entered Andover Theological Seminary, from which he was graduated in 1838. He then returned for three years to his principalship at East Machias, after which he held successive pastorates at Conway, Mass. (1841–51), and Pittsfield, Mass. (1851–55). From 1855 to 1867 he was professor of systematic theology in Bangor Theological Seminary, holding this position jointly with George Shephard, acting pastor of the Central Church, Bangor, from 1855 to 1863. In 1867 he was chosen president of Bowdoin College, but resigned in 1871 to accept the Dwight professorship of systematic theology in the Yale Divinity School. In 1896 he retired as professor emeritus. In addition to numerous sermons, pamphlets, and contributions to periodicals, he wrote: *Zaccheus : or, The Scriptural Plan of Beneficence* (Boston, 1844); *Christ's Prayer for the Death of His Redeemed* (1863); *The Kingdom of Christ on Earth* (Andover, 1874); *The Philosophical Basis of Theism* (New York, 1883); *The Self-Revelation of God* (1887); and *God the Creator and Lord of All* (2 vols., 1896).

HARRISON, FREDERIC: English Positivist; b. at London Oct. 18, 1831. He was educated at Wadham College, Oxford (B.A., 1853; M.A., 1858), where he was fellow and tutor in 1854–56, and became honorary fellow in 1899. He was admitted to practise at Lincoln's Inn, London, as a barrister at law in 1858. He was a member of the Royal Commission on Trades-Unions in 1867–69 and secretary to the Royal Commission for Digesting the Law in 1869–70. He was also professor of jurisprudence in the Inns of Court from 1877 to 1889, and was examiner in the same subject in the Inns of Court in 1875, in London University in 1873–76, and in Oxford University in 1877 and 1881. He was an alderman of the London County Council from 1889 to 1893. Originally a member of the Church of England, and with a thorough theological training at Wadham College, he followed, while at the bar, the sermons of F. D. Maurice, Stopford Brooke, and Benjamin Jowett. He gradually came, however, under the influence of Auguste Comte, and finally adopted Positivism, the "Religion of Humanity," in 1870. Since that time he has come to be the leading exponent of Positivist doctrines in England, and from 1879 to 1904 was president of the English Positivist Committee, as well as a member of the Occidental Positivist Committee of Paris. In addition to numerous contributions to various periodicals, his works include *Meaning of History* (London, 1862); *Order and Progress* (1875); *The Choice of Books* (1886); *Studies in Early Victorian Literature* (2 vols., 1895–97); *Byzantine History in the Early Middle Ages* (1900); *George Washington and Other American Addresses* (1901); *Theophano* (1904); *Herbert Spencer* (Oxford, 1905); *Memoirs and Thoughts* (London, 1906); *Philosophy of Common Sense*

(1907); *The Creed of a Layman: Apologia pro fide mea* (1907); *My Alpine Jubilee* (1908); and *National and Social Problems* (1908). He prepared also the second volume of the English translation of the works of Comte (London, 1875), and delivered numerous addresses before the Positivist Society, in addition to being Gibbon Centenary Lecturer at London in 1895, Rede Lecturer at Cambridge in 1900, George Washington Lecturer at Chicago in 1901, Alfred Millenary Lecturer at Winchester in the same year, and Herbert Spencer Lecturer at Oxford in 1905.

HARRISON, ROBERT (or **RICHARD**; the *True and Short Declaration* always calls him "Robert," other early authorities name him "Richard"): English separatist; d. at Middelburg, Zealand, about 1585. He studied at St. John's and Corpus Christi Colleges, Cambridge (B.A., 1567; M.A., 1572); was removed from the mastership of the grammar-school at Aylsham, Norfolk, in Jan., 1574, for Puritanical objections to the baptismal service; later became master of a hospital at Norwich. He was an early friend of Robert Browne (q.v.) and his chief helper and disciple. Browne lived in Harrison's house at Norwich, and together they organized the church there in 1580; Harrison went with the congregation to Middelburg the next year, and, after Browne's departure, became its head. He published: *A Little Treatise upon the First Verse of the 122nd Psalm, Stirring up unto Careful Desiring and Dutiful Labouring for the True Church Government* (1583; reprinted by William Brewster at Leyden, 1618); and *Three Forms of Catechisms, Containing the Most Principal Forms of Religion* (1583). Harrison published also: *Of Ghosts and Spirits Walking by Night, and of Strange Noises, Cracks, and Sundry Forewarnings, which commonly happen before the Death of Men, Great Slaughters, and Alterations of Kingdoms : one Book : written by Lewis Lavaterus of Tigurine, and translated into English by R. H.* (London, 1572 and 1596); *A Book of the Form of Common Prayers, Administration of the Sacraments, etc., Agreeable to God's Word and the Use of the Reformed Churches* (1586).

Bibliography: Sources are the writings of Robert Browne, particularly *A True and Short Declaration*. Consult: H. M. Dexter, *Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years*, New York, 1880; W. Walker, *Hist. of the Congregational Churches in the U. S.*, pp. 35–40, New York, 1894; C. Burrage, *The True Story of Robert Browne*, pp. 9–28, Oxford, 1906.

HART, SAMUEL: Protestant Episcopalian; b. at Saybrook, Conn., June 4, 1845. He was educated at Trinity College (B.A., 1866) and the Berkeley Divinity School, and was ordered deacon in 1869 and ordained priest in the following year. He was tutor (1868–70), assistant professor (1870–1873), and full professor of mathematics (1873–83), and professor of Latin in Trinity College (1883–1899). Since 1899 he has been vice-dean and professor of doctrinal theology in Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn., having declined the proffered bishopric of Vermont in 1893. He has been registrar of the diocese of Connecticut since 1874, custodian of the Standard Book of Common Prayer since 1886, secretary of the House of Bishops since 1892, and historiographer of the Church since 1898. In 1892 he prepared the report on the Standard Book of Common Prayer for the General Convention of 1892, and is likewise the author of several historical addresses. He has written or edited: *Satires of Juvenal* (Boston, 1873); *Bishop Seabury's Communion Office, with Notes* (New York, 1874); *Satires of Persius* (Boston, 1875); G. F. Maclear's *Instruction for Confirmation and Holy Communion* (New York, 1895); *History of the American Prayer Book* in W. H. Frere's edition of F. Procter's *New History of the Book of Common Prayer* (1901); and *Short Daily Prayers for Families* (1902).

HARTMANN, JOHANNES: German Roman Catholic; b. at Herbigshagen (a village near Duderstadt, 15 m. s.e. of Göttingen) Oct. 3, 1829. He was ordained to the priesthood in 1854, and, after being a chaplain in Heiligenstadt from that year until 1857, was a teacher in Belgium till 1868. He then studied law at the University of Bonn for three years, and in the following year (1872) was appointed director of the theological seminary and professor of canon law at Paderborn. Two years later he was called to his present position of professor of canon law at the Academy of Münster.

HARTMANN, KARL ROBERT EDUARD VON: German philosopher; b. at Berlin Feb. 23, 1842; d. at the same place June 5, 1906. He was educated at the school of artillery in Berlin (1859–1862); and held a commission (1860–65), when he was compelled to retire on account of serious knee trouble. He took his degree at Rostock in 1867, returned to Berlin, and retired to Lichterfelde (5 m. s.w. of Berlin) in 1885, doing most of his work in bed while suffering great pain. After developing the thought for twenty-two years, he began in 1864 to prepare his main philosophical work, *Philosophie des Unbewussten* (Berlin, 1869; 11th ed., 3 vols., 1904; French transl., M. D. Nolen, 2 vols., Paris, 1876; Eng. transl., by W. C. Coupland, *Philosophy of the Unconscious*, 3 vols., London, 1884). Next in rank was his *Das sittliche Bewusstsein*, appearing first as *Phänomenologie des sittlichen Bewusstseins* (Berlin, 1879); and next to that was the *Religionsphilosophie* (2 vols., *Das religiöse Bewusstsein der Menschheit* and *Die Religion des Geistes*, 1882).

The object of his philosophy was to unite the "idea" of Hegel with the "will" of Schopenhauer in his doctrine of the Absolute Spirit, or, as he preferred to characterize it, spiritual monism. He held that "a will which does not will something is not." The world was produced by will and idea, but not as conscious; for consciousness, instead of being essential, is accidental to will and idea—the two poles of "the Unconscious." Matter is both idea and will. In organic existences, in instinct, in the human mind, on the field of history, the unconscious will acts as though it possessed consciousness, i.e., were aware of the ends and of the infallible means for their realization. Consciousness arises from the temporary diremption of the idea from the active will and the will's opposition to this condition. Because of the wisdom displayed in the action of the Unconscious, this is the best possible world; only this does not prove that the

world is good, or that the world would not be better, the latter of which is true. Human life labors under three illusions: (1) that happiness is possible in this life, which came to an end with the Roman Empire; (2) that life will be crowned with happiness in another world, which science is rapidly dissipating; (3) that happy social well-being, although postponed, can at last be realized on earth, a dream which will also ultimately be dissolved. Man's only hope lies in "final redemption from the misery of volition and existence into the painlessness of non-being and non-willing." No mortal may quit the task of life, but each must do his part to hasten the time when in the major portion of the human race the activity of the Unconscious shall be ruled by intelligence, and this stage reached, in the simultaneous action of many persons volition will resolve upon its own non-continuance, and thus idea and will will be once more reunited in the Absolute.

C. A. Beckwith.

HARTRANFT, CHESTER DAVID: Congregationalist; b. at Frederick, Pa., Oct. 15, 1839. He was educated at the University of Pennsylvania (B.A., 1861) and at the New Brunswick Theological Seminary (1864), after having served in the Civil war as captain of the Eighteenth Pennsylvania Volunteers. He held pastorates at the Dutch Reformed Church, South Bushwick, N. Y. (1864–66), and at the Second Dutch Reformed Church, New Brunswick, N. J. (1866–78), giving much attention during the latter charge to oratorio and choral singing. From 1879 to 1888 he was Waldo professor of ecclesiastical history in Hartford Theological Seminary, of which he was president from 1888 to 1903, and has been honorary president there since 1903. He was also professor of Biblical theology in the same institution from 1892 to 1897, and of ecclesiastical dogmatics from 1897 to 1903. He has revised the Anti-Donatist writings of St. Augustine and the "Ecclesiastical History" of Sozomen for the American edition of *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (New York, 1887, 1890). Of late years he has resided in Germany, engaged in researches into the early history of the Schwenckfelders, the result of which is his editorship, assisted by O. B. Schlutter and E. E. Schultz, Johnson of *Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum* (vol. i. Leipsic, 1907).

HARTZELL, JOSEPH CRANE: Methodist Episcopal bishop; b. at Moline, Ill., June 1, 1842. He was educated at Illinois Wesleyan University (B.A., 1868) and Garrett Biblical Institute, Chicago (1868), and was pastor at Pekin, Ill. (1868–69), and New Orleans, La. (1870–72). From 1872 until 1882 he was presiding elder of the New Orleans district and founder and editor of the *South-Western Christian Advocate*. He was assistant corresponding secretary of the Southern Education Society of his denomination from 1882 to 1887, and chief secretary from 1888 to 1896. In 1897 he was elected bishop for Africa. He was a member of the Methodist Ecumenical conferences held at Washington in 1878 and at London in 1898. He is the author of several sermons and of numerous addresses and contributions to periodicals on educational and racial topics connected with America and Africa.

HARTZHEIM, JOSEPH VON: Jesuit; b. at Cologne Jan. 11, 1694; d. there Jan. 14, 1762. At the age of eighteen he became a novice of the Society of Jesus, and at the conclusion of his novitiate studied at the College of Luxemburg, and then taught Hebrew at the College of Cologne for a year, after which he traveled in Italy. Returning to his native city, he was first a teacher and then rector (1726–48) at the Gymnasium Tricoronatum. He remained cathedral preacher until his death. His chief work was his continuation and partial editing of the collection of the acts of the German councils begun by the Fulda scholar J. F. Schannat (b. 1685; d. 1739), of which he published the first four volumes under the title *Concilia Germaniæ quæ . . . Jo. Frid. Schannat magna ex parte collegit, dein P. Jos. Hartzheim, S. J., plurimum auxit, continuavit, notis, digressionibus criticis, etc., illustravit* (Cologne, 1759–63). The fifth volume, extending to 1500, appeared in the year of Hartzheim's death. Hartzheim wrote also: *De initio metropoleos ecclesiasticæ Coloniæ Claudiæ Augustæ Aggripinensium* (3 parts, Cologne, 1731–32); *Dissertationes decem historico-criticæ in Sanctam Scripturam* (1736–46); *Bibliotheca scriptorum Coloniensium* (1747); *Historia rei nummariæ Coloniensis* (1754); and *Prodromus historiæ Universitatis Coloniensis* (1759). A number of his writings, such as preliminary studies for a *Historia litteraria Germaniæ*, as well as his *Vita diplomatica Sancti Annonis* and *Historia gymnasii tricoronati*, exist only in manuscript.

(O. Zöcklerâ€ .)

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HARVARD, JOHN: Congregationalist minister of the Massachusetts colony, after whom Harvard College was named; b. in Southwark, London, Nov., 1607; d. at Charlestown, Mass., Sept. 14, 1638. He was educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge (B.A., 1631; M.A., 1635), and probably was ordained as a dissenting minister shortly after leaving the university, though there is no record of this fact. He removed to New England in 1637, settled at Charlestown in August of that year, and became a freeman of Massachusetts on Nov. 2 following. For some time he filled the pulpit of the First Church at Charlestown as assistant to the Rev. Z. Symmes. Compared with his fellow colonists, he was a man of wealth; and that he was held in high esteem is shown by the fact that on Apr. 26, 1638, he was placed upon a committee to formulate a body of laws. He died of consumption after a residence of little more than a year in the colony, leaving his library of 320 volumes and about £400, half of his fortune, to the proposed college at New Towne, later Cambridge, for which the General Court had made an appropriation of £400 in Sept., 1636. With the aid of this legacy the building was begun; and in Mar., 1639, in commemoration of the young philanthropist, it was ordered that the new institution should be called Harvard College. Harvard was justly styled by Edward Everett the "ever-

memorable benefactor of learning and religion in America."

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HASE, hā'ze, **KARL ALFRED VON:** German Protestant; b. at Jena July 12, 1842. He was educated at the university of his native city (Ph.D., 1865), and also studied at Rome and Geneva. After being court deacon at Weimar from 1865 to 1870, he was divisional chaplain in the Franco-Prussian War, and was then divisional pastor at Hanover for five years (1871–76). From 1876 to 1889 he was chief military chaplain and consistorial councilor at Königsberg, and from 1889 to 1893 was garrison chaplain and court preacher at Potsdam. Since 1893 he has been consistorial councilor at Breslau, and also honorary professor of practical theology at the university of the same city since 1896. In 1904 he was created a supreme consistorial councilor. He has published: *Lutherbriefe* (Leipsic, 1867); *Wormser Lutherbuch* (Mainz, 1868); *Sebastian Franck von Wörd, der Schwarmgeist* (Leipsic, 1869); *Die Bedeutung des Geschichtlichen in der Religion* (1874); *Herzog Albrecht von Preussen und sein Hofprediger* (1879); *Die Hausandacht* (Gotha, 1891); *Christi Armut unser Reichtum* (a volume of sermons; Berlin, 1893); *Unsre Hauschronik: Geschichte der Familie Hase in vier Jahrhunderten* (Leipsic, 1898); and *Neutestamentliche Parallelen zu buddhistischen Quellen* (Gross-Lichterfelde, 1905).

HASE, KARL AUGUST VON: German Lutheran theologian; b. at Niedersteinbach, near Penig (11 m. n.w. of Chemnitz), Aug. 25, 1800; d. in Jena Jan. 3, 1890. The son of a country pastor, he attended the gymnasium at Altenburg, which he left to enter the University at Leipsic (1818). He matriculated at first, however, as law student, yet turned his attention from the start chiefly to philosophy and theology, preaching at the close of his first semester. In 1821 he entered Erlangen, where he was deeply influenced by Schelling and G. H. von Schubert (qq.v.). He was obliged to leave the university the next year, as he was suspected of complicity in the political plots of the student associations. In 1823 he qualified as lecturer on theology and philosophy at Tübingen. Soon afterward he was a political prisoner at Hohenasperg for eleven months (1824–25). In Oct., 1826, he went to Leipsic, where he became a lecturer in the philosophical faculty, but in a few years was called to Jena as extraordinary professor. Before his removal thither (July, 1830) he traveled in Italy with his friend, Hermann Härtel, whose sister, Pauline, he married on his return. The rest of his life he spent in Jena, declining many honorable calls to other universities. He became full professor in 1836, and soon ranked as one of the most highly esteemed teachers and became famous as an author. He served five times as vice-rector (1838, 1847, 1855, 1863, and 1871). His interests were turned chiefly, but not exclusively, toward church history. He relieved his labors by frequent journeys, especially to Rome, which he visited seventeen times, the last time in 1882. There he acquired the intimate acquaintance with the Roman Catholic religion shown in so many of his works. High honors were given to him at his golden jubilee; he was created doctor of law, presented with the freedom of the city, granted cross of the Saxon Household Order, together with the hereditary nobility, and appointed privy councilor. He delivered his last lecture on July 23, 1883; but retained his mental alertness till his last years, and prepared his lectures on church history for the press.

The most striking thing about Hase's work is the great diversity of the subjects and his ability in using the sources to produce an artistic treatment of a theme. His style was original and alluring; but in his later years was marked by so great an effort for conciseness as even to violate the laws of language. His writings require not only an attentive reader, but one who can read between the lines. He has a breadth of outline, an acuteness of observation, and an art of delineation that give life to the figures of history. In theology he was no pioneer like Schleiermacher, though he shared Schleiermacher's vital conception of religion, nor like Baur, whom, however, he could fully appreciate. He never tried to cultivate unbroken ground, though not shrinking from the drudgery of scientific investigation; therefore he seldom contributed to periodicals, and wrote but few reviews. He belonged to no party nor school, but felt himself to be a theologian, who dared to examine freely, bound by no sacredness of the letter, standing for "the scientific investigation of the Gospel, an enlightened Christianity recognizing itself as truth in the eternal laws of the spirit, as opposed to the popular faith supported by external authority."

Among his writings may be mentioned: *Des alten Pfarrers Testament* (Tübingen, 1824), a treatise on the Johannean love, in the form of a romantic story; *Lehrbuch der evangelischen Dogmatik* (Stuttgart, 1826); *Die Proselyten* (Tübingen, 1827); *Gnosis oder protestantisch-evangelischen Glaubenslehre* (3 vols., Leipsic, 1827–29); *Hutterus redivivus* (1829), a compendium of Lutheran dogma; *Leben Jesu* (1829); *Kirchengeschichte* (1834; 12th edition, 1900; Eng. transl. from 7th Germ. ed., *Hist. of the Christian Church*, New York, 1855); *Anti-Roehr* (1837), a polemic against rationalism; *Die beiden Erzbischöfe* (1839); *Neue Propheten* (1851); *Franz von Assisi* (1856); *Das geistliche Schauspiel* (1858; Eng. transl., *Miracle Plays and Sacred Dramas*, London, 1880); *Handbuch der protestantischen Polemik gegen die römisch-katholische Kirche* (1862; 7th edition, 1900; Eng. transl., *Handbook to the Controversy with Rome*, 2 vols., London, 1906); *Caterina von Siena* (1864); *Ideale und Irrtümer* (1871); *Geschichte Jesu* (1875; Eng. transl. from 3d and 4th

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G. Krüger.

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HASENKAMP: The name of three brothers who energetically opposed the rationalism prevailing in Germany during the latter half of the eighteenth century.

1. Johann Gerhard Hasenkamp was born at Wechte-bei-Lengerich (19 m. n.n.e. of Münster), Westphalia, July 12, 1736; d. at Duisburg June 27, 1777. In 1753 he entered the academy of Lingen to study theology. His headlong zeal for the honor of God led him to severe conflicts with the authorities of the Church. Among other things he rejected the vicarious suffering of Christ and the impossibility of a complete sanctification upon earth. Proceedings were begun against him, but in 1763 he was allowed to resume his preaching, and in 1766 he was appointed rector of the gymnasium in Duisburg. He brought new life into the institution and influenced deeply the religious life of his pupils, and of the people in general, by the sermons which he delivered from 1767 to 1771. He published: *VII Quæstiones de liberorum educatione* (1767–70); *XCIII Theses contra Arianos, Fanaticos, Socinianos aliosque hujus indolis nostra ætate* (Duisburg, 1770); *Predigten nach dem Geschmack der drei ersten Jahrhunderte der Christenheit* (Frankfort, 1772); *Ueber Hinwegräumung der Hindernisse der christlichen Gottseligkeit* (Schaffhausen, 1772); *Der deutsche reformierte Theologe* (1775); *Unterredung über Schriftwahrheiten* (1776); and *Ein christliches Gymnasium* (1776).

2. Friedrich Arnold Hasenkamp was born Jan. 11, 1747; d. 1795. He forsook the trade of a weaver to take up academic studies, and eventually succeeded his brother as rector at Duisburg. He wrote *Ueber die verdunkelnde Aufklärung* (Nuremberg, 1789); *Die Israeliten die aufgeklärteste Nation unter den ältesten Völkern in der Erkenntnis der Heiligkeit und Gerechtigkeit Gottes* (1790); *Briefe über Propheten und Weissagungen* (2 parts, 1791–92); *Briefe über wichtige Wahrheiten der Religion* (2 vols., Duisburg, 1794).

3. Johann Heinrich Hasenkamp was born Sept. 19, 1750; d. June 17, 1814. He went through the same course of education as his brother Friedrich Arnold, and in 1776 became rector of the Latin school at Emmerich. From 1779 until his death he was pastor at Dahle, near Altona. His nephew, C. H. G. Hasenkamp, edited his *Christliche Schriften* (2 vols., Münster, 1816–19).

(F. Arnold.)

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HASMONEANS.

Mattathias and Judas (§ 1).
Jonathan and Simon (§ 2).
John Hyrcanus, Aristobulus I. (§ 3).
Alexander Jannæus, Hyrcanus II., Aristobulus II. (§ 4).
The Downfall of the Family (§ 5).

Hasmoneans (Hebr. *Ḥashmonim;* Aram. *Ḥashmonay*) is the name of a family of distinguished Jewish patriots who headed a revolt in the reign of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes (175–164 B.C.), and, after strenuous exertions and the shedding of much blood, secured a last brief period of freedom and glory for Israel. Mattathias, the head of the family, according to Josephus (*Ant.* XII., vi. 1), was the son of John, the son of Simeon, the son of Asamonaios; according to I Macc. ii. 1, the son of John, the son of Simeon. Hashmon was therefore either great-grandfather of Mattathias, or, in case Simeon is merely a form of Hashmon, the grandfather of Mattathias.

1. Mattathias and Judas.

The steady purpose of the Macedonian states in the Orient was to Hellenize the populations. Epiphanes also had this aim, but pursued it with so much obstinacy that he weakened rather than strengthened his cause, and he found the stanchest opponents in the Jews. But even among them influences in his favor existed, and the high priest Jesus, who took the Greek name Jason, favored the Greek party. The progress of Greek ideas stirred up the zeal of those true to the faith of Israel, who formed a party and named themselves the "afflicted," the "poor" (*ebhyonim*), or the "pious" (*Ḥasidim*, or Chasidim, from which last came the name Hasideans, the designation of a party which arose about this time, and became the later Pharisees). Embittered by the opposition, Antiochus at last began a religious persecution, a result of which was the bold slaughter by Mattathias of an apostate who was going to sacrifice to idols, and of a royal officer, and the revolt of his supporters. Upheld by the Chasidim, a little war was begun, in which the unfaithful in Israel and the Greeks themselves were assailed. Mattathias died 166, when his third son, Judas, was made leader, and for six years carried on the struggle against overwhelming odds and with varying fortunes. On account of his sudden attacks upon the enemy and the frequent blows which he struck he was called Maccabee, "the hammerer" or "the hammer," a name which came to glorify the entire family. The strife at this stage was rather religious than national in intent, since Judas had many enemies among the Jews themselves, particularly at the court at Antioch. It is to the leader's glory that under these circumstances he recovered the temple, which fact is celebrated by the Feast of the Dedication of the Temple. A contributory cause to the success of the Jews was the disharmony in Syrian affairs and the strife for the Syrian throne, of which skilful advantage was taken by the Jews. Demetrius I. Soter, nephew of the usurper Epiphanes and the rightful heir, seized the kingdom from the son of Epiphanes, still a minor. Judas sought to obtain outside help for the furthering of his plans, which

were not yet carried out, and opened communications with the senate of Rome, a power which had its eyes on the Orient and advanced its purposes by intervening in domestic troubles. The army of Demetrius overran the land and held even the capital, while Judas retired to a place the location of which is unknown, named Alasa or Elasa, 161 B.C., where he fell.

The leadership was assumed by Jonathan, the youngest of the five brothers, who from beyond the Jordan carried terror among the Syrians and Arabs. With Jerusalem and the entire land in the hands of the enemy, only hope and courage seemed left. The situation was suddenly changed by the entrance of Alexander Balas, an alleged son of Antiochus IV., who sought the kingdom and assailed Demetrius. Both the contestants sought the favor of Jonathan as that of a weighty leader. Demetrius restored the Jewish hostages and withdrew many of the Syrian garrisons, so that Jonathan regained possession of the temple. Alexander made him high priest, and sent him princely robes and rich insignia of office. Thus Jonathan was at once in possession of priestly and temporal

2. Jonathan and Simon.

power. He was master of Judea and an officer in the Syrian army. When Demetrius II. (147 B.C.) overthrew Alexander, he chose Jonathan as his friend in spite of the hostility of the latter at the beginning of the struggle of Demetrius with Alexander. A young son of Alexander, Antiochus VI., instigated by Trypho, a general of Alexander, arose against Demetrius, and after varying fortunes was slain by Trypho, who also slew Jonathan (143 B.C.). This left as the only survivor of the sons of Mattathias Simon, already celebrated for wisdom, energy, and statesmanship. He assumed the leadership, and at once declared the independence of his people, taking the titles of high priest, general, and prince (I Macc. xiv. 47). The union of these offices marked a change in the policy of Jewish affairs, in which hitherto the chief interest had been in the priesthood and a pure theocracy. Simon's rule was short, but fortunate, since his own people appreciated his worth. In a popular assembly his honors and position were secured to him as hereditary rights, and the fact made public in tablets of brass affixed to the sanctuary (I Macc. xiv. 27–47). The independence of the country was signified by the issue of a series of coins and by the reckoning of a new era dating from Simon's accession. It seemed as if Simon's end was to be peaceful when his own stepson, Ptolemy, who sought Simon's place, treacherously murdered him, while Antiochus VII., brother of Demetrius and then on the Syrian throne, attempted to regain possession of Judea.

Simon's son, John Hyrcanus (note the Greek names assumed by the successive members of the family; it is a sign of the times), who

3. John Hyrcanus, Aristobulus I.

succeeded his father, was at first compelled to become a vassal of Syria, surrender Jerusalem, and give hostages. When Antiochus fell (128 B.C.), John took full advantage of the circumstance, began a series of conquests, destroyed the temple on Gerizim, united Samaria with his own territory, subdued the Idumeans, and Judaized the country. Josephus accredits him with three honors, high-priesthood, rulership, and prophecy (*Ant.* XIII., x. 7). But a question was raised about the legitimacy of his possession of the high-priesthood. At the death of John Hyrcanus (105 B.C.) the family fell upon evil days. What external power was retained for his successor, Aristobulus I., was due to the weakness of the Seleucids and the Ptolemies, who became involved in the strife of the Jewish parties on internal matters. Hyrcanus had become alienated from the Pharisees, for the Pharisee Eleazar had advised him to lay aside his high-priesthood and be content with the temporal power. On his death he left the rule to his widow, while Aristobulus was to be high priest. Aristobulus starved his mother to death, threw three of his brothers into prison, and killed the fourth, whom he had made coregent. But he died the next year (104 B.C.). The event of his reign most noteworthy was the conquest of Galilee and the beginning of its Judaizing.

His widow, Alexandra, the most celebrated of that name in this family, released his brothers and made one of them, the third son of her

4. Alexander Jannæus, Hyrcanus II., Aristobulus II.

husband, king, with the title of Alexander I. Jannæus. His rule was as unfortunate as it was long (104–78 B.C.). His desire was to shine as a conqueror as his father had done, but without the same means, since he had to rely upon an army of mercenaries. The Pharisees withdrew more and more from the support of a rule which continually drew its sources of strength from the outside and estranged its own subjects, while the king was made to seem a betrayer of his father's religion. He was grossly insulted at a festival, and took bloody revenge. Civil war arose, which lasted for six years, during which 50,000 Jews were slain. At his death in 78 he left the succession in the hands of his widow, Alexandra, with the injunction to make friends of the Pharisees. She followed his counsel, banished the Sadducees from Jerusalem, put the Scribes into the seats of the Sanhedrin, and ruled with cleverness until her death in 69. During her life her oldest son, Hyrcanus II., had been high priest, while at her death Aristobulus II. desired the kingdom and assailed his brother. Shortly after this the Syrian kingdom fell into the power of the Romans. Hyrcanus fled, on the advice of Antipater, the father of Herod, to the Arabian prince Aretas, at Petra, by whose help Aristobulus was besieged in Jerusalem and slain. Meanwhile Pompey's general, Scaurus, and then Pompey himself were besought both by Aristobulus and by his opponents, and by the people against both. Pompey captured Jerusalem, ended the kingdom, and made Hyrcanus high priest and ethnarch (63 B.C.), taking Aristobulus and his children to Rome in triumph.

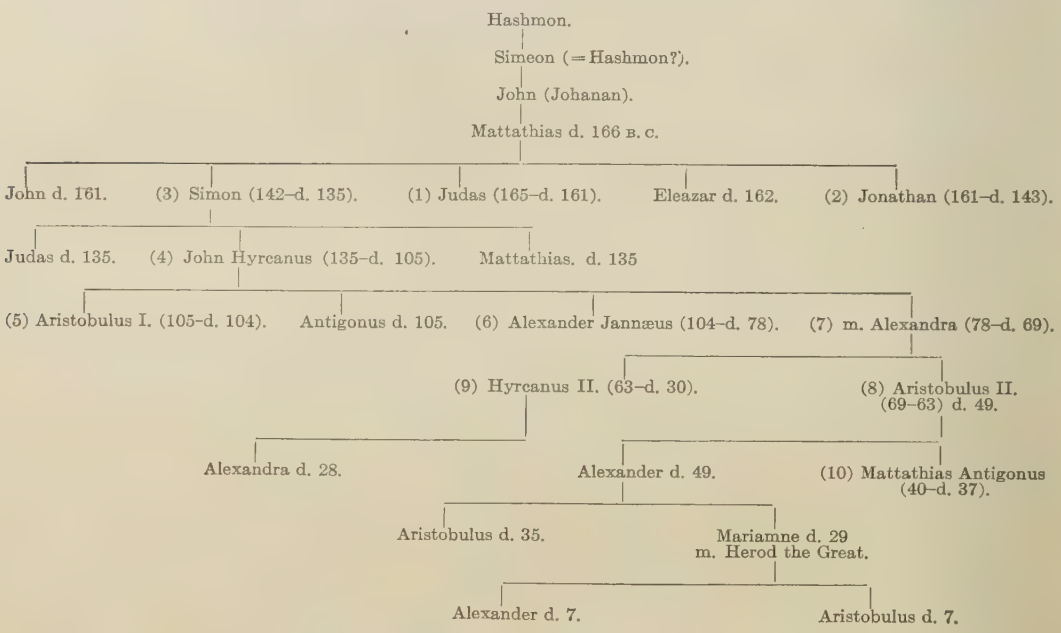
The remaining history of the Hasmoneans is a series of tragedies. Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, escaped from imprisonment and assailed the Roman power in Syria. Meanwhile the Roman civil war had broken out, and Cæsar released Aristobulus in order to give trouble to his opponents,

but the retainers of Pompey killed Aristobulus before he could leave Rome, and soon after the same fate met Alexander. He left behind two children, the offspring of Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus, of great beauty but not very intellectual, and a brother, Antigonus. When Cæsar gained the mastery in the East, the control of Palestine inclined in fact, though not in name, to the Idumean Antipater; but since he was regarded as a foreigner, and therefore hated by the Jews, on the break-up caused by Cæsar's death they rallied to the support of Antigonus. Meanwhile Antipater's son, Herod, whose desire was to have both the form and the fact of the former power of Hyrcanus, became engaged to Mariamne, the beautiful daughter of the pretender Alexander and the granddaughter through her mother of Hyrcanus. This was a move inspired as much by politics as by inclination. In the year 40 B.C., after a victorious campaign by the Parthians in hither Asia, Antigonus as king of Jerusalem was drawn into the conflict, and had Hyrcanus mutilated and sent to Babylon, for which he himself suffered at the hand of the lictors a sad end three years later. In the year 37 Herod was made king of Jerusalem, and was placed in possession after the capture of Jerusalem in that year. He became virtually the executioner of the Hasmonean family. Hyrcanus, eighty years of age, was enticed from Babylon, entangled in a fictitious conspiracy, and put to death. Alexander's son, Aristobulus, the brother-in-law of Herod, came naturally into the high-priesthood, but fell a victim to Herod's suspicion. A little later Mariamne was executed by Herod's order. Thus a historical review of the course of the Hasmoneans reveals a wide abyss between the glorious achievements of the founder of the house, Mattathias, and the inglorious end of the last representative of the kingly power of the house, Antigonus, whose Hebrew name, Mattathias, recalled that of his ancestor. The book which reflects the period of the family is the Psalms of Solomon; the New Testament is silent, with the single exception of the reference in Heb. xi. 35–36, which mentions no names.

5. The Downfall of the Family.

(J. HAUSSLEITER.)

In the following genealogical table of the Hasmonean family, the numbers in parentheses preceding the name indicate the order of dynastic succession, the numbers in parentheses following the name indicate the years during which office was held, a number preceded by d. indicates date of death; m. signifies married.



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On special topics consult: J. Wellhausen, *Pharisäer und Sadducäer*, Greifswald, 1874; F. W. Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, London, 1881; C. R. Conder, *Judas Maccabeus and the Jewish War*, London, 1894; H. Weiss, *Judas Makkabäus*, Freiburg, 1897; I. Deutsch, *Die Regierungszeit der judäischen Königin Salome Alexandra*, Magdeburg, 1901; G. F. Handel, *Judas Maccabeus*, London, 1901.

HASSE, FRIEDRICH RUDOLF: German theologian; b. at Dresden June 29, 1808; d. at Bonn Oct. 14, 1862. He was educated at Leipsic and Berlin, and in 1834 was appointed lecturer in church history at the university of the latter city. In 1836 he was called to Greifswald as assistant professor of church history, and in 1841 he was appointed to a similar office at the University of Bonn. There he completed the first volume of his *Anselm von Canterbury* (2 vols., Leipsic, 1843–52; Eng. transl. of vol. i. *The Life of Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury*, London, 1850), containing the biography of the great English primate; the second part reproduced Anselm's theological system. (W. Krafft†.)

Bibliography: W. Krafft, *F. R. Hasse, eine Lebensskizze*, Bonn, 1865.

HASTINGS, JAMES: United Free Church; b. at Huntly (33 m. n. w. of Aberdeen), Scotland, about 1860; educated at Aberdeen, became pastor of St. Cyrus, Montrose, Kincardineshire, 1901. He edited the *Dictionary of the Bible*, 5 vols., Edinburgh and New York, 1898–1904; *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, 2 vols., 1906–07; *Dictionary of the Bible*, 1 vol., 1908; and *Dictionary of Religion and Ethics*, 1908 sqq. He is the editor of *The Expository Times*.

HASTINGS, THOMAS: Composer of sacred music; b. in Washington, Conn., Oct. 15, 1784; d. in New York City May 15, 1872. In early youth he taught himself music, and began his career as a teacher in singing-schools in 1806, and as an editor in 1816. With Prof. Seth Norton, of Hamilton College, he published two pamphlets (1816), afterward enlarged, and united with the *Springfield Collection* in a volume entitled *Musica Sacra*. From 1823 to 1832 he was the editor of *The Western Recorder*, a religious paper published at Utica. In 1832, at the call of twelve churches, he removed to the city of New York. Before leaving Utica he had begun to write hymns, impelled by the lack of variety, especially in meter, in those then current, and by the need of adapting suitable words to the music he arranged. In the *Spiritual Songs* (1832) there are more than thirty of his hymns published anonymously. Among these are some of the best that he wrote; such as, *How calm and beautiful the morn!*; *Gently, Lord, oh gently lead us*; *Child of sin and sorrow*. The popularity of these first attempts led him to continue and cultivate the habit thus early begun. About two hundred of his hymns are in current use, and he left in manuscript about four hundred more. His music, with that of Lowell Mason, did important service in the Church, and marks in America the transition period between the crude and the more cultured periods of psalmody. His cardinal principle was that in church music the artistic must be strictly subordinated to the devotional. In 1858 the University of the City of New York conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Music.

The following is a list of his publications: *Musica Sacra* (Utica, 1816–22); *The Musical Reader* (1819); *A Dissertation on Musical Taste* (Albany, 1822; revised and republished, New York, 1853); *Spiritual Songs* (Lowell Mason coeditor, Utica, 1832–36); *Prayer* (1831); *The Christian Psalmist* (William Patton coeditor, New York, 1836); *Anthems, Motets, and Sentences* (1836); *Musical Magazine* (24 numbers, 1837–38); *The Manhattan Collection* (1837); *Elements of Vocal Music* (1839); *Nursery Songs, The Mother's Hymn-book, The Sacred Lyre* (1840); *Juvenile Songs* (1842); *The Crystal Fount* (1847); *The Sunday-school Lyre* (1848). With William B. Bradbury as joint editor from 1844 to 1851: *The Psalmodist* (1844); *The Choralist* (1847); *The Mendelssohn Collection* (1849); *The Psalmista* (1851); *Devotional Hymns and Poems* (1850); *The History of Forty Choirs* (1854); *Sacred Praise, The Selah* (1856); *Church Melodies* (1858); *Hastings' Church Music* (1860); *Introits, or Short Anthems* (1865). He also edited, for the American Tract Society, *Sacred Songs* (1855) and *Songs of Zion* (1856), and for the Presbyterian Church, *The Presbyterian Psalmodist* (1852) and *The Juvenile Psalmodist*.

Thomas S. Hastings.

HASTINGS, THOMAS SAMUEL: Presbyterian; b. at Utica, N. Y., Aug. 28, 1827. He was educated at Hamilton College (B.A., 1848) and Union Theological Seminary (1851). He then held pastorates at Mendham, N. J. (1852–56), and West Presbyterian Church, New York City (1856–81). From 1881 to 1904 he was professor of sacred rhetoric in Union Theological Seminary, of which he had already been a trustee since 1864, and president from 1888 to 1897. In 1904 he became emeritus professor, but continued to lecture on pastoral theology. He collaborated with his father, Thomas Hastings, in the preparation of *Church Melodies: Psalms and Hymns, with Music for Congregations* (New York, 1858).

HATCH, ABRAM: Mormon bishop; b. at Lincoln, Vt., Jan. 3, 1830. He was educated in the public schools of Lincoln and Bristol, but while still a boy went to Nauvoo, Ill., where the entire family embraced Mormonism. He studied Mormon theology at Utah with Brigham Young, and from 1864 to 1867 was in Great Britain, working in the interests of Mormonism. Shortly after his return to the United States he was appointed bishop, with his residence at Heber City, Utah, and held this office until his resignation in 1900. He was for four years a probate judge, and for twenty-three years a member of the Utah Legislature. Since 1900 he has been engaged in farming and in business.

HATCH, EDWIN: English theologian; b. at Derby Sept. 4, 1835; d. at Oxford Nov. 10, 1889. He was graduated at Pembroke College, Oxford, in 1857, was classical professor in Trinity College, Toronto, Canada, rector of a high school at Quebec, and fellow of McGill University, Montreal, during the years 1859–66. From 1881 to 1885 he was vice-principal of St. Mary's Hall, Oxford, and in 1883 became rector of Purleigh, Essex, though he continued to reside at Oxford. In 1884 he was appointed secretary of the boards of the faculties; for some years before his death he was the editor of the *University Gazette*; and in 1881 he published the official *Students' Handbook to the University and Colleges of Oxford*. In 1880 the university appointed him Greenfield lecturer on the Septuagint,

in which capacity he delivered one lecture each term for about four years. In 1883 the delegates of the Common University Fund founded for him a lectureship in church history, which he held up to the time of his death. He delivered the Bampton lectures in 1880, and the Hibbert lectures in 1888.

His first book was published in London in 1881, as the outcome of the Bampton lectures of 1880, on *The Organization of the Early Christian Churches* (Germ. transl. by A. Harnack, Giessen, 1883). Hatch pursued the same topic in *The Growth of Church Institutions* (London, 1887; Germ. transl. by A. Harnack, Giessen, 1888). The year 1889 brought his *Essays in Biblical Greek*, published at Oxford, which dealt especially with the Septuagint. The Hibbert lectures above referred to were published by A. M. Fairbairn after Hatch's death under the title *The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church* (London, 1890; Germ. transl. by A. Harnack, Freiburg, 1892). His widow and his brother published also a volume of poems, *Towards Fields of Light. Sacred Poems* (London, 1889); a volume of sermons, *The God of Hope* (1890); and *Memorials of Edwin Hatch* (1890). He did a great deal of work on the Hatch-Redpath *Concordance to the Septuagint* (Oxford, 1891–97).

Hatch was a man of encyclopedic knowledge and of unbounded mental activity. He had plans enough to fill a dozen lives. Many a young man at Oxford felt this as a fetter. Plan after plan for work offered by others was set aside because Hatch said that he had made collections or done preparatory work and the thing would soon be ready to publish, though many of these things never reached the light. As a Churchman Hatch was rather broad, and his publications touching the early church were not at all to the mind of High-churchmen. It was, indeed, his liberal views that prevented him from advancing more rapidly in the university. CASPAR RENÉ GREGORY.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Edwin Hatch, Memorials, edited by his Brother* (S. C. Hatch), London, 1900; *Biographical Notices*, also edited by his brother, are prefixed to the volume of *Sermons, Overcoming the World*, New York, 1891; *DNB*, xxv. 149–150.

HATE: An emotion in which selfishness manifests its dislike and abhorrence of some person or some object, which, if left to itself, it is disposed to destroy. Hatred of evil, indeed, is the good man's duty.

The Bible has much to say of hate, enmity, and hostility. In the national and social relationships of Israel hate naturally played a large part. No less remarkable, however, is the moral loftiness toward which the great prophets sought to elevate God's people. If even in the language the conceptions of stranger and enemy run interchangeably together, it is still emphasized that the stranger should not be an object of hatred (cf. the Book of Ruth, and I Kings viii. 41–43). Moderation is obligatory in relation to one's particular foe (Deut. xx. 10 sqq.). As the Jewish people became oppressed and embittered, it is true, this moral loftiness no longer asserted itself; the national hatred, inculcated as a virtue, degenerated at last into fanaticism, and rendered the Jews hateful to all mankind. Chronicles, Esther, and particularly Judith betray this ethical retrogression.

The "vindictive" or "imprecatory" Psalms (such as xli., lxix., cix.) undoubtedly invoke malediction upon the wicked; though by the wicked morally evil and wilfully impenitent men are meant. In such instances the individual cause is frequently identified with the cause of Yahweh.

According to the New Testament, God's love in Christ has overcome the natural enmity of man to deity, although this enmity is still in existence (James iv. 4; Rom. v. 10). Passages like Matt. xxii. 44 indicate judicial punishment of this enmity. But grace precedes judgment. Consequently love is the permeating principle of Christian ethics for the conquest of all manner of enmity. Jesus openly declared this in Matt. v. 43 sqq., it is illustrated in Luke x. 25 sqq., and practically applied in Luke ix. 54 sqq. It is an error to suppose Christian ethics in an absolute opposition to heathen ethics in this respect; but the new feature of Christian ethics is the universal requirement of loving one's enemies.

Christian ethics enlarges upon the Scriptural foundation. The spirit of Christ is to operate among human families in the nature of leaven. But much remains to be overcome; certain peoples have not yet entirely renounced blood-vengeance; nor must contemporary national Chauvinism, race hatred, and class antipathies be forgotten. The ancient world produced virtuosi of hate, such as Nero or Caligula; and the modern world knows a hatred of Christ which leads to the persecution of his followers (Matt. v. 10–12). ARNOLD RÜEGG.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Cremer, *Biblico-theological Lexicon of the New Testament*, s.v. 'εχθρος, Edinburgh, 1886; *DB*, ii. 308–309; *DCG*, i. 704–706 (contains good list of references); and, in general, works on ethics.

HATFIELD, EDWIN FRANCIS: American Presbyterian; b. at Elizabethtown, N. J., Jan. 9, 1807; d. at Summit, N. J., Sept. 22, 1883. He studied at Middlebury College, Vt. (B.A., 1829), and at Andover Theological Seminary (1829–31). He was pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church, St. Louis, (1832–35), of the Seventh Presbyterian Church, New York (1835–56), and of the North Presbyterian Church, New York (1856–63). He was stated clerk of the New School Assembly (1846–70), and of the united body (1870–83), and was elected moderator in 1883. In 1866 he was a member of the Reunion Committee of the New School Assembly. He was special agent for the Union Theological Seminary 1864–66, and again 1870–73, and bequeathed his library of 6,000 volumes to that institution. His more important works are: *Memoir of Elihu W. Baldwin* (New York, 1843); *St. Helena and the Cape of Good Hope* (1852); *The History of Elizabeth, N. J.* (1868); and *The Church Hymn-Book, with Tunes* (1872).

HATTEM, PONTIAAN VAN, HATTEMISTS: A Dutch sect and their founder. The latter was born at Bergen-op-Zoom (15 m. n. of Antwerp) Jan. 16, 1641; d. there Sept., 1706. He studied theology in Leyden, and in 1667 was licensed to preach in the Reformed Church He spent some time abroad, and in Nov., 1670, was in Oxford. In 1672 he

became preacher of St. Philipsland in Zealand. He esteemed a pious and holy life more highly than purity of doctrine, and in 1680 reports of his heterodoxy were circulated. He was tried for heresy, and in 1683 was deposed from his office, charged with deviating from the orthodox doctrine in his views of the essence and punishment of sin, of redemption and justification, faith, conversion, gratitude, and prayer. Banished from St. Philipsland, he settled in Bergen-op-Zoom, and worked there quietly under the protection of the civil authorities. He held conventicles, and the circle of his followers gradually expanded and included some of the respected citizens of the town. He preached his new gospel even in Amsterdam and The Hague, and influenced larger circles by an extended correspondence. Among his adherents, however, there soon arose divergent views and deviations from the doctrines of Hattem, and by 1760 the Hattemists had disappeared.

Hattem has been frequently considered a disciple of Spinoza, but unjustly. He was no philosopher, but intent primarily upon the advancement of practical piety. He preached a passive Christianity. Man must not seek his salvation, because in that case he seeks himself; he must acknowledge with a grateful heart that Christ has sought and found him. But he can not believe this unless God grants him faith, and it shows the greatest ingratitude not to recognize the love of God by which he has given himself to man. Only the regenerated has been purified of this ingratitude and is able to love God and his fellow man. With regeneration there originates a clear perception of divine truth. The regenerate, in virtue of his faith, is assured of his salvation and therefore need not deplore any longer his sinful condition, for he is one with God and his Son, so that by faith he sees himself " in the Son of God." He is not more inclined toward evil, but fulfils the will of God spontaneously. This is not the result of struggle and effort, but an outcome of the work of the Holy Spirit within the heart. Thus God becomes everything and man nothing.

(S. D. van Veen.)

Bibliography: The most important of Hattem's works, ed. J. Roggeveen, appeared vol. i., The Hague, 1718, vols. ii.–iii., Amsterdam, 1719, vol. iv., n.p., 1727. On Hattem consult: W. C. van Manen, in *De Gids*, iii (1885), 357–429, iv (1886), 85–115; idem, in *Archief voor Nederlandsche Kerkgeschiedenis*, i. 273–348. On the Hattemists consult: T. Hasæus, *De nupere Schoristarum in Belgio secta eiusque auctoribus relatio*, in *Museum hist.-phil. theolog. Bremense*, ii. 144–172; J. Borsius, in *Nederlandsch Archief voor kerkelijke Geschiedenis*, i (1841), 287–362; J. van Leeuwen, in the same, viii (1848), 57–169; A. W. Wybrands, in *Archief voor Nederlandsche Kerkgeschiedenis*, i. 51–128; *KL*, v. 1527; J. L. von Mosheim, *Institutes of Ecclesiastical History*, ed. W. Stubbs, iii. 390, London, 1863.

HATTO OF MAINZ: Archbishop of Mainz; b., probably in Swabia, about the middle of the ninth century; d. May 15, 913, although the place of his death is unknown. He was educated either at Ellwangen or Fulda, and in 889 was elected abbot of Reichenau. In the following year he became abbot of Ellwangen, and two years later, while still retaining these and other benefices, he was consecrated archbishop of Mainz at the desire of King Arnulf, to whom he had rendered important services. He twice accompanied Arnulf to Italy (894, 896), and on the latter occasion received from Pope Formosus the pallium, and relics of St. George for his monastery of Reichenau. When Arnulf died and his young son, Louis the Child, ascended the throne in 900, Hatto's power became still greater. Together with Adelbero, bishop of Augsburg, he acted as regent throughout the brief reign of Louis (900–911), devoting his chief energies to the welfare of the kingdom and the preservation of peace; and his influence suffered little diminution at the hands of Conrad I., whom he himself had proposed as the successor of Louis.

About the name of so prominent a statesman and ecclesiastic a mass of legend soon grew up, and many tales were current of dark deeds and plans in which he was said to have been involved. He was said to have been the chief character in the treacherous murder of Count Adalbert of Badenberg, a rebel against the king, whom the archbishop induced to surrender under promise of protection. While Hatto was accompanying Conrad to the Rhine in 912, his Thuringian and Saxon estates were attacked by Duke Henry of Saxony, thus giving rise to the tradition that Hatto, unable to gain revenge openly, strangled Henry with a chain of gold. On the other hand, he is represented in many sources as irreproachable in affairs of both Church and State. He convened the important Synod of Tribur (895), built the church of St. George at Reichenau, and beautified the cathedral at Mainz. Concerning his death there were many traditions. According to Ekkehard of St. Gall, he died of " Italian fever "; according to Thietmar, his death was sudden; and according to Widukind, he expired of chagrin at the failure of his plans against Henry of Saxony. Later traditions relate that he was killed by lightning, or snatched up by the devil and hurled into the crater of Etna. The most popular legend, however, represents him as eaten by mice in his tower at Bingen on the Rhine because of his cruelty to the poor.

(A. Hauck.)

Bibliography: A letter of his to Pope John IX. is in *MPL*, cxxxi.; J. F. Böhmer, *Regesta archiepiscoporum Moguntinensium*, i., pp. xxvii. sqq., 84 sqq., Innsbruck, 1877. Consult: F. L. Dammert, *Hatto I., Programm*, Freiburg, 1864–65. On the legends: S. Baring-Gould, *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, pp. 447–470, London, 1872; C. J. C. Will, in *Monatsschrift für rhein-westphälische Geschichtsforschung*, i (1875), 205 sqq.; Hauck, *KD*, iii. 7, 10–11, et passim.

HATTO OF REICHENAU AND BASEL. See Haito.

HATTO OF VERCELLI. See Atto.

HAUCK, ALBERT: German Lutheran; b. at Wassertrüdingen (19 m. s. of Ansbach) Dec. 9, 1845. He was educated at the universities of Erlangen and Berlin from 1864 to 1868, and after being pastor at Frankenheim from 1875 to 1878 was appointed associate professor of theology at Erlangen, where he became full professor four years later. Since 1889 he has been professor of church history at Leipsic, where he was rector in 1898–99 and dean in 1904–05. In theology he is an Evangelical of the scientific school. He has written: *Tertullians Leben und Schriften* (Erlangen, 1877); *Die Bischofswahlen unter den Merowingern* (1883); *Die Entstehung des*

Christustypus in der abendländischen Kunst (Heidelberg, 1880); and *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands* (4 vols., Leipsic, 1886–1905), in addition to a number of briefer contributions. In 1880 he succeeded G. T. Plitt as joint editor of the second edition of the Herzog-Plitt *Realencyklopädie*, and on the death of J. J. Herzog in 1882 became sole editor of the encyclopedia, which he carried to a conclusion in 1888. He was sole editor of the third edition, 1896–1909, the basis of the present work.

HAUG, JOHANN HEINRICH: German mystic; d. at Berleburg (28 m. s.s.e. of Arnsberg), Westphalia, 1753. He first appears at Strasburg, where he received his master's degree, and was expelled from the city by the church authorities for holding a conventicle of Philadelphians (see LEAD, JANE) and other mystic Separatists. Later he found refuge in the castle of Count Casimir at Berleburg, where he remained till his death, directing a Philadelphian organization that extended throughout western Germany. In 1730 Count Zinzendorf visited Berleburg and sought to unify the diverse elements that Haug had brought together; but after a few years the new organization fell to pieces and Haug and other Separatists reverted to their former customs. Haug believed that ultimately all things would be restored, and that Christ would reign on earth for a thousand years. In the interest of mysticism he made the revision of the Bible known as the Berleburg Bible (see BIBLES, ANNOTATED, I., § 3). He is said to have been a man of great piety and charming personality, and was regarded by Count Casimir as a prophet of God.

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HAUGE, he'ge, **HANS NIELSEN:** Norwegian lay preacher and revivalist; b. on his father's farm, parish of Tune, south of Smaalenene (the s.e. corner of Norway, Apr. 3, 1771; d. on his estate, Bredtvedt, near Aker (50 m. n. of Christiania), Mar. 29, 1824. His childhood and youth were spent on his father's farm, and his education included no more than the scanty learning of a Norwegian peasant's son of the time. In 1796 he was converted, and at once resolved to preach for the conversion of others. At the outset, he stayed at home, and spoke of conversion and the way of salvation to individuals; but after 1797 he appeared in public as a preacher of righteousness and an exhorter. From 1798 to 1804 he traveled through Norway, chiefly on foot, preaching twice and sometimes four times a day, also writing hundreds of letters and composing books. His speech was incisive and emotional, and made a powerful impression on those who heard him. His writings, though somewhat defective in form, gained wide circulation among the people. He roused a popular religious movement in Norway, many of his friends likewise traveling about as lay preachers; and the general result was profitable to the State Church, although here and there instances of spiritual extravagance and fanaticism occurred.

Hauge's was a highly practical nature; he took great interest in trade and industry, and promoted progress in these fields also. His religious activity encountered strong opposition from the clergy, who in a rationalistic age looked coldly on the feelings which inspired the peasant lay preacher. To meet the charge of vagrancy brought against himself and his friends, he stationed his friends at many different places in the country, finding for them good properties at low rates, or instructing them to carry on various industrial pursuits, that they might entertain the traveling lay preachers, and that the process of edification might be carried on under a "house father's" supervision. The result was a sort of chain of small brotherhoods, closely interlinked.

In 1804 Hauge was arrested in Christiania, and remained in prison till 1811, with the exception of seven months in 1809, when he was released to promote, with his practical insight, the manufacture of salt. In Dec., 1814, he was condemned to two years of hard labor on the charge of violating the conventicle act. He appealed to the supreme court, which commuted the sentence to a heavy fine and the payment of costs. After his release from prison he lived quietly at Bredtvedt. In his "testament to his friends" he advised them to affiliate with the church pastors and the existing ecclesiastical order. The voluntary activity of laymen which Hauge initiated has wrought much for the church life in Norway. Norwegian immigrants to the United States sympathizing with his views have organized "Hauge's Synod" in the Northwest (see LUTHERANS). T. G. B. ODLAND.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The chief work is A. C. Bang, *Hans Nielsen Hauge og hans Samtid*, Christiania, 1875, substantially reproduced in *Zeitschrift für Diakonie*, 1880. A complete bibliography of Hauge literature is by J. B. Halvorsen, *Norsk Forfatterlexikon*, ii. 571 sqq., cf. i. 163, iii. 213, iv. 330, 1814–80.

HAUPT, ERICH: German Protestant; b. at Stralsund (149 m. n.n.e. of Berlin) July 8, 1841. He was educated at the University of Berlin (1858–1861), and after teaching in a gymnasium at Kolberg in 1864–66, and Treptow in 1866–78, was appointed professor of theology at Kiel. Five years later he was called to Greifswald in the same capacity, and since 1888 has been professor of New Testament exegesis at Halle. In 1884 he became councilor of the consistory at Stettin, and at Magdeburg in 1902. He has written: *Der erste Brief des Johannes* (Kolberg, 1869); *Die alttestamentlichen Zitate in den vier Evangelien* (1871); *Johannes der Täufer* (Gütersloh, 1874); *Der Sonntag und die Bibel* (Hamburg, 1877); *Die Kirche und die akademische Lehrfreiheit* (Kiel, 1881); *Die Bedeutung der heiligen Schrift für die evangelischen Christen* (Bielefeld, 1891); *Die eschatologischen Reden Jesu* (Berlin, 1895); *Zum Verständnis des Apostolats im Neuen Testament* (Halle, 1896); and *Die Gefangenschaftsbriefe des Paulus* (Göttingen, 1897). He has likewise been a member of the editorial staff of the *Deutsch-evangelische Blätter* since 1901, and of the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* since 1902.

HAUPT, PAUL: American Orientalist, layman; b. at Görlitz (62 m. e. of Dresden), Germany, Nov. 25, 1858. He was educated at the universities of Leipsic (Ph.D., 1878) and Berlin. He became privat-docent in the University of Göttingen in 1880

and three years later was appointed associate professor. He retained this position until 1889, although he left Germany in 1883 to accept the professorship of Semitic languages at Johns Hopkins University, continuing to lecture at Göttingen in the summer. He is director of the Oriental seminary in Johns Hopkins. In theology he is an adherent of the advanced critical school. One of his latest propositions (1908) is to the effect that Jesus Christ was an Aryan, not a Semite. He is the editor of *The Polychrome Bible* (two series, one of the Hebrew text, and the other of the English translation; Baltimore, Md., 1893 sqq.); and is one of the editors of the *Johns Hopkins Contributions to Assyriology and Comparative Semitic Grammar* (1889 sqq.), as well as of the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Leipsic, 1889 sqq.), and of the *Assyriologische Bibliothek* (1881 sqq.). He has written: *Die sumerischen Familiengesetze in Keilschrift, Transcription und Uebersetzung* (Leipsic, 1879); *Akkadische und sumerische Keilschrifttexte* (2 parts, 1881–82); *Die akkadische Sprache* (Berlin, 1883); *Das babylonische Nimrodepos* (2 parts, Leipsic, 1884–91); *The Book of Canticles* (Chicago, 1902); *Koheleth* (Leipsic, 1905); *The Book of Ecclesiastes* (Baltimore, 1905); *The Book of Nahum* (1907); and *Das sogenannte Hohelied Salomos* (Leipsic, 1907).

HAUREÁU, ō″rē″ō′, JEAN BARTHÉLEMY: French Roman Catholic; b. in Paris Nov. 9, 1812; d. there Apr. 29, 1896. He was educated at the Collège Louis le Grand and the Collège Bourbon, and after being a journalist for several years, became in 1838 editor of the *Courrier de la Sarthe* at Le Mans, where he was also municipal librarian. In 1845 he returned to Paris, where he was keeper in the Bibliothèque Nationale until the *coup d'état* of 1852. He then resigned his office, but in 1862 was appointed librarian of the Imprimerie Nationale, of which he was director from 1870 to 1882, when he retired from active life. Among his numerous writings, which made his reputation as the great authority on mediæval history, special mention may be made of his *Critique des hypothèses métaphysiques de Manès, de Pélage et de l' idéalisme transcendental de Saint Augustin* (Le Mans, 1840); *Manuel du clergé, ou examen de l'ouvrage de M. Bouvier, évêque du Mans: Dissertatio in sextum decalogi præceptum* (1844); *De la philosophie scholastique* (2 vols., Paris, 1850); *François Premier et sa cour* (1853); *Charlemagne et sa cour* (1854); *Hugues de Saint-Victor* (1859); *Bernard Délicieux et l' inquisition albigeoise* (1877); *Les Mélanges poétiques d'Hildebert de Lavardin* (1882); *Des Poèmes latins attribués à Saint Bernard* (1890); *Le Poème adressé par Abélard à son fils Astralabe* (1893); and *Le "Mathematicus" de Bernard Silvestris et la "Passio Sanctae Agnetis" de Pierre Riga* (1895). He likewise prepared the greater portions of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth volumes of the *Gallia christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa* (Paris, 1856–65), and edited *Notices et extraits de quelques manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (6 vols., 1890–93).

HAUSMANN, NICOLAUS (NICLAS): German Reformer; b. at Freiberg (20 m. s. w. of Dresden) c. 1479; d. there Nov. 3, 1538. After serving for a time as preacher at Schneeberg, he was appointed pastor at the church of St. Mary and chief clergyman at Zwickau, and was there involved with the mystics who adhered to Thomas Münzer (q.v.). Eleven years later he was appointed pastor at Dessau at the recommendation of Luther. In the latter part of 1538 he was called to Freiberg as superintendent, but was stricken with apoplexy at his very first sermon. Hausmann was one of the oldest and dearest friends of Luther, and may be termed the Reformer of Zwickau and Anhalt.

(G. Frank†.)

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HAUSRATH, ADOLF: German Reformed; b. at Carlsruhe Jan. 13, 1837. He was educated at the universities of Jena, Göttingen, Berlin, and Heidelberg (1856–60), and after being vicar at Heidelberg from 1860 to 1864, was assessor to the supreme consistory of Baden for three years. In 1867 he was appointed associate professor of church history at Heidelberg, where he has been full professor of the same subject since 1871. His theological position is liberal. He has written: *Konrad von Marburg* (Heidelberg, 1862); *Der Apostel Paulus* (1865); *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte* (4 vols., 1868–74; Eng. transl., *Hist. of the N. T. Times*, 4 vols., London, 1895); *Der Vierkapitelbrief des Paulus an die Korinther* (1869); *David Friedrich Strauss und die Theologie seiner Zeit* (2 vols., Munich, 1875–77); *Kleine Schriften religionsgeschichtlichen Inhalts* (Leipsic, 1883); *Arnold von Brescia* (1892); *Peter Abälard* (1893); *Martin Luther's Romfahrt* (Berlin, 1894); *Die Arnoldisten* (Leipsic, 1895); *Aleander und Luther auf dem Reichstage zu Worms* (Berlin, 1897); *Luthers Leben* (2 vols., 1904–05); and *Richard Rothe und seine Freunde* (2 vols., 1904–06).

HAUSSLEITER, JOHANNES: German Lutheran; b. at Löpsingen (a village near Nördlingen, 50 m. s.w. of Nuremberg), Bavaria, June 23, 1851. He was educated at the universities of Erlangen, Tübingen, and Leipsic (Ph.D., 1884), and since 1891 has been professor of New Testament exegesis at the University of Greifswald. Besides contributing extensively to theological periodicals and encyclopedias and editing August Friedrich Christian Vilmar's *Ueber den evangelischen Unterricht in deutschen Gymnasien* (Marburg, 1888), he has written *Aus der Schule Melanchthons, theologische Disputationen und Promotionen zu Wittenberg in den Jahren 1546–1560* (Greifswald, 1897), and *Melanchthon-Kompendium* (1902), as well as many briefer works.

HAVELBERG, BISHOPRIC OF: A bishopric founded by Otto I. about 948 for the propagation of Christianity among the Wends (q.v.), taking its name from the town of Havelberg (in Prussia, on the Havel, about 60 m. n.w. of Berlin). The territory of the bishopric extended from the middle Elbe to the Baltic Sea and included the island of Usedom. Originally under the authority of the archbishop of Mainz, it was transferred in 968 to the newly erected

archbishopric of Magdeburg. Its existence, however, practically terminated with the great Wendish uprising of 983, when the town of Havelberg was taken by storm. Bishops of Havelberg continued to be named, but they remained far from their diocese, where the old heathenism prevailed. In 1140 the northern part of the see was annexed to the diocese newly formed for Pomerania (see KAMMIN, BISHOPRIC OF). In 1129 St. Norbert, founder of the Premonstratensians, undertook the restoration of the diocese. He obtained the appointment of his pupil, Anselm, who established a cathedral chapter in 1144, and, when a large part of the pagan inhabitants were exterminated by the crusade against the Wends in 1147, colonized the depopulated districts from the Netherlands. Most of the bishops of the later time were Premonstratensians, frequently elected, from the thirteenth century on, under the influence of the margraves of Brandenburg. The last bishop, Busso II. (d. 1548), labored unsuccessfully to withstand the inroads of the Reformation, and at his death the elector assigned the territory to his sons as administrators and completed its secularization.

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HAVELOCK, SIR HENRY: English general; b. at Bishop Wearmouth (12 m. n. e. of Durham) Apr. 5, 1795; d. at Lucknow, India, Nov. 24, 1857. He was educated at the Charterhouse, London, and entered the Middle Temple in 1813 as the pupil of Joseph Chitty. In 1815 he entered the army as second lieutenant, and after eight years of service in Great Britain went to India in 1823. During the voyage he experienced strong religious conviction, and determined to lead a Christian life. Throughout his long and distinguished military career in India it was his custom to call his men together for frequent devotional services. He took an active interest in missions, and joined the Baptist Church. He served in the war against Burma 1824–26, in the first Afghan war, 1838–42, in the first Sikh war, 1845–46, commanded a division of the army that invaded Persia in 1856, and particularly distinguished himself during the Indian Mutiny of 1857. By a series of brilliant victories he made himself the "hero of Lucknow"; but five days after the relief of the city he died of dysentery, brought on by overexertion. Before the news of his death had been received in England he was created major-general and baronet, and by Parliament granted a pension of a thousand pounds. He published *Memoir of Three Campaigns* (Serampore, 1828); and *Narrative of the War in Afghanistan* (2 vols., London, 1840).

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HAVEN, ERASTUS OTIS: Methodist Episcopalian; b. in Boston, Mass., Nov. 1, 1820; d. at Salem, Ore., Aug. 2, 1881. He studied at the Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. (B.A., 1842), taught for a number of years, then joined the New York Conference in 1848. He was successively pastor of the Twenty-fourth (now Thirtieth) Street Church (1848–49), of the Red Hook Mission (1850–51), and of the Mulberry Street (now St. Paul's) Church (1852). In 1853 he was elected to the chair of Latin in the University of Michigan, and the following year he was transferred to the chair of English language, literature, and history. From 1856 to 1863 he was editor of *Zion's Herald*, Boston. He was a member of the Massachusetts State Board of Education 1858–63, a member of the State Senate 1862–63, and for a time one of the overseers of Harvard. In 1863 he was elected president of the University of Michigan, and in 1869 became president of Northwestern University. He resigned this post in 1872, after having been elected by the General Conference of that year corresponding secretary of the Board of Education of the Methodist Episcopal Church. From 1874 to 1880 he was chancellor of Syracuse University. In 1879 he was sent to Great Britain as a delegate of the Methodist Episcopal Church to the parent Wesleyan body. In 1880 he was elected bishop. He contributed largely to the periodical press, and published several books, of which the best known are: *The Young Man Advised* (New York, 1855); *The Pillars of Truth* (1866); and a work on *Rhetoric* (1869).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: His *Autobiography* appeared New York, 1883.

HAVEN, GILBERT: Methodist Episcopalian; b. at Malden, Mass., Sept. 19, 1821; d. there Jan. 3, 1880. After his graduation at Wesleyan University in 1846 he taught for several years at the Amenia Seminary, Dutchess county, N. Y. In 1851 he joined the New England Conference, and thereupon preached for two years each at Northampton, Wilbraham, Westfield, Roxbury, and Cambridge. In 1861 he was commissioned chaplain of the Eighth Massachusetts Regiment, but resigned after three months on account of ill health. After spending a year in Europe he resumed his ministerial work as pastor of the North Russell Street Church, Boston. In 1867 he became editor of *Zion's Herald*, Boston, a post that he filled for the next five years. On May 24, 1872, he was elected bishop. He made Atlanta his official residence, but traveled extensively throughout the country. In the interest of missions he visited Mexico in 1873 and Liberia in 1876. He was active in the educational work of the denomination, particularly among the freedmen of the South, and by his wise counsels and liberal gifts contributed largely to the success of Clark University, at Atlanta. His more important works are: *The Pilgrim's Wallet* (Boston, 1865), sketches of travels in Europe; *National Sermons* (1869); *Life of Father Taylor* (New York, 1871); and *Our Next-Door Neighbor* (1875), sketches of Mexico.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Prentiss, *Life of Gilbert Haven*, New York, 1883; E. Wentworth, *Gilbert Haven*, ib. 1880.

HAVERGAL, FRANCES RIDLEY: English hymn-writer; b. at Astley (9 m. n.w. of Worcester), Worcestershire, Dec. 14, 1836; d. near Swansea, South Wales, June 3, 1879. She was a daughter of the Rev. W. H. Havergal, for many years rector of

St. Nicholas, Worcester. She attended a private school at Worcester, and afterward spent a year in the Luisenschule, Düsseldorf, Germany, attaining proficiency in several modern languages, and also in Greek and Hebrew, which she learned in order to be able to read the Bible in the original. She began writing verse at the age of seven, and soon her poems found their way into *Good Words* and other religious periodicals. Her hymns, for which she also furnished the tunes, are now included in all collections, the most familiar being the deeply suggestive consecration hymn, "Take my life and let it be." Her own life was spent in doing aggressive religious and philanthropic work, and in singing the love of God and the way of salvation. She published several collections of poems and hymns, including: *The Ministry of Song* (London, 1870); *Under the Surface* (1874); *Loyal Responses* (1878); and *Under His Shadow* (1879). Her prose writings include: *Morning Bells and Little Pillows* (1875); *My King* (1877); *Kept for the Master's Use* (1879); and *Swiss Letters* (1881). Her *Poetical Works* were edited by her sister, M. V. G. Havergal (2 vols., 1884).

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HAVILAH. See Ophir.

HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

Area, Population, Extent (§ 1).
History (§ 2).
Missions since 1862 (§ 5).
First Missionary Work (§ 3).
Missions, 1827–62 (§ 4).

The Hawaiian Islands are a group of five large and three small volcanic islands in the north Pacific Ocean, latitude 18°50′–23°5′ north, and longitude 154°40′–160°50′ west, extending from northwest to southeast for 350 miles, and having a total land area of 5,900 square miles, and a population (1900) of 154,001. Hawaii, the largest and most southern of the islands, is 70 by 90 miles in extent; area, 4,015 square miles; population (1900), 46,843; elevation, 13,835 feet. Maui, midway between Hawaii and Oahu, is 48 miles long, and from 8 to 25 miles wide; area, 620 square miles; population (1900), 24,797; elevation, 10,000 feet. Lanai (area, 135 square miles) and Kahulawe (area, 69 square miles) are two small islands near Maui. Molokai, 8 miles northwest, is 40 by 7 miles in extent; area, 190 square miles; population (1900), 2,504. Oahu, 23 miles north of Molokai, is 46 by 25 miles in extent; area, 530 square miles; population (1900), 58,504. Honolulu, the capital and largest city of the group, is located on the southeast coast. Seventy-eight miles northwest is Kauai, 25 by 22 miles in extent; area, 544 square miles; population (1900), 20,562. At the extreme north of the group and west of Kauai is the small island of Niihau; area, 97 square miles; population (1900), 172. Distances from various world-ports are: San Francisco, 2,100 miles; Panama, 4,720 miles; Fiji, 2,700; Samoa, 2,290; Auckland, 3,810; Hongkong, 4,920; Yokohama, 3,400; Guam, 3,300; Manila via n.e. cape, 4,890.

1. Area, Population, Extent.

The islands were discovered in 1542 by Juan Gaetano, a Spanish navigator, and rediscovered by Captain James Cook on Jan. 18, 1778. He estimated the population to be about 350,000. The Hawaiian people were probably of Aryan stock, migrating from central Asia through India, Sumatra, and Java, and scattering through the various island-groups of the South Pacific. The first known arrival was in the sixth century, when a chief named Nanaula came with a party from Tahiti and Samoa, followed by others, bringing with them their priests and gods, with all their attendant evils of polygamy, infanticide, the offering of human sacrifices, and a most oppressive taboo system. During the tenth and eleventh centuries communication with the south was frequent, but near the close of the twelfth century it ceased. Then came Gaetano in 1542, followed by other white men at infrequent intervals, till with the visit of Captain Cook, in 1778, and his revisit, Jan. 17, 1779, which ended in his tragic death at Kaawaloa, Feb. 14, 1779, the Hawaiian Islands began their part in the history of the world. At this time they were a number of independent principalities, under feudal authority; during the next few years rival chiefs were continually fighting for supremacy. These wars culminated in a victory for Kamehameha, a chief of Hawaii, in 1795, and he became ruler of the united islands under the title of Kamehameha I. He thoroughly organized the government, encouraging agriculture and all known industries, while vigorously suppressing robbery and murder, and forbidding the offering of human sacrifices. He nevertheless maintained the most rigid ceremonial etiquette, and enforced the taboo. On his death, in 1819, his son, Liholiho, succeeded him as Kamehameha II., and he carried to a greater extent the reforms begun by his father. With the strong influence of the dowager queen and the high priest back of him, he decreed the destruction of temples and idols, and abolished the taboo. Thus were the people in the peculiar position of being without a religion. At this time the population numbered not more than 150,000, and the numerous abandoned villages gave the impression that fully two-thirds of the people had disappeared. The prevalence of new and virulent diseases, the wars of Kamehameha I., and the practise of human sacrifice and infanticide, all contributed to this result.

2. History.

Interest in these islands had been awakened in 1810 by the arrival in New England of several Hawaiian boys who had escaped from the tribal wars of Kamehameha I. Among them was Henry Obookaiah, who, becoming a Christian, earnestly desired an education that he might go back and teach his people. He made an attempt to reduce the Hawaiian language to writing, beginning a spelling-book, dictionary, and grammar, and

3. First Missionary Work.

also translated the Book of Genesis. His death in 1817, with this desire unfulfilled, led Hiram Bingham (q. v.) and Asa Thurston to offer their services to the American Board for work in these islands. They were joined by fifteen others, and on Oct. 15, 1819, the Mission Church of Hawaii was formed in Boston, with seventeen members, three of whom were Hawaiian boys, and on Oct. 23 they sailed on the brig *Thaddeus*, arriving at the islands March 30, 1820, to find the taboo abolished, temples and idols destroyed, and the priesthood shorn of its diabolical power. In spite of all his sweeping reforms, Kamehameha did not want the missionaries, or rather the white foreigners told him he did not; and it was with reluctance that he finally granted them permission to remain one year, as an experiment. They settled on Hawaii, Oahu, and Maui. Thus the first Christian Church in the Hawaiian Islands was transplanted from New England. Eight months previously, however, a Roman Catholic priest on the French discovery ship *Uranie* had baptized the prime minister, Kalanimoku, and Boki, his younger brother. The former heartily welcomed the newcomers, and used his influence in their favor. The king was friendly and was one of the first to learn to read. On his death, in England, in 1824, the government passed into the hands of Kaahumanu, as queen regent, and the prime minister, Kalanimoku, both of whom were friendly, as were the majority of the high chiefs. This year several notable events occurred, all favorable to the mission. The chiefs agreed to observe the Sabbath, the ten cmmandments were taken as the basis of government, and the Princess Kapiolani made her memorable visit to the crater of Kilauea, defying the power of the fire-goddess Pele. Kaahumanu, the queen dowager, traveled to all parts of her kingdom, commanding the people to assist the "Kumus" and accept their teaching. Though the missionaries had large congregations and schools at all their stations, yet in 1825 there were but ten members in the native church.

4. Missions, 1827–62.

In 1827 the first Roman Catholic missionaries arrived, but they were refused residence. They remained till 1831, when the government provided a vessel in which they were taken to California. The work of the American mission was vigorously prosecuted; reenforcements were sent out, more schools opened, the printing-press busily employed, and a strong Evangelistic work carried on. For a quarter of a century the American Mission was the dominating influence in a rapidly increasing foreign population; nevertheless such was the care exercised that in 1836 there were but twenty churches, with a membership of but 1,168. Then came the revivals of 1836–39; during these three years, out of a population of 125,000, nearly 20,000 members were received into the church, the greater number under the ministry of Titus Coan (q.v.). During these years Messrs. Richards, Thurston, Bingham, and Bishop had been translating the Bible, and it was given to the people in 1839. This year the French government intervened in behalf of the Roman Catholics, and a mission was established by them; in 1843 more priests were sent, and the cathedral in Honolulu was dedicated. In 1850 Mormon missionaries arrived. The Hawaiian churches of the pioneer mission increased in strength and character; in 1852 they united with the American Board in sending missionaries to Micronesia and the Marquesas; and as a result the general meeting of the missionary fathers became the Hawaiian Evangelical Association in 1854. In response to repeated requests of churchmen resident in the group, in 1862 a mission was established by the Church of England.

5. Missions since 1862.

At this time there were 59 native churches, having a membership of 53,583; representatives of these churches were admitted to the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, having equal status with the missionaries, and the Hawaiian board was formed as its executive agency. The mission had become a colony, and it was becoming increasingly evident that the work could no longer be continued along the old lines. Accordingly, in 1863, the American Board decided to send no more missionaries, to grant autonomy to the churches, and to place them in the care of Hawaiian pastors. Coincident with this process of development in the native church, the Hawaiian nation had been passing through a remarkable period of evolution. Bill of rights was succeeded by constitution, the granting of property rights, the enactment of just laws, and all the outward evidences of a Christian civilization. The year 1863 marked the climax of prosperity for the Hawaiian Church. The Kamehameha dynasty passed; missionary leaders died, and their places remained unfilled. During the reigns of Kalakaua and Liliokulani new vices were born, and a fresh and vigorous alien paganism asserted itself; the clash came, and the nation lost its sovereignty, and the Church declined. But all was not lost; if the missionaries had died, they left behind them a goodly band of descendants who loyally helped their Hawaiian brethren. Churches for the white races were formed, to become the nucleus for a second great advance; the battle was pushed in new directions; missions for Portuguese, Chinese, and Japanese were instituted and carried on with vigor; and at the jubilee of the mission in 1870, Hawaii was declared to be no longer missionary ground, but an Evangelized nation. Missionary and philanthropic work progressed henceforth along denominational lines; and after 1870 came the Methodist Episcopal, Christian, Lutheran, and Adventist churches, the Reorganized Mormon Church, the Salvation Army, Theosophists, and Buddhists. When the islands were annexed by the United States in 1898 a new era of home missions began, characterized by the dominance of the English language in all missionary activities, and for the first time in forty-five years the membership in the Hawaiian Church has notably increased in spite of the decline in population. At the census of 1900 there were 27,000 Protestant communicants, 30,000 Roman Catholics, 6,000 Mormons, 55,000 Buddhists, 25,000 Confucianists, and 11,000 unclassified. THEODORA CROSBY BLISS.

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Sketch of the Missions of A. B. C. F. M. in the Sandwich Islands, ib. 1876; P. Tournaford, *Havai; hist. de l'établissement du Catholicisme*, Paris, 1877; L. F. Judd, *Honolulu; Sketches of Life, social, political and religious*, New York, 1881; T. Coan, *Life in Hawaii*, ib. 1882; W. D. Alexander, *Brief Hist. of the Hawaiian People*, ib. 1892; T. Achelis, *Ueber Mythologie und Cultus von Hawaii*, Brunswick, 1895; B. M. Brain, *Transformation of Hawaii*, New York, 1899; C. Whitney, *Hawaiian America*, ib. 1899; I.. Young, *The Real Hawaii*, ib. 1899; A. S. Twombly, *Hawaii and its People*, London, 1900; *Encyclopedia of Missions*, pp. 289–291, New York, 1904; W. F. Blackman, *The Making of Hawaii*, ib. 1906; C. W. Baldwin, *Geography of the Hawaiian Islands*, ib., 1908.

HAWAWEENY, RAPHAEL: Syrian Greek Orthodox; b. at Damascus, Syria, Nov. 8, 1860. He was educated at the Syrian Greek Orthodox College of his native city, and the theological seminaries of Hand Halki (near Constantinople) and Kiev, Russia. After being teacher of Arabic, Greek, and Turkish at the college in Damascus (1877–79), he was deacon preacher of the patriarchate of Antioch (1886–88), archimandrite abbot of the Antioch Monastery, Moscow (1889–92), lecturer in Arabic at the theological seminary at Kazan, Russia (1893–1895), and archimandrite of the Syrian Greek Orthodox mission in North America (1895–1904). In 1904 he was consecrated bishop of Brooklyn for all the Syrian Greek Orthodox Christians in North America. He has translated from Russian into Arabic "The Errors of the Papistical Church" (Kazan, 1893), and written: "The History of the Antioch Monastery at Moscow" (Russian, Moscow, 1891); "History of the Greek Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulcher in Palestine" (Arabic, Cairo, 1893); "History of the Christian Church" (Arabic, Kazan, 1894); "Refutation of the Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII." (Arabic, 1895); and "Prayer-Book of the Greek Orthodox Church" (Arabic, New York, 1898).

HAWEIS, hō'is, **HUGH REGINALD:** Church of England; b. at Egham (3 m. s.e. of Windsor), Surrey, Apr. 3, 1838; d. at London Jan. 29, 1901. He was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge (B.A.. 1861), and was curate of St. Peter's, Stepney, from 1861 to 1863, and of St. James the Less, Westminster, from 1863 to 1866, while from 1866 until his death he was perpetual curate of St. James, Marylebone, where he was the successor of F. D. Maurice (q.v.). He was one of the leaders of the Broad-church party in the Church of England, and in 1860 took part in the Italian campaigns of Garibaldi against the pope. Like his predecessor, he was deeply interested in the welfare of the lower classes, instituting special Sunday evening services for them. Among his numerous publications, special mention may be made of his *Music and Morals* (London, 1871); *Thoughts for the Times* (1872); *Unsectarian Family Prayers* (1874); *Speech in Season* (1874); *Ashes to Ashes* (an argument for cremation; 1874); *Current Coin* (1876); *Arrows in the Air* (1878); *Poets in the Pulpit* (1880); *Key of Doctrine and Practice* (1884); *Winged Words: or, Truths Retold* (1885); *Christ and Christianity* (5 vols., 1886–87); *The Dead Pulpit* (1896); *Ideals for Girls* (1897); and *The Child's Life of Jesus* (1901).

HAWKER, ROBERT: Church of England; b. at Exeter Apr. 13, 1753; d. at Plymouth Apr. 6, 1827. Following his father, he adopted surgery as his profession, and spent three years as assistant surgeon in the Royal Marines. In May, 1778, he entered Magdalen Hall, Oxford, took holy orders, and became curate of Charles, near Plymouth, in Dec., 1778, succeeding to the vicarage of Charles in 1784. In 1797 he became deputy-chaplain of the garrison at Plymouth. In 1802 he founded the Great Western Society for Dispensing Religious Tracts among the Poor in the Western District, and in 1813 he established the Corpus Christi Society in his parish. He became one of the most popular extemporaneous preachers in England, and on the occasion of his annual visits to London preached to crowded congregations in the leading churches. In theology he was a high Calvinist. The list of his works, some of which passed through many editions, occupies six columns in the British Museum catalogue. The best known are: *Sermons on the Divinity of Christ* (London, 1792); *The Poor Man's Morning Portion* (London, 1809); *The Poor Man's Commentary on the New Testament* (4 vols., 1816); *The Poor Man's Evening Portion* (1819); and *The Poor Man's Commentary on the Old Testament* (6 vols., 1822). His *Works*, exclusive of the two commentaries, were edited, with a *Memoir*, by John Williams (10 vols., 1831).

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HAWKER, ROBERT STEPHEN: English clergyman, poet, and antiquary, grandson of Robert Hawker (q.v.); b. at Stoke Damerel (2 m. n. of Plymouth) Dec. 3, 1803; d. at Plymouth Aug. 15, 1875. He was educated at the Cheltenham grammar-school, and at Pembroke College and Magdalen Hall, Oxford (B.A., 1828; M.A., 1836). In 1827 he won the Newdigate prize by a poem on Pompeii, which subsequently secured him preferment through Bishop Phillpotts. In Dec., 1834, he was instituted to the vicarage of Morwenstow, on the northwest coast of Cornwall, and in 1851 he was instituted to the adjoining vicarage of Wellcombe. During a ministry of forty years in this wild region he did much good, particularly for seafaring men. In theology he held essentially the views of the Tractarians; and shortly before his death he was received into the Roman Catholic Church. As a poet he is likely to have a place in English literature. His ballads are simple and direct, and have the true flavor of antiquity. His most famous composition is the ballad *Trelawny*, which, published anonymously as an ancient ballad, deceived even such experts as Scott and Dickens. The most important collections of his poems are: *Ecclesia* (Oxford, 1840); *Reeds Shaken with the Wind* (London, 1843); *Echoes from Old Cornwall* (1846); *The Quest of the Sangraal* (Exeter, 1864); and *Cornish Ballads* (London, 1869). His *Poetical Works* have been edited by J. G. Godwin (1879; also ed. A. Wallis, 1899), as also his *Prose Works* (1893).

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HAWKS, FRANCIS LISTER: Protestant Episcopalian; b. at Newbern, N. C., June 10, 1798; d. in New York Sept. 26, 1866. He attended the University of North Carolina (B.A., 1815), studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1819. He was appointed reporter of the supreme court of the State, and elected to the State legislature in 1823. After studying theology under William Mercer Green he entered the ministry in 1827. In Apr., 1829, he became assistant to Dr. Harry Croswell at Trinity Church, New Haven, Conn., but went to Philadelphia a few months later as assistant minister at St. James's. He was elected professor of divinity at Washington (now Trinity) College, Hartford, Conn., in 1830, and rector of St. Stephen's, New York, in Mar., 1831. The following December he became rector of St. Thomas', New York, and soon came to be regarded as the most eloquent pulpit orator of his denomination. He resigned in 1843, as a result of financial difficulties incident to the failure of St. Thomas' Hall, a school for boys established by Hawks at Flushing, L. I., in 1836. He was subsequently rector of Christ Church, New Orleans (1844–49), and of Calvary Church, New York (1849–62). On account of his sympathy for the South, he resigned his charge in 1862 and went to Baltimore as rector of Christ Church; but returned to New York in 1865 as rector of the newly established parish of the Holy Savior. He was appointed historiographer of his denomination in 1835, and three times declined an election to the episcopate. Aside from his law reports, his principal works are: *Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of the United States* (2 vols., New York, 1836–39), dealing with the early church in Virginia and Maryland; *Commentary on the Constitution and Canons of the Protestant Episcopal Church* (1841); *Auricular Confession* (1849); and, in collaboration with W. S. Perry, *Documentary History of the Protestant Episcopal Church* (2 vols., 1862–63). He also contributed largely to *The New York Review and Quarterly Church Journal* (10 vols., 1837–42), of which he was one of the founders.

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HAWLEY, GIDEON: American Congregationalist, missionary to the Indians; b. at Bridgeport, Conn., Nov. 11, 1727; d. at Marshpee, Mass., Oct. 3, 1807. He was graduated at Yale in 1749, entered the ministry, and, under the direction of Jonathan Edwards, began missionary work among the Indians at Stockbridge, Mass., in 1752. In 1753 he was sent by the commissioners of Indian affairs to establish a mission among the Iroquois on the Susquehanna, but was obliged by the French and Indian war to abandon this work in May, 1756. He then went to Boston and enlisted as chaplain in Colonel Richard Gridley's regiment. On Apr. 10, 1758, he was installed pastor over the Indians at Marshpee, Mass., and spent the rest of his life, nearly half a century, in work among the tribes there.

HAZAEL: A king of Damascus reigning about 850 B.C. The name (Assyr. *Hazailu;* Septuagint, *Azaēl*) means "God has seen." He was sent by Benhadad, his predecessor on the throne of Damascus, to consult Elisha concerning Benhadad's sickness, and received from the prophet the announcement of Benhadad's death and of his own elevation to the throne (II Kings viii. 7–15). According to I Kings xix. 15 Elijah had already received a commission from Yahweh to anoint Hazael king of Syria; but there is no record that the commission was executed. The day after Hazael's return, Benhadad died a violent death. Joram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah leagued themselves against Hazael to recapture Ramoth-gilead which was occupied by the Syrians, but were defeated (II Kings viii. 28, ix. 15). From Jehu, Joram's murderer and successor, Hazael took all Israel's trans-Jordanic provinces (II Kings x. 32 sqq.) and treated the inhabitants with great cruelty (Amos i. 3 sqq.). He assailed Judah, but was diverted from marching against Jerusalem by the tribute sent him by King Jehoahaz (II Kings xii. 18). Hazael, who ruled at least forty-five years, was followed by his son Benhadad, out of whose hand Jehoash the son of Jehoahaz took again the cities which had been taken from Jehoahaz (II Kings xiii. 24 sqq.). In the cuneiform inscriptions it is stated that Hazael was twice (in 842 and 839 B.C.) attacked by Shalmaneser II. In these wars Jehu, king of Israel, Hazael's opponent, sided with the Assyrians (E. Schrader, *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, pp. 372 sqq., Giessen, 1878, 372 sqq., 358; see Jehu). Josephus reports that to *Azaelos* and his predecessor *Ader* (Benhadad) divine honors were paid in Damascus.

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HE AND SHE BIBLES. See Bible Versions, B, IV., § 9.

HEADLAM, ARTHUR CAYLEY: Church of England; b. at Whorlton (32 m. n.w. of York), Durham, Aug. 2, 1862. He was educated at New College, Oxford (B.A., 1885), and was ordained priest in 1889. He was fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford (1885–1897), and chaplain (1888–96), and theological lecturer in Oriel and Queen's Colleges (1888–93) and Trinity College (1895–96). He was rector of Welwyn, Hertfordshire, (1896–1903), and in 1903 was chosen principal of King's College, London. He was examining chaplain to the bishop of Southwell (1891–1904), and elect preacher to the University of Oxford (1899–1901). He has written *Ecclesiastical Sites in Isauria* (London, 1893); *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (in collaboration with W. Sanday; 1895); *Teaching of the Russian Church* (1897); *The Dates of the New Testament Books* (1902); and *Sources and Authority of Dogmatic Theology* (1903).

HEALY, JOHN: Roman Catholic archbishop of Tuam, Ireland; b. at Ballinafad (16 m. s.e. of Sligo),

County Sligo, Ireland, Nov. 14, 1841. He was educated at St. Patrick's College, Maynooth (1860–1867), and at the College of the Immaculate Conception, Summerhill, Athlone (1867–69). He was ordained to the priesthood in 1867, and after being classical professor in the College of the Immaculate Conception (1867–69), he was curate at Ballygar, County Galway (1869–71), and at Grange, County Sligo (1871–78). He was then professor in the grammar-school at Elphin (1878–79), and in 1879 became professor of dogmatic theology at Maynooth College. He was appointed prefect of the Dunboyne Establishment, Maynooth, in 1883, and in the following year was consecrated bishop coadjutor of Clonfert. He succeeded to the see in 1896, and in 1903 was elevated to the archdiocese of Tuam. He was a member of the Royal Commission on University Education in Ireland which sat in 1901. He was editor of *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record* in 1883–84, and has written: *Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars* (Dublin, 1890); *History of Maynooth* (1895); *Record of Maynooth Centenary* (1896); and *Life and Writings of St. Patrick* (1905).

HEARD, JOHN BICKFORD: Church of England; b. at Dublin, Ireland, Oct. 26, 1828. He was educated at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge (B.A., 1852), and was ordained priest in 1852. He was vicar of Bilton, Yorkshire (1864–68), curate of St. Andrew's, Westminster (1878–80), rector of Woldingham, Surrey (1880–91), and vicar of Queen Charlton (1894–1904). He was also editor of the Religious Tract Society from 1866 to 1873, and Hulsean Lecturer in Cambridge in 1892. His theological standpoint is that of the German mediating school, and in his writings he has sought to develop a Christian psychology in support of theology and to lay stress on Pauline rather than on Augustinian concepts. He has written *The History of the Extinction of Paganism in the Roman Empire* (Cambridge, 1852); *The Pastor and Parish* (London, 1865); *The Tripartite Nature of Man* (Edinburgh, 1866); *National Christianity; or, Cæsarism and Clericalism* (London, 1877); and *Alexandrian and Carthaginian Theology Contrasted* (Hulsean Lectures; Edinburgh, 1893).

HEART, BIBLICAL USAGE: The Hebrew *lebh* or *lebhabh* and the Greek *kardia* (" heart ") are never used in the Bible of animals except in the passages Job xli. 24 and Dan. iv. 16, where the reference is psychological, not physiological. Deut. iv. 11 speaks of the heart of heaven, II Sam. xviii. 14 of the heart of an oak, Ex. xv. 8 and other passages of the heart of the sea, and Matt. xii. 40 of the heart of the earth, all designating the interior parts of the objects. In nearly all passages where the word occurs, however, it is used of man's heart, and generally in the psychological sense as the organ by which he feels, thinks, and wills. The terms *lebh, lebhabh, kardia,* which never mean " self," as does *nephesh,* are employed to express the ethical qualities which the Greeks ascribed to the soul.

As an organ of the body the heart is the seat of life, and is concerned in the receipt of impressions and the issuance of expressions of personal life. Strengthening and revival which come from the partaking of food bring strength and comfort to the heart (Gen. xviii. 5; Judges xix. 5, 8), and excess affects the heart unfavorably (Luke xxi. 34). Indeed, the heart is the center of personal life in all its relations (Prov. iv. 23); consequently, up to a certain limit, *kardia, psychē,* and *pneuma,* " spirit," may be used as synonyms, and the reception of joy, sorrow, emotion, alarm is ascribed to the heart (e.g., Prov. xii. 25) or to the soul (Gen. xli. 8). The unstable man is called *dipsychos,* " double-minded," and to him is given a double heart (Ecclus. i. 28). The heart is to be purified (James iv. 8), so is the soul (I Pet. i. 22), just as depression is ascribed to the soul in Ps. xlii. 5, and to the heart in Ps. lxii. 8. But each of these terms has its peculiarities of usage. Man is said to lose his soul, never his heart. Where the two are bound together in some action, especially if that be religious, as in the case of loving God, it is not a mere heaping together of synonyms, but the expression of action involving the entire personality. Nabal's heart is said to have died (I Sam. xxv. 37), though his actual death did not occur till ten days afterward (verse 38). So one may speak of the heart of the soul, but never of the soul of the heart, since the *psychē* is the subject of life while the *kardia* is only an organ.

The relations and distinctions between heart and spirit recall those between spirit and soul. The soul is what it is through the spirit which exists in it as the life-principle, so that within certain bounds each may stand for the other (see Soul and Spirit). Since the personal life is limited by the spirit and is mediated through the heart, the activities of the spirit are sought in the heart, and to it then may be ascribed the properties of the spirit, and spirit and heart may be paralleled (Ps. xxxiv. 18). While Acts xix. 21 ascribes purpose to the soul, II Cor. ix. 7 ascribes it to the heart. On the other hand, serving God in the spirit (Rom. i. 9) is not quite the same as serving him with the heart. Exchange between spirit and heart is excluded when the heart appears as the place of that activity of the spirit the result of which is conscience (I Sam. xxiv. 5). Heart and flesh are differentiated so that sin is ascribed to the heart, though both are united in Ezek. xliv. 7. Delitzsch finds in Ps. xvi. 9 an Old Testament trichotomy, but really in the first clause heart and soul are united to express as strongly as possible the inner exultation. Heart is in distinction from soul the place where the whole personal life is concentrated, where is concealed the personal individual essence, and whence proceed the evidences of personal character in good or evil (Matt. xv. 8). With the heart man approaches God and Christ rests in him, possesses him, so that he lives and dwells in man (Eph. iii. 17; Gal. ii. 20). Similarly, estrangement from God is of the heart (Eph. iv. 18; Isa. i. 5). In like manner the individual character is expressed in terms of the heart in respect to purity, humility, uncircumcision, unrighteousness, and the like. God himself is called mighty in heart (Job xxxvi. 5), and he who seeks God and in faith relies upon him is called strong in heart (Ps. lxxviii. 8).

The heart is the treasury of good and evil (Matt. xii. 34–35); it is the organ for the reception of

God's word and of the gift of the Holy Spirit (Matt. xiii. 19). But if it is the seat of God's activity and of that of his word and spirit, so is it of Satan's activity (John xiii. 2), and it resists God and becomes hardened (Acts xxviii. 27). Similarly, out of it proceeds love for God and man. It is the organ of faith or unfaith (Rom. x. 9), of decision (Acts v. 4), and of thought (Isa. x. 7). In this sense Johannean and Pauline usage equates *nous* and *dianoia;* since the *nous* as the organ of the spirit is also a function of the heart, it is conceivable that the apostle opposes *nous* to *sarx,* "flesh" (Rom. vii. 25), because for his purpose the opposition between *sarx* and *kardia* seemed too inclusive. In the heart of man through his conscience is written the work of the law (Rom. ii. 15), and God has placed eternity in the heart (Eccles. iii. 11). But the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth (Gen. viii. 21), and whatever makes man impure proceeds from his heart (Mark vii. 21). Here resides that double personality (Rom. vii.) by which man is either senseless (Rom. i. 21) or impenitent (Rom. ii. 5) or uncircumcised in heart (Acts vii. 51), or, on the other side, is honest and good (Luke viii. 15). (H. Cremer†.)

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HEART OF JESUS, SOCIETY OF. See Sacred Heart of Jesus, Devotion to.

HEART OF MARY. See Immaculate Heart of Mary.

HEATHENISM.

Terms Employed (§ 1).
Classification of Religions (§ 2).
The Deities of Polytheism (§ 3).
Development of Polytheism (§ 4).
Mythology and Star-Worship (§ 5).
Animism Distinguished from Polytheism (§ 6).
Shamanism and Fetishism (§ 7).

The Old Testament employs the word *goyim* ("peoples," "nations"; E. V. "Gentiles," "heathen," "nations") as a designation of all peoples other than the chosen one, and uses it in a religious sense. Other nations of antiquity had similar designations for peoples of other faiths, but these had only ethnic or national significance, such as the *barbaroi* of the Greeks, or the *airya* or *arya* by which Indians and Iranians distinguished themselves from others. A name for other peoples founded upon religious differences alone is peculiar to the Jews. The usage of the Old Testament passed over into the New Testament and into the Latin and Gothic versions, where *ethnē, gentes, thiedos* were employed to designate the followers of false religions. In later Latin usage the word *paganus* ("pagan") came to be applied to those who retained the old faith as distinct from the Christian majority, though the original sense of the word may have been simply "civilian" as opposed to "military," and it had later the meaning "rustic" or "countryman" (cf. Gothic *haithns*). In Germany since the time of Luther the term *Heide* ("heathen") has been much used to name all religions except Judaism and Christianity. These two religions are historically connected, and are regarded as the true religions or religions of revelation. As a rule, Islam is now also admitted to the category of religions of revelation, but is still regarded as false.

1. Terms Employed.

In the classification of religions another mark has been used to distinguish the three religions named from all others, namely monotheism. Yet it has to be noted that monotheism was developed in the Hebrew faith, and is a tendency in all polytheistic religions. In all polytheistic faiths there are elements which make for monotheism, and the same is true even of animistic religions. Indeed, in most religions there have been efforts made to discover unity in the midst of diversity and plurality, though these attempts have failed to gain the mastery, and where even small success has attended them it has been confined to narrow circles. Moreover, these attempts toward unity have developed not monotheism so much as pantheism. But religions may be classified as monotheistic or non-monotheistic, and the term heathen is applied to the latter. The question has been raised whether, among the heathen religions, Buddhism is to be singled out as furnishing another category—atheistic religions, to which a negative answer is returned on the ground that neither in origin nor in development is Buddhism atheistic, though the true disciple is wholly independent of gods and need not worship them. Heathen religions are further distinguished by the character of their objects of worship into polytheistic and animistic. Polytheistic religions are those of the advanced peoples of culture, such as the Semitic and Indo-Germanic races and other groups of the Old and the New World. Animistic religions are to be distinguished as they reveal fetishism, in which the spirits worshiped are closely connected with material objects; or shamanism, in which the spirits are elemental. In both religions there is worship of souls, and especially of the dead, whose souls are thought to have power for good and evil over the living. The boundary between soul and spirit can not be sharply drawn. Animistic religions lay stress upon magic, i.e., the power of making the spirits serve the will of man.

2. Classification of Religions.

Most modern investigators of religions, excepting Roman Catholic scholars, connect animism and polytheism as two stages of a development; worship of souls and spirits precedes that of gods. The lofty abstract idea of "god" is not a product of the lower culture either in cult or language. First comes faith in spirits, then polydemonism, then polytheism, and then, in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam,

monotheism. Yet the conception and the expression "god" is earlier than the polytheistic systems historically known. The culture of the Indo-Germanic peoples before their separation was certainly higher than that of many tribes of the present, and they already had the word (and therefore the conception). Indeed, besides the word *deva* in its various forms, Persians and Slavs had the form *baga* or *bogu*, "lord," while Indians and Iranians had *asura, ahura*, "the living." Semitic peoples had several names for "god," the most common of which was *el* or *il* (see Elohim), the etymology of which is uncertain, while "lord" or "king" was used both for "god" and "God." Similarly the civilization of Central America had an expression for "god." But in these cases it can not be determined what the original conception was, though the probability is that it expressed not so much the being of deity as the relation of that deity to man; it was not abstract, but concrete, denoting a personal power upon which man felt himself dependent, yet possessing the ability to approach. Sometimes this appears as the relation of lord and subject; again the expression implies participation in the forms of nature, as in the case of *deva*, "light," which brings out the contrast employed in Indo-Germanic and other religions between light and darkness. Yet the material for adequate knowledge is lacking, as Indo-Germanic language has furnished few words which can be accepted as original names of deities; indeed the Sanskrit *Dyaus pitar*, Gk. *Zeus patēr*, Lat. *Juppiter* or *Diespiter* are almost alone, and express the idea of the heaven-god. In other religions also the god of the heaven appears to be the earliest, and in later times the chief deity. The original Indo-Germanic deities must have been few, though comparison of Iranian and Indian conceptions shows a larger number common to both, but with many changes introduced. Dyaus is in India replaced by Varuna, in Persia by Ahura Mazda, "the living" or "wise lord," and alongside this highest god in both countries are six other deities closely connected with him. In historic times all the Indo-Germanic peoples developed rich pantheons which included not only nature deities, but personifications of ethical and religious ideas. Even in the Vedas the original nature sources of some of the deities are partly forgotten in an ethical or religious relationship, and this is true of the other branches of the family in historic times. Even in the case of original nature deities it may not be held that that was the only idea present and that no ethical relations were conceived; indeed the ethical was often a result of the phase of natural relationship to the world represented by a particular deity, as in the case of a god of light who battled with the powers of darkness.

3. The Deities of Polytheism.

Polytheism seems to have come about through gaining in nature a conception of deity followed by a differentiation of natural phenomena and specialization of functions of the powers conceived as producing them. This is confirmed by the fact that often several gods are found connected with the same phenomena, as when in India, Surya, Pushan, Vishnu, Tvashtar, Savitar, and Vivasvant are all connected with the sun. Further development comes in the unfolding of purely ethical conceptions into deities which had no relationship to natural phenomena. It has been objected to this that such a development would lead to the worship of all the gods of a circle in any given place or time, whereas historically, as among the Greeks, only certain of the gods were honored in any one city. Then polytheism is the result of a syncretism of varied cults brought about through extraneous political or other circumstances, which later involved a partition of the realms of nature among the several deities. But comparison shows that the condition in historic times among Greeks, Slavs, Egyptians, Babylonians, and others was due to differentiation in an original system of deities. The first tendency of polytheism then is not toward monotheism, but away from it. Purely ethical ideas of the being of the gods are not a consequence of polytheism, but rather exist in spite of it. Religious feeling demanded of its gods omnipotence, omniscience, omnipresence, righteousness, and holiness, attributes which the cults show were originally given to them, for the possibility of a cult is dependent upon the omnipresence of the deity, through which men can have access to him. And so with the other attributes of deity. The religious mode of viewing things appears in the fact that to the highest god absolute deity is attributed, while many times the other deities are creations. Polytheism seems to reveal not a development to higher views, but a coarsening of conceptions. Most polytheistic religions set apart special places for the worship of deities through sacred symbols or images. Originally these were but external expressions of the presence of deity, but for the majority they became deity itself, and were so worshiped, examples of which are given in the image-worship of Roman Catholic peoples, among Greeks and Romans of the first century of our era, and in modern Brahmanism. Sacrifice, originally an expression of dependence, became a means of magic, and the entire cult is hardly distinguishable from fetishism and shamanism.

4. Development of Polytheism.

A further matter of importance is the development of myth in the polytheistic religions. Myth is the setting forth of occurrences and operations of nature in the guise of the events and happenings of divine or semidivine persons, so far as these have religious meanings, or at least are brought into connection with religious conceptions and usages (see Comparative Religion, VI., 1, a, §§ 7–8). Myth is not to be confused with the saga, which often means what has developed out of the myth, and has to do with heroes rather than with deities. The myth is generally an article of faith, which the saga is not, at least in the religious sense. The characteristic of the myth is its anthropomorphism carried over to the domain of nature, so that operations in that sphere appear as the acts of persons with the feeling and methods of men, as when the storm is pictured as the battle of a deity with the cloud-demons. Myth stands in close relationship with polytheism, and has undergone the same development; as the gods

5. Mythology and Star-Worship.

lost their old nature-connection, so with the myths. Hence they speak of the acts and lot of a deity in which, as a rule, the deity does not act from a religious motive, and are so far subversive of religious ideas. Original myths often bear the unmistakable marks of their origin in the operations of nature, later they are put forth often as historical doings. A distinction is to be made between those in which deities are the actors and those in which elemental spirits appear. Modern theory regards these as stages, but probably both stood side by side in the beginning. Star-worship (see STARS), which is almost a specialty of Semites, is not an original form of polytheism, but came in late through the identification of certain stars with individual deities. Traces of these are found in the Avesta.

The two forms of animism (see COMPARATIVE RELIGION, VI., 1, a, §§ 1–4), Fetishism and shamanism (qq.v.), have in common that they deal not with gods, but with spirits, as objects of worship.

6. Animism Distinguished from Polytheism. Spirits are distinguished from gods chiefly by their number. Developed polytheism has only a limited number of deities, while the spirits of animism are innumerable. These last are for the most part without names, only those credited with being most powerful having this distinction. In general these spirits have nothing to do with creation, though there may be a great spirit to whom this function is ascribed. They are also not ethical in influence, since prohibition is the essence of the law they give. A second distinction between polytheism and animism is that gods are thought of as beneficent; maleficent deities are not original, but the result of a secondary development. The spirits of animism are, on the contrary, by nature maleficent. Consequently the purpose of the cult is different. The purpose in polytheism is to bespeak the good-will of deity, or to regain his favor when that has been forfeited through a fault. In animism the cult has the aim of averting untoward action of spirits or of bending that action through magic to the will of man. Generally in polytheism the worshiper does not need the intercession of the priest; in animism this help is necessary, since the priest alone knows the means of using the magic. The hypothesis that the origin of religion was fear of unknown powers would be justified if animism were shown to be the original form of religion. But historical proof of this is lacking, since nowhere is it apparent that polytheism has developed from animism. Indeed, the shamanism of the Finns implies an early polytheism, which is probably of equally ancient standing. Frequently among polytheistic peoples there is in use a magic which is decidedly animistic together with reminiscences of fetishism. This is often explained as the evidence of an earlier animism and fetishism out of which polytheism has developed, but without sufficient grounds. The charms of India and Babylon are polytheistic, and can be no older than the belief in gods.

Shamanism, the worship of elemental spirits or of the souls of the dead, is best known among the Turanian peoples of Asia, America, and Australia. Special manifestations of this are the Totemism (see COMPARATIVE RELIGION, VI., 1, b, §§ 2–6) of North American Indians and the Taboo (see COMPARATIVE RELIGION, VI., 1, c, §§ 1–3) of South Sea Islanders. By a totem is meant an animal or a plant from which a stock or a family is said to have sprung, which also acts as protector of the stock, while in turn the individuals of the totem family are worshiped. Taboo is found chiefly among Polynesians, and denotes prohibition of certain things or localities for common use because belonging to spirits. It has an important influence upon social relations. Fetishism, which is confined to Africa, is religious veneration of an object regarded as the home of spirits. The two chief forms of animism can not be entirely separated the one from the other; outside of the worship of spirits, both have the use of magic, soothsaying, and the worship of departed spirits. Shamanism has many fetishistic elements. Upon ethical conceptions these religions have no influence.

7. Shamanism and Fetishism.

The designation of heathen religions as polytheistic, shamanistic, and fetishistic is based upon the expression of these in terms of cult; it does not imply that the entire religious thought and feeling of the peoples who employ them is expressed. Polytheism, it has been shown, often contains elements of lower form; animism has also indications of higher forms; but in each case these do not change the total character of the religion in question. Numerous remains are found in Christianity of the older heathenism, and they are classed under the name of superstitions. For a different view of the subject see COMPARATIVE RELIGION; see also articles on the different forms of heathen religions (FETISHISM; POLYTHEISM; SHAMANISM, etc.), articles on particular religions (BRAHMANISM; BUDDHISM; etc.), and articles on heathen lands (CHINA; INDIA; etc.). (B. LINDNER.)

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HEAVE-OFFERING.

See SACRIFICE.

HEAVEN.

Use of "Heaven" in the Bible (§ 1).
Heaven the Abode of God (§ 2).
Heaven the Symbol and Source of Salvation (§ 3).
Use of the Plural, "Heavens" (§ 4).

The Old Testament has no comprehensive term for the universe, which is designated as heaven and earth; although in the Wisdom of Solomon and II Maccabees it is called "world" (Wisd. of Sol. i. 14, and often; II Macc. vii. 9, 23, and often).

1. Use of "Heaven" in the Bible.

This term is employed in the New Testament with the same connotation (John xvii. 5, xxi. 25; Acts xvii. 24; Rom. i. 20; cf. "the foundation of the world," Matt. xiii. 35, xxv. 34; Luke xi.

50; John xvii. 24; Eph. i. 4; Heb. iv. 3, ix. 26; I Pet. i. 20; Rev. xiii. 8). In other passages, however, "world" implies the dwelling-place of mankind as defiled with sin and death, and with Satan for its lord instead of God. The phrase "heaven and earth" is accordingly retained to denote the universe (Matt. v. 18; Mark xiii. 27; Luke xii. 56; Acts iv. 24; James v. 18; cf. Eph. i. 10; Col. i. 16, 20; II Pet. iii. 7, 13; Rev. xxi. 1). In a physical sense heaven denotes the place of the stars and constellations (Gen. i. 14; Jer. xxxiii. 22; Matt. xxiv. 29; Heb. xi. 12; Rev. vi. 13, etc.) and of the clouds (Gen. i. 9; Deut. xxviii. 23; Ps. cxlvii. 8; Matt. xxiv. 30; etc.), and its power and phenomena influence the earth (Job xxxviii. 33; Matt. xvi. 2–3; James v. 18). Beneath the heaven lies the earth (Job ii. 2; Prov. viii. 28), which it encloses so as to form a unity (Eccl. i. 13; Luke xvii. 24; Acts ii. 5; Col. i. 23). The heaven is a "firmament" (Gen. i. 6, 8; Ps. xix. 1), which is supported by the mountains as pillars (Job xxii. 14). With the heaven is conjoined the earth, thus forming the cosmos which will pass away to make place for a new heaven and a new earth, where righteousness shall dwell (Ps. cii. 26; Isa. xiii. 13; Joel ii. 30–31; Luke xxi. 33; II Pet. iii. 7, 10; Rev. vi. 12–14).

2. Heaven the Abode of God.

Heaven is, moreover, the throne of God (Ps. ii. 4; Isa. lxvi. 1; Ezek. i. 1; Matt. v. 34; Acts vii. 49; Heb. viii. 1), and in heaven is the divine temple (Isa. vi.; Rev. xi. 19), which is the prototype of the earthly sanctuary (Ex. xxv. 40; Acts vii. 44; Heb. viii. 5). It is the dwelling-place of God (II Chron. xx. 6; Ps. cxv. 3; Eccles. v. 2), who looks from heaven upon the earth (Ps. xiv. 2; Isa. lxiii. 15; Lam. iii. 50), and speaks from thence (Deut. iv. 36; Neh. ix. 13); so that words spoken from heaven are eternal in their validity (Heb. xii. 25), since what comes from heaven comes from God and is binding unconditionally on the earth and on man (Matt. xxi. 25–26; Mark i. 11; Luke iii. 22; John iii. 13). All deeds done on earth, and especially the forgiveness of sins by Christ, bear a distinct relation to heaven or to God (Matt. ix. 6 as compared with xvi. 19), who hears prayer while he is in heaven (I Kings viii. 30 sqq.; II Chron. vi. 25 sqq.; Neh. ix. 27–28; Ps. xxxiii. 13; Luke xi. 13; etc.). When the exaltation and absolute sovereignty of God are to be emphasized, he is termed "the God of heaven" (Gen. xxiv. 7; Neh. i. 4–5; Ps. xcvi. 5), who reveals from heaven his wrath against iniquity (Rom. i. 18; I Thess. iv. 16; II Thess. i. 7–8). Sins which require the vengeance of God cry to heaven (Gen. iv. 10; I Sam. v. 12; Luke xv. 18, 21), and, in like manner, he who prays turns toward heaven (Mark vi. 41; John xvii. 1; etc.), since God is exalted above all the earth (Ps. lxviii. 15; Dan. iv. 23) and his will is manifested from heaven (Deut. iv. 36), his holy mandate being absolute (Deut. xxxiii. 26; Ps. lvii. 3; lxxxix. 2). The designation of God as "my father," "your father which is in heaven," and the like in Matthew and Mark (Matt. v. 16, 45, 48; Mark xi. 25; etc.) is intended to inspire confidence in his goodness, especially as he is represented as saying. "For as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts" (Isa. lv. 9). Hence God is besought to rend the heavens (Isa. lxiv. 1), and a sign from heaven is desired to prove the Messiahship of Jesus (Matt. xvi. 1, cf. xxiv. 30; Luke ix. 54). The ascension of Christ to heaven symbolizes his exaltation to divine honor and glory (Luke xxiv. 51; Acts i. 9–11; cf. John iii. 13; Heb. iv. 14; I Pet. iii. 22), and necessitates unconditional obedience and recognition on the part of man (cf. Acts ii. 34–36 with Eph. i. 20–22; Phil. ii. 9–11).

Yet God is by no means restricted to heaven, and I Kings viii. 27 expressly declares: "The heaven and heaven of heavens can not contain thee." In Christ, therefore, there is access to God through faith (Rom. v. 2; Eph. ii. 18). God is present throughout the world (Ps. cxxxix; Jer. xxiii. 23–24), but his earthly congregation is in a special sense his "habitation" (Eph. ii. 22) and his temple (I Cor. iii. 6).

3. Heaven the Symbol and Source of Salvation.

As contrasted with the earth, heaven represents a higher and eternal order (Matt. vi. 20; Mark x. 21; Luke xii. 33; II Cor. v. 1; Phil. iii. 20; Col. i. 5; Heb. x. 34; I Pet. i. 4). It is, therefore, the place of the prototype of the earthly symbolic ordinances of salvation (Ex. xxv. 40; Acts vii. 44; Heb. viii. 5), and from it come the actual means of salvation (John vi. 51; I Cor. xv. 47 sqq.). It is the abode of the true and eternal means of salvation (Matt. v. 12; Col. i. 5; I Pet. i. 4), as well as of the righteous who have been perfected (Heb. xii. 23; comp. Luke x. 20) and of the angels and "ministering spirits" who are to appear on the earth at its renewal (Mark xii. 25; Luke ii. 15; Rev. xxi. 1 sqq.). It thus becomes evident that the "kingdom of God" is regarded as situated in heaven (Dan. ii. 44; cf. Ps. ciii. 19), so that Matthew terms it the "kingdom of heaven" (Matt. iii. 2). It is present on earth wherever its boons, which are righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost (Rom. xiv. 17), are possessed by man, but it will not be revealed in all its glory until the power of evil is annihilated (Matt. vi. 10, 13). Thus it was heaven to which Christ was exalted together with those who were raised with him (Eph. ii. 6; Col. iii. 1–4), and it is there that they have their citizenship (Phil. iii. 20).

4. Use of the Plural, "Heavens."

The Hebrew plural "heavens" is represented in the great majority of instances by the singular in the Septuagint, this number being found also in the Apocrypha, except in the Wisdom of Solomon ix. 10, 16, xviii. 15. In Matthew, Paul, Hebrews, and II Peter the plural is more frequent than the singular; but in Mark the plural is found only in i. 10–11; xi. 25–26; xiii. 25; in Luke only in Acts ii. 34, vii. 56, and probably Luke x. 20, xxi. 26; John avoids the plural altogether in the Gospel and the Epistles, and uses it in the Apocalypse only in xii. 12. There is no distinction in meaning between the singular and plural, except in II Cor. xii. 2, where a "third heaven" is mentioned, this being glossed in xii. 4 as "paradise." This statement evidently rests upon a threefold division of heaven, into the sky, heaven in the relig-

ious sense, and the dwelling-place of God. The distinction between the physical heaven and the abode of the blessed is self-evident, and Heb. ix. 11 (R.V.) expressly states that the latter is "not of this creation." It is necessary, moreover, to distinguish between this heaven, where the majesty and goodness of God are manifested, and the absolute divine supremacy, "dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto; whom no man hath seen, nor can see" (I Tim. vi. 16). In the Epistle to the Hebrews, in like manner, no stress can be laid on the variation between the singular and plural (ix. 24, xi. 12, xii. 26 as contrasted with i. 10, iv. 14, vii. 26, viii. 1, ix. 23, xii. 23, 25), nor does the author distinguish between the "heavens" and "heaven itself" (ix. 24), except in so far as the latter corresponds to the Holy of Holies in the Tabernacle (comp. x. 19–23). Jesus is accordingly described as "higher than the heavens" (vii. 26) and as having "passed through the heavens" (iv. 14, R.V.), and thus as being exalted above all who are in heaven or who await admission there (xii. 23), therefore implying a distinction between God and heaven, but not between the "heavens." The parousia will shake heaven and earth, and create a new cosmos, which will be "a kingdom which can not be moved" (xii. 27–28).

The fact that Satan and evil spirits appear in the presence of God in heaven according to I Kings xxii. 19–22; Job i. 6 sqq.; Zech. iii. 1 sqq.; and Rev. xii. 7–8 merely implies that they work only with the permission of God. The statement that the heavens are unclean in the sight of God (Job xv. 15), moreover, must be regarded as a hyperbole of Eliphaz the Temanite to bring Job to a realization of his sinfulness. This can not be paralleled with such passages as Heb. ix. 23, especially as the heavenly world is represented as "true" (Luke xvi. 11; Heb. viii. 2, ix. 24). It may also be noted that the view that "heaven" occasionally connotes "God," as in Luke xv. 18, 21, is clearly untenable from Matt. v. 34, vi. 10. (H. Cremer†.)

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HEBER, REGINALD: Anglican bishop of Calcutta; b. at Malpas (14 m. s.s.e. of Chester) Apr. 21, 1783; d. at Trichinopoly (30 m. w. of Tanjore) Apr. 3, 1826. He was educated at Brasenose College, Oxford, and in 1805 was elected fellow of All Souls. He then traveled for two years, and on his return was ordained priest and succeeded his father as rector of Hodnet, Shropshire. After an active service there as parish priest, he was made a prebendary of St. Asaph in 1812, and three years later was appointed Bampton lecturer at Oxford, and in 1822 preacher at Lincoln's Inn. He had already become conspicuous for his interest in missions, especially in India, and on the death of T. F. Middleton, the first bishop of Calcutta, the administration of the diocese, which then comprised the whole of India, was offered to Heber. After much hesitation, he accepted, and was consecrated on June 1, 1823, by the archbishop of Canterbury. Four months later he reached Calcutta, and at once took up his episcopal duties, his task being rendered the more severe by the lapse of more than a year since Middleton's death. Between June, 1824, and Oct., 1825, he visited Bombay and Ceylon, and on Jan. 30, 1826, began his second diocesan tour. At the same time he made a study of the problem of caste, which he was willing to retain so far as it was political rather than religious. His attention was also occupied by a controversy which had broken out among the Christians of St. Thomas on account of the Syrian priests mentioned above.

The chief works of Heber were as follows: *Palestine* (Oxford, 1807), one of the few prize poems of permanent value, and often reprinted and translated; *Poems and Translations* (London, 1812); *The Personality and Office of the Christian Comforter* (Bampton Lectures, Oxford, 1816); and an edition of the complete works of Jeremy Taylor (15 vols., London, 1822); while his widow edited the following: *Hymns, Written and Adapted to the Weekly Church Service of the Year* (1827); *Journey through India from Calcutta to Bombay, with Notes upon Ceylon, and a Journey to Madras and the Southern Provinces* (2 vols., 1828); *Sermons Preached in England* (1829); *Sermons Preached in India* (1830); and his journal of his European tour in her biography of her husband (1830). The first complete edition of his poems appeared at London in 1841. Heber was also the author of nearly sixty hymns, some of which are conspicuous for their beauty, and have attained wide popularity. Among them special mention may be made of the following: "Brightest and best of the sons of the morning;" "The Son of God goes forth to war;" "Bread of the world, in mercy broken;" "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty;" and the missionary hymn "From Greenland's icy mountains."

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HEBICH, hê'biH, **SAMUEL:** Missionary; b. at Nellingen, Württemberg, Apr. 29, 1803; d. at Stuttgart May 21, 1868. In Dec., 1831, he entered the Basel missionary institute, and in 1834 was sent to India. In 1859 he returned to his native country, and by his sensational revivalistic methods aroused considerable opposition. In 1862 he was pensioned. His chief importance lies in the fact that while in India by his sermons on repentance and his pastoral care and devotion he converted many English officers and soldiers. J. Hesse.

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HEBREWS, GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THE. See Apocrypha, B, I. (19).

HEBREW LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

I. The Hebrew Language.
The Name and Literature (§ 1).
The Semitic Languages (§ 2).
Characteristics of Semitic Languages (§ 3).
Characteristics and History of the Hebrew Language (§ 4).
Development of the Hebrew Language (§ 5).
Early Study of Hebrew (§ 6).
Modern Works on Hebrew (§ 7).
II. Hebrew Literature in General.
The Old Testament a National Literature (§ 1).
Variety of Literary Form and Contents (§ 2).
The Bond of Union (§ 3).
Methods of Composition (§ 4).
Use of "Strands" of Narrative (§ 5).
Methods in Prophetical and Wisdom Literature (§ 6).
Authorship (§ 7).
Dates of Old Testament Literature (§ 8).
III. Hebrew Poetry.
Recognition of the Nature of Hebrew Poetry (§ 1).
Employment of Poetry by Hebrews (§ 2).
Religious Use of Poetry (§ 3).
The Epic and the Drama Lacking (§ 4).
Forms Mentioned in the Old Testament (§ 5).
Characteristics of Hebrew Poetry (§ 6).

I. The Hebrew Language: Hebrew is the usual name of the language spoken by the Israelites up to a few centuries before the birth of Christ. The tongue which was spoken or written by the learned later than this, a somewhat artificial continuation of the earlier language, is called in distinction the New Hebrew. The term Hebrew language is not in the Old Testament; it is found first in the prologue to Ecclesiasticus, then in Josephus, and afterward in the New Testament, where, however, it denotes the Aramaic speech of the Jews. Isa. xix. 18 has the phrase "the language of Canaan," II Kings xviii. 26 and Neh. xiii. 24 have "the Jews' language" to express the tongue used by the Hebrews of those times. In later times the Jews called the Hebrew "the holy language." The phrase "Hebrew language," therefore, goes back not to the Old Testament, but to the common designation "Hebrews" as the name of the people, and is the equivalent of "the Israelitic tongue." The Hebrew word *'Ibri* (Gen. x., xi.), to which "Hebrew" goes back, comprises a number of Arabic and Aramaic stocks to which, among others, Terah and Abraham belonged. Recent scholars see in the term an appellative denoting "the people from the other side" (of the river Euphrates—so Stade—or of the Jordan). The Old Testament is the main source of knowledge of this tongue, in which all of it is written except Ezra iv. 8–vi. 18, vii. 12–26, Dan. ii. 4–vii. 28, Jer. x. 11. Besides this are the Siloam inscription, some inscribed stones from Assyria and Babylon, the coins of the Maccabeans, and the fragments of the Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus (see Apocrypha, A, IV., 12). The Moabitic Stone may be reckoned here, since its language is practically identical with the Hebrew.

1. The Name and Literature.

This language belongs to a large family of languages to which, since the time of Eichhorn, the name Semitic has been given, i.e., the tongues of the descendants of Shem. According to Old Testament usage, this name is inexact, since some of the people who used a language belonging to this group were descendants of Ham. But no thoroughly adequate name has yet been found. The relationship of the original Semitic speech to others, e.g., the Egyptian language, is yet an open question. The nearest relatives of the Hebrew were the Moabitic, practically identical with it, and the Phenician. Doubtless the other peoples immediately east and west of the Jordan spoke dialects of the same tongue, so that this group may be called the Canaanitic. A comparison of Phenician inscriptions with the Hebrew shows divergent dialectic peculiarities, while Neh. xiii. 23–24 makes clear that by the time of Nehemiah the dialects had become so changed as not to be mutually intelligible to those speaking them. Nearest to the Canaanitic group came the Aramaic, the early history of which is obscure, but which developed a rich literature, divided into the East and the West Aramaic. The latter was used by the later inhabitants of Palestine —Jews, Samaritans, and Christians—and by Nabatæans and Palmyrenes. The East Aramaic was used by Babylonian Jews, Mandæans (q.v.), and the people of Edessa, the last developing a considerable Christian literature. The Aramaic tongues were superseded by the Arabic. A third branch is the South Semitic languages, including the Arabic, Sabean, Minæan, Ethiopic, and Amharic. The East Semitic group comprises the Assyrian-Babylonian of the cuneiform inscriptions.

2. The Semitic Languages.

These related branches point backward to an original Semitic tongue, the characteristics of which remain more or less plainly evident in the later forms, to which original speech the Arabic seems the most nearly related. The chief characteristic of Semitic languages is the triconsonantal form of the roots; possibly originally the roots consisted of two consonants subsequently built up by the addition of another consonant. The language was then formed by vocalic changes inside the word or by additions or prefixes. Another characteristic of these languages is that only the consonants were written, the reader supplying the vocalization in accordance with the native utterance. Word-building was complex, secondary formations being very numerous. The verbs are lacking in tenses, only two main forms being used. The personal pronouns in the genitive and accusative become mere enclitics, there are but two genders, and a dual is sparingly employed. The syntax is simple, though the use of the numerals is rather complicated.

3. Characteristics of Semitic Languages.

The Hebrew language holds a position midway between the Arabic and the Aramaic. It has fewer original vocals than the Arabic, more than the Aramaic, while it retains case-endings and passive forms which the Aramaic has lost, though both have in use a jussive, the Hebrew using it more frequently than the Aramaic. Some of the original consonants are lost to the Hebrew, though it had a double pronunciation for the Ayin. Six other letters had a double pronunciation, a hard and an aspirated. The Hebrew did not develop in its

4. Characteristics and History of the Hebrew Language.

syntax a complicated period, while the usual connective is the simple "and," which implies various relationships. Historical narrative usually opens with the phrase "and it came to pass," while delineations of the future begin with "and it shall come to pass." The particles are few, little developed, and therefore ambiguous. Before the Hebrews entered either the East-Jordanic or West-Jordanic territory, the Canaanitic tongue, closely related to the Hebrew, was spoken there, as is shown both by the place-names and by interesting glosses to the Amarna Tablets. Whether the Hebrews got their language from the Canaanites when they settled in Canaan, or already possessed it, is a difficult problem; but at any rate it remained their usual speech till the exile, and during the exile and after it was still cultivated. But in postexilic times it was dislodged by the Aramaic.

The cause of this is to be sought in the diffusion of the Aramaic as the official and commercial tongue of the Persian empire. The first witness to this is in the sources of the Book of Ezra, followed by the Aramaic portions of the Book of Daniel. In the time of Christ Aramaic was the common speech, and such it continued till the Arabic conquest; though meanwhile Hebrew had been cultivated as a written language, as is proved by the Hebrew portion of Daniel and by the recovered parts of the original of Ecclesiasticus, as well as by indications in I Maccabees, the Psalms of Solomon, and various pseudepigrapha. It is clear that the supersession of Hebrew was preceded by a period when the land was bilingual, a large part of the people still using Hebrew. But this condition came to an end, and the reading of Hebrew in the synagogue had to be accompanied by translation into the vernacular Aramaic. It was in this way that Hebrew became gradually the speech of the learned only; but it is to be remarked that the Hebrew of the later sort has no more interest for the history of Hebrew than the Latin of the schoolmen for the history of Latin.

5. Development of the Hebrew Language.

Since the Canaanitic existed in different dialects spoken by peoples living under different conditions, it might be expected that differences would appear in the Old Testament. Moreover, since a period of 1,000 years is covered by Hebrew literature, a difference would be looked for between the earliest and the latest writings. While this can be shown in only a limited degree, the reason is partly that only consonantal representation of these writings exists, and partly that later recension obliterated differences. The vocalized text represents only the late tradition of a pronunciation which had lost many of the peculiarities of the early speech, as is proved by the Canaanitic glosses to the Amarna Tablets, above referred to. Differences of dialect are proven by such passages as Judges xii. 6, xviii. 3, in the latter of which passages "voice" possibly means method of speech, dialect. When differences caused by time are considered, it is evident that the differences between the language of the Song of Deborah and Daniel are less than those between the "English" of the ninth and of the nineteenth century; yet it is seen that there was a history of the Hebrew language. This is well illustrated by the language of Ecclesiastes. Further development was checked by the imitation by later writers of the early models, even to the reintroduction of archaic and disused forms. But even between the earlier and the later prophets there appear indications of a development toward a more flexible form of expression. The introduction of Aramaisms, preferences for one or another form of the personal pronouns, and other peculiarities mark periods in the language.

6. Early Study of Hebrew.

The history of the study of the Hebrew language began really at the time when it ceased to be a vernacular, and naturally with the Jews of the dispersion, by whom Hebrew had been forgotten. The Septuagint gives insight into the knowledge of Hebrew and the understanding of the text of those who made it, and the translation differs greatly in the different parts. Even in the case of Ecclesiasticus the grandson misunderstood the writing of the grandfather, a fact due in part to an unpointed text. Further testimony of this character is derived from the explanations of personal and place names as exhibited in the various *Onomastica sacra*. Meanwhile in Palestine also Hebrew had become a language which had to be learned, as is shown by the Aramaic paraphrases of Scripture in the synagogues, the development of which the Targums were, and these show in general an excellent understanding of the Hebrew. Similar testimony is borne by the Syriac version, by the versions of Aquila and Symmachus, and by the knowledge of Hebrew of Jerome, who was taught by a Jew. For close grammatical study, however, the Masoretic works were the cradle, since they collected and remarked upon word-forms and grammatical constructions. This sprang, not from interest in linguistic study, but from desire for preservation of the true text, and one result of this work was a systematic vocalization of the text. Real grammatical study began with the contact of Jews with Arabic grammarians (eighth century), and issued in Aaron ben Moses ben Asher's *Dikduḳe ha-te'amim* of the tenth century, which contains much grammatical material. The first grammarian was Saadia Gaon (d. 942), of whose works on linguistics only a small part is extant. He was under the influence of Arabic linguistics, and laid stress upon comparison of Arabic and Hebrew. Even more strongly was this emphasized by Judah ben Ḳuraish in North Africa, who used both Arabic and Aramaic in lexical and grammatical comparisons. About the middle of the tenth century the Spanish Jew Menahem ben Saruk compiled a Hebrew lexicon with grammatical introduction, in which he sought to free Hebrew lexicography from its Arabic bonds. His great scholar, Judah Ḥayyuj ben David, about the year 1000, made special contributions to knowledge of the weak verbs. Beside the Spanish Abraham ibn Ezra (d. 1167) must be named the great David Ḳimḥi (d. 1235), whose grammatical-lexicographic *Miklol* is still of value. Ḳimḥi's father, Joseph, and his brother Moses were noted grammarians. Worthy of mention also are Profiat Duran (Isaac ben Moses Duran), at the end of the fourteenth

century, and Elias Levita (d. 1549). At this time the humanists began to busy themselves with Hebrew. The way was broken by the preacher-monk Peter Nigri (1477), the priest Johannes Böhm (1490), Konrad Pellican (1501–04), and Reuchlin (1506). The lexical and grammatical works of the elder Buxtorf (d. 1629) closed this period, in which the Christian world sought to reproduce Jewish learning.

7. Modern Works on Hebrew.

A new advance was begun through the stimulus of the Polyglot Bibles, in which the study of Arabic was revived. Eminent in this period were De Dieu (d. 1642), Castell (d. 1685), Albert Schultens (d. 1750), N. W. Schröder (d. 1798), Alting (d. 1679), and Danz (d. 1727), the last two of whom employed comparison of other Semitic languages. Besides these, the works of J. D. Michaelis in lexicography are especially to be noted, upon the basis of which nineteenth century labors have been largely based. Hebrew owes a great debt to W. Gesenius (d. 1842), who, while using the other Semitic tongues, sought to obtain as much light upon forms as the Hebrew itself afforded. H. Ewald sought in his very full grammar to attain deeper insight into the development of the language. Böttcher (d. 1863) and Olshausen sought to carry out more completely the empirical methods of Gesenius. Stade carries the reduction of developed forms to their ground-form in synthetic fashion. Lexicography is developed in the works of Siegfried and Stade and in the works of Brown, Driver, and Briggs (1906). The treatises of Lagarde and Barth are of special value, especially that of Barth, in which he parallels the nouns partly with verbal preterites and partly with imperfects, and so brings out a useful principle. (F. Buhl.)

II. Hebrew Literature in General: Ethnically speaking, the term Hebrew literature not only connotes the books of the Old Testament, but includes the Apocrypha (q.v.), the later pseudepigraphic books (see Pseudepigrapha), the writings of Josephus and Philo (qq.v.), the Talmud and the Targums (qq.v.; also see Bible Versions, A. V.). This discussion is necessarily limited to the Hebrew literature of the Old Testament. Thus limited, the term Hebrew literature covers what may be called the classic books of a nation. This, in turn, involves other implicates, one of the most important and suggestive of which is that this body of writings is an evolution, the product of different ages, the work of many individuals, even of whole schools or tendencies, therefore expressing changing ideals under differences of environment and condition, and employing a wide range of literary form. It would be expected that, as in the case of other national literature, Hebrew writings would not remain wholly unaffected by the peoples which conditioned the national life of the Israelites, this influence coming out even in those portions which most closely expressed its ideals—a fact which recent study has confirmed. But one has not to go far in the investigation of this literature before discovering that the body of writings included within the Old Testament is not all of Hebrew writings existent and available in the period which the Old Testament covers. To phrase it differently, the Old Testament is a selected literature—not selected, however, in the sense that it was deliberately chosen to represent Hebrew thought and feeling, but rather selected by its own fitness, persisting by its own right to live because of its appeal to the heart and conscience of the people to whom it came and because of its complete expression of their varying hopes, fears, and convictions. And this exclusive position was won not without a struggle. For nearly three centuries other books strove for admission to this circle of writings, were for a time admitted and used by the Jewish diaspora, but were finally rejected by what, outside of the Roman and Greek branches of the Christian Church, is regarded as the best judgment of the Hebrew race with its Palestinian traditions behind it. It is a remarkable fact that the one book of Hebrew production which bears any trace of the author's hope that it would be included among the canonical books did not succeed in forcing its entrance (cf. Ecclus., Prologue). And that other literature was once available becomes evident when one notes references to such writings as the book of Jasher (Josh. x. 13), the book of the wars of Yahweh (Num. xxi. 14), the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel (II Kings x. 34 and often), and numerous other works quoted as sources in various parts of the extant literature (cf. C. F. Kent, *Student's Old Testament*, ii. 10 sqq.; New York, 1905).

1. The Old Testament a National Literature.

As comprising a national literature, therefore, the Old Testament possesses the characteristics and varieties which inhere in the literature of a nation. It is in prose and in poetry; it contains myth, legend, history, legislation, oratory, epistolary literature, drama, parable, proverb, fable, idyl, philosophy, praise and prayer, patriotic national pieces, and portions universal in their application. Its writings betray at one time individualistic peculiarities of style and vocabulary and preferences for certain methods of expression; at another, they display the general tendencies of a school existing through generations. It includes the perfervid outpourings of the impassioned worshiper and the deliberate musings of a reflective philosopher. There are utterances hot from the furnace of passion, and polished, even labored and artificial, poems of the study. God, man, and Satan appear as speakers within its pages. Representing the externalization of a nation's history, it contains recollections of the pastoral life, mirrors the fresh, buoyant, and heroic period when a home was in the winning, registers the age of the adoption and formation of institutions, records the pride of achievement of eminence among the peoples, shows the depression of decadence and the rise of religious skepticism, and echoes the groan of extinction of national life. Indeed, this literature runs the entire gamut of national and of individual emotion as well as of literary form. Among the sacred books of the world's faiths, none is nearly so rich in its variety of form, content, and expression as the Old Testament of the Christian Bible.

2. Variety of Literary Form and Contents.

But while this book is thus the epitome of a whole millennium out of a nation's best inner life and external history, and therefore a collection of writings, it is not a loose aggregation with no inner bond. The purpose of each part is one with that of all the rest, the exaltation of righteousness in man as the necessary complement of the holiness of a righteous God. From the Song of Deborah (Judges v.), believed to be the earliest lengthy single composition in the Old Testament to Daniel (perhaps the latest composition), the religion of Yahweh is the motif inspiring the writers. This involved two complementary conceptions: (1) Yahweh as the national God, whom alone Israel might worship; (2) Israel as Yahweh's chosen people, therefore the most highly favored and sovereign of all peoples, the mediator of Yahweh's blessings upon the nations. This was not indeed always conceived in the same manner—a fact implied in what precedes—but religion, a particular faith, developing in clearness, intensity, comprehensiveness, and sublimity, binds the whole into a unity so close that to eliminate a book or a part of a book is as impossible as undesirable. To excise any part would be to limit the book's variety and mar its perfection as the mirror of a nation's thought and feeling. This, of course, does not preclude the book's being the object of the profoundest study from the textual, linguistic, literary, and historical sides, as well as from a religious standpoint. And it is unfortunate that it is necessary to say that the results of textual, linguistic, literary, and historical investigations are no more destructive of the Bible or its components than are the pronouncements of an architectural expert upon the structure of a cathedral which in different periods has been restored and extended. The archeologist labels the parts Roman, Byzantine, Norman, Gothic, etc., and his statement neither destroys the cathedral, takes away any of its parts, nor affects the sincerity of the worship performed in the edifice. Similarly the Biblical expert names the period or style of a component of Scripture, but his dictum does not (or should not) affect the religious value, still less does it remove anything from the book. (On the religious bond which connects the books of the Old Testament there is no more illuminating volume than Matthew Arnold's *Literature and Dogma*, London, 1873, and often.)

3. The Bond of Union.

From some of the books, notably Proverbs and Psalms, where the works of different persons and periods are brought together, it is at once clear that certain modes of compilation from sources available to the author were in use among the Hebrews. In other books there is discernible the editing of earlier material with a view to the emphasis of certain phases of life, as when the Chronicler employs often the exact words found in Kings, though at other times he changes the expression to suit his purpose (cf. II Chron. xxxiv. 8–12 with II Kings xxii. 3–7). A fine example of this process of editing is found in the Book of Judges, where the stories concerning the saviors of the people are used to teach a religious truth, viz., the result of defection from fidelity to Yahweh. The utilization of material already existing begins in Genesis, which takes in the primitive sword song of Lamech (Gen. iv. 23–24), the myth concerning the origin of giants (vi. 1–4), and much other matter derived from various sources, and continues through Ezra-Nehemiah, which quotes the decrees of the Persian monarchs. This process is evident even in the prophetical books (cf. Isa. ii. 2 sqq. with Mic. iv. 1 sqq.). The material thus employed may be that afforded by oral tradition, as in the case of the rude folk-songs taken up into the Hexateuch (cf. the song of the well, Num. xxi. 17–18); or a cycle of stories nucleated about some noted personages, such as the prophetic cycle of Elijah and Elisha (I Kings xvii.–II Kings ii.). Duplicate narratives were sometimes woven together, as in the case of the early life of David (see Samuel). Even more numerous sources were sometimes intertwined, producing an account more complete and variegated than any one alone provided. If critical conclusions are to be trusted, even material derived from non-Hebraic sources was employed, though in the using it was passed through the alembic of the national conscience and purified from its polytheistic taint (e.g., Gen. i.–iii.).

4. Methods of Composition.

The tracing of these sources is claimed as one of the achievements of modern Biblical Criticism (q.v.), especially as applied to the Hexateuch (q.v.). Here it is believed that four main strands have been detected, and some of them traced into the later historical books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings (qq.v.), the strands being combined by an editor (or editors) or "redactor." These constituents are known by the symbols J, E, D, P, R, and it is now considered that such symbols represent not so much single authors as the completed product of a series or school of writers. Thus the J (Jehovistic, Yahwistic, or Judean) narrative is believed to have been completed in the ninth century B.C. in the southern kingdom, and it is prophetic in genius, anthropomorphic (or primitive) in theology, concrete in ethics, picturesque and vivid in style, flowing in rhetoric, historic in aim, fond of introducing folk-songs into the history, and delighting in plays on words. The E (Elohistic, Ephraimitic) narrative, assigned to the eighth century B.C., and composed in the northern kingdom, is advanced in theology, avoiding anthropomorphism (the deity appears in dreams, not in person), didactic in genius, theocratic rather than historical in aim, concise in rhetoric, in ethics relying upon explicit commands of the deity rather than upon custom. Some time in the seventh century B.C. these two narratives were fused in the JE narrative, since in the combined representations the historical basis of the narrative text in chronological order is found. This is D (Deuteronomist), a writer or (better) school whose labors extend far beyond the work from which the name is taken, the present form of the books Judges—Kings being a result of this activity. This school used the early narratives available as a medium by which to convey the pragmatic teachings concerning the theocracy which distinguished the school. Thus the framework into which are set in the Book of Judges the lives and exploits of

5. Use of "Strands" of Narrative.

the heroes of the story is the work of D. The latest of the four narratives is that of P (Priestly writer), believed to be of the fifth to the fourth century, and composed in Babylonia. The principal interests of this school are ritual, genealogy, chronology, the sacerdotal office, and origins of institutions and laws. The portions contributed by P partake therefore of the tabular or "schedule" style, being "formal, exact, repetitious" (C. F. Kent, ut sup., i. 45). The vocabulary is limited, statistics are frequently furnished, numbers are multiplied, dates and genealogies are given. In theology the transcendence of deity is emphasized; in ethics, the patriarchs and early leaders are so idealized that their transgressions are passed with the minimum of notice. To this school is assigned the union of all the sources of the Hexateuch, leaving it nearly in its present form, some time in the fifth (or early in the fourth) century B.C. While the separate narratives have the more salient characteristics thus outlined, marking off each from the other, no less noticeable are the linguistic peculiarities, each narrative having its own vocabulary, its own idiosyncrasies of construction, and its choice of phrases not duplicated by the others (cf. C. F. Kent, ut sup., i. 357 sqq.; Driver, *Introduction*, chap. i., §7). The structure of the first part of the Old Testament, then, presents as a whole the appearance of formation by a rope-like intertwining of strands of different periods, possessing variant characteristics and coloring.

6. Methods in Prophetical and Wisdom Literature.

In the prophetical books a different method of composition was the order. Not until Ezekiel was it usual to communicate the prophetic teaching to its recipients by writing. Jeremiah indeed dictated to Baruch "all the words" which up to that time Yahweh had spoken to him (which, it is clearly implied, he had spoken as they came to him) "against Israel and against Judah" from Josiah's time onward. This doubtless represents the custom of the writing prophets until Ezekiel—delivery by the living voice, record in writing comes afterwards. This is confirmed by the unmistakable sense of an audience which appears in most of the prophetic deliverances, by the disconnection which is so often evident between the components of a prophetical book, and by the fragmentary nature of much of the material. The last feature is explained further by the fact that some oracles in the form in which they have been transmitted are evidently the mere outlines of fuller discourses. On the other hand, not seldom there are present a polish and literary finish which involve painstaking elaboration. These phenomena, with others, such as difference in viewpoint, variation in vocabulary and in literary style, have evoked much study on the part of exegetes and students; and the very perplexity thus evinced is in itself a justification of the critical conclusions involving variety of authorship in several of the prophetic books, notably those of Isaiah and Zechariah, which have so lightened the burden of the problems of Old Testament study. If it be true that prophetic deliverances were primarily oral, that later the prophet committed them to writing, that these records were kept sometimes on fugitive rolls or leaves, then it is not remarkable that, in the general process of editing, deliverances by an unknown prophet came to be attached to those of one who was known. In this the purpose was not to deceive; the object was doubtless a laudable desire to save fugitive pieces which were in danger of being lost. By this process of editing are explained such phenomena as the attachment of chaps. xl.-lxvi., relating to the exile, to chaps. i.–xxxix. of Isaiah (mainly preexilic), and the union of separate prophecies under the name of Zechariah. In the "wisdom literature" (so-called from the Hebr. *ḥokhmah*, "wisdom"), consisting of Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, perhaps Canticles, and certainly some of the Psalms, all didactic in aim, both the methods of compilation and that of straightforward composition are employed. Thus Proverbs (q.v.) is a collection of collections, including a treatise as introduction (cf. i. 1, x. 1, xxv. 1, xxxi. 1), and bearing the marks of successive editings. The dialogue of Job (q.v.) is a single composition, unless the speeches of Elihu are an insert subsequently included. Ecclesiastes (q.v.) is a unit, except for the additions in xii. 9 sqq.

7. Authorship.

In Jer. xviii. 18 is read: "For the law shall not perish from the priest, nor counsel from the wise, nor the word from the prophet." Jeremiah here brings together the three classes from whom practically all of Hebrew literature was derived. From "the prophet" (or the prophetical school), as has been indicated, proceeded not only what appears in the English Bible as the prophetical books (Isaiah-Malachi), but also three of the four strands of the Pentateuch (J, E, D) and the historical books from Joshua to Kings (which last, be it remembered, were known to rabbinic Judaism as "the former prophets," with the exception of Ruth; see Canon of Scripture, I., 4, § 2). From "the priest" (or those whose interests were priestly) proceeded the fourth strand of the Pentateuch (P), Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah, and most of the Psalms. The contribution of "the wise" was, of course, the wisdom literature. Some students would add to these a fourth class, the writers of apocalyptic literature, such as Daniel and a part of Zechariah; but this is a species of writing which is better classed as a late phase of prophecy. On this ground the inclusion by the versions of Daniel among the prophetical books has its justification, though the arrangement contravenes that of the Hebrew Bible (see Canon of Scripture, I., 4, § 2). According to the modern critical school, closer definition of authorship for most of the Old Testament books is impossible. Thus the foregoing statement of the composition of the Pentateuch (see § 4 above) precludes authorship by Moses. The books Joshua–Chronicles inclusive are named from their contents, not from the author. Neither Ezra nor Nehemiah purports to be written by the worthy whose name it bears, and the same is true of Esther and Job. Psalms is a collection from various sources, some of which are named. Most modern scholars affirm that neither Ecclesiastes nor Canticles can be Solomonic, and therefore the title in each (if indeed Ecclesiastes claims

to be by that king; cf. i. 1, where "son of David, king in Jerusalem" does not necessarily mean Solomon) is pseudonymous. Only the prophetical books remain to which definite authorship can be assigned, and even here only in part. In other words, the most of Old Testament literature is anonymous.

8. Dates of Old Testament Literature.

The story of the development of Hebrew literature as given by the critical school is as follows: From the pre-Mosaic period came the folk-songs embodied in the Pentateuch, such as the sword song of Lamech, and the oral traditions respecting origins of the world, of nations, and of tribes such as were common to the Semitic world. From the Mosaic period were transmitted the body of Mosaic precepts and decisions which were later formulated in the earliest written codes, but were at first handed down orally from the period of wandering, and also such songs as Ex. xv. and Num. xxi. 17–18. From the immediate post-Mosaic age (beginning about 1100 B.C.) came the Song of Deborah and oral traditions respecting the conquest and the period of the Judges which followed hard after. It is regarded as probable that written records began soon after the establishment of the kingdom in the shape of official annals, and, later, temple records. About 1000 B.C. is the date of David's law of booty (I Sam. xxx. 24–25), his elegy on Saul and Jonathan (II Sam. i. 17 sqq.), and that on Abner (II Sam. iii. 33–34), and, soon after, Nathan's parable (II Sam. xii. 1–4), while the date assigned to the blessing of Jacob (Gen. xlix.), Solomon's prayer (I Kings viii. 12 sqq.), to the compiling of the book on the wars of Yahweh (cf. Num. xxi. 14) and of the book of Jasher (cf. Josh. x. 12–13), and to the Balaam discourses (Num. xxiii.–xxiv.) is c. 970. The primitive codes (Ex. xiii., xx. 23–xxiii. 19, etc.) were probably first collected in the same period (950–900 B.C.). The beginnings of formulated history in the J narrative, and the collection of the life of Saul are placed in the middle of the ninth pre-Christian century. Deut. xxxiii. is dated about 800, while to about 750 are assigned the E narrative and the cycle of Elijah and Elisha stories in their earliest form. Between 750 and 700 fall the prophecies of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, while the latter date is believed to be that of Judges xvii.–xviii., and the Book of Samuel took nearly its present form about the same time. It is probable that early in the seventh century the nucleus of the Psalter was gathered, about 650 came the blending of the J and E narratives, and the Deuteronomic code (Deut. v. or xii.–xxx.) was written and adopted soon after (621 B.C.). Meanwhile Nahum and Zephaniah (650–630) had taken form, Jeremiah had begun his work (625), while Habakkuk delivered his oracles about 605. The first edition of the Books of Kings is believed to have been issued about 600, and soon after Ezekiel began his work of instruction (in 592). The fall of Jerusalem was followed after no long interval by the writing of Lamentations and probably by Baruch's edition of the prophecies of Jeremiah, and the Book of Obadiah is also to be located in the same period. The exile was a time fruitful in literary production, including the Deuteronomic redaction of Judges–Kings except Ruth, the union of the J, E, and Deuteronomic narratives, the issue of Isa. xl.–lv. (or lxii.), possibly the Holiness Code (Lev. xvii.–xxvi.), and other beginnings of the Priest Code. Haggai and Zechariah belong to the period following the return, or 520–518. The early part of the fifth century doubtless saw the practical completion of the Priest Code and its blending with the Holiness Code, and the completion of the second part of Isaiah (chaps. lvi. [or lxii.]–lxvi.). Between 460 and 400 the Book of Ruth, the prophecies of Malachi, the documents used in Ezra-Nehemiah, and chapters inserted in the first part of Isaiah (such as chap. xxxiv.) were written. The next century (400–300 B.C.) witnessed the completion of the Pentateuch by the interweaving of all the documents, the completion of the books from Genesis to Kings, the issue of the prophecies of Joel, the compilation of Proverbs, the writing of Isa. xxiv.–xxvii., and of Job, while the nucleus of the Psalter, consisting of Ps. iii.–xli., was expanded by the addition of books ii.–iii. (Ps. xlii.–lxxxix.), and it may be that Zech. ix.–xiv. is to be put in this period. To the latter half of the century Canticles is sometimes assigned. The work of the Chronicler (I–II Chronicles, Ezra–Nehemiah) is with great confidence placed about 300 B.C. Ecclesiastes is put late in the next century, Esther is not regarded as earlier than 200–150, while Daniel, considered the latest book in the canon (unless Esther postdates it), is dated 168–165, while the completion of the Psalter is put about 140. Although for the later books the dates given are regarded as indicated by facts which are reasonably certain, and on which there is a growing consensus, for the postponement of the beginning of literary work as exemplified in the Pentateuch the critics rely not merely on data supplied by the documents themselves, but on the general principle that advancement in culture and a certain fixity of institutions and life are required before writing may take form. This seems to be the law of literary development. See Biblical Introduction, I., and the articles on the separate books, in which the positions taken above as to the dates will be found to be traversed. It was not thought desirable to have a separate article upon these differences.

Geo. W. Gilmore.

III. Hebrew Poetry: Antiquity throws little light upon the nature of Hebrew poetry. Josephus and some of the fathers incidentally spoke of metrical form; and medieval rabbis adduced the "parallelism of members" as characteristic, but viewed the subject from a rhetorical or exegetical point of view (Ibn Ezra on Ps. ii. 3; Isa. xiv. 11); for others, however, Biblical poetry had so little attraction that they, like Judah-ha-Levi, considered that Old Testament poetry excelled all other just because it lacked artistic form. During and after the Reformation exegetes were concerned only with the religious content of the Old Testament, and it was not until after the reaction against orthodoxy set in that literary characteristics received attention. In 1753 appeared Bishop Lowth's still authoritative *De*

1. Recognition of the Nature of Hebrew Poetry.

sacra poesi Hebræorum (Eng. transl., *Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews*, 2 vols., London, 1787), in which he treated (1) the meter, (2) "the parabolic style," (3) the different kinds of poetry. Of great importance is the nineteenth lecture on the parallelism of members, which parallelism he divides into synonymous (Ps. cxiv. 1 sqq.) antithetic (Prov. xxvii. 6–7), and synthetic (Ps. xix. 8–11). To this work Herder furnished an excellent supplement in *Vom Geist der ebräischen Poesie* (2 vols., Dessau, 1782–83, Eng. transl., *The Spirit of Hebrew Poetry*, Burlington, Vt., 1833). With few exceptions, mainly purely metrical questions, the topics included in this branch of Old Testament study have been avoided by modern exegetes.

With full justification Kuenen has denied Keil's contention that Hebrew poetry is the fruit of religion, and that therefore the Hebrews never had any secular poetry. Keil overlooked, on the one hand, that it was in the interest of religion that the compilers of the Old Testament selected as its contents what seemed most important to them and no doubt also to humanity; and, on the other hand, that the Old Testament still contains many traces of non-religious poetry. That song and poem had an important place in the life of old Israel is seen from the facts that historians referred to old songs, and that prophets adopted their form. It is provable that in all conditions of life the song or the chant was heard—at the wedding (Jer. vii. 34, xxv. 10; I Macc. ix. 39), even that of a king (Ps. xlv.); lovers broke into song (Isa. v. 1–2; Ezek. xxxiii. 32). The people sang in the harvest-field (Ps. lxv. 13), at the wine-press (Isa. xvi. 10; Jer. xxv. 30), at the discovery of water (Num. xxi. 17 sq.), and at the feast (Isa. v. 12; Ps. lxix. 12). Occasionally at the feast a host improvised the song (Amos vi. 5) or the riddle (Judges xiv. 12), but usually singer and songstress were engaged to entertain the guests (II Sam. xix. 35; I Kings x. 12; Eccles. ii. 8; compare also David's position at Saul's court). Everywhere vocal music is the expression of joy; so closely are they related that the bard seems to be out of place in the atmosphere of gloom (Amos viii. 10; Job xxi. 12; Prov. xxv. 20). Nevertheless, death, too, called forth its own peculiar form of poetry; the "Lament," sung by trained mourning women (Jer. ix. 17 sqq.; cf. Amos v. 16) no doubt in a stereotyped form. If the deceased was a king or a hero, real poets composed new laments (II Sam. i. 19 sqq., iii. 33 sq.; II Chron. xxxv. 25). The sacrifice of the virgin daughter of Jephthah was annually commemorated in elegies (Judges xi. 40); the warriors called to one another in rhythmic shouts (I Sam. xviii. 7, xxi. 11, xxix. 5; Judges v. 29); on his return the conqueror either himself sang his exploits (Gen. iv. 23; Judges xv. 16), or employed a poet, whose songs, like that of Deborah, became the sources for the historian (cf. Num. xxi. 14, 27; Josh. x. 12–13 Judges v. 11). Satire, too, was clothed in poetry (Judges v. 15–17; Hab. ii. 6 sqq.; Jer. vii. 29; Ezek. xix. 1, xxvi. 17); proverbs and parables were given in poetic measure (Judges ix. 7 sqq.; II Kings xiv. 9 sqq.; II Sam. xii. 1 sqq., xiv. 6 sqq.), which was adopted by the prophets (Isa. v. 1, sqq., xxviii. 23 sqq.; Ezek. xvii. 2 sqq.) and the teacher (Proverbs and Ecclesiastes), and in the practise of it Solomon was considered chief (I Kings v. 12). How valuable the Israelites themselves considered their poetry is evinced by the many collections which were made; thus, one containing dirges is mentioned II Chron. xxxv. 25; there are also the older "Book of the wars of Yahweh" (Num. xxi. 14–15) and the "Book of Jasher" (perhaps "The Book of the Upright," Joshua x. 12–13.).

2. Employment of Poetry by Hebrews.

The Old Testament teaches, however, that poetry found its highest development in the sphere of religion; song, music, and the dance were always the indispensable form of the cult (Ex. xxxii. 18; Judges xxi. 21; II Sam. vi. 5, 14); a very old song, with which the ark was greeted, is preserved in Num. x. 35–36; at the Ephraimitic sanctuaries hymns were sung to harp accompaniment (Amos v. 23), and in Judah to that of the pipe and flute (Isa. xxx. 29. After the return there were temple-singers (Ezra ii. 41) who sang such lyrics as are preserved in the Psalter, a book which contains also purely individualistic hymns (xii. 1 sqq., xvii. 12 sqq., xviii. 18 sqq., xx. 7 sqq.). From Jer. xlv. 3, which sounds like a citation, and from Lamentations, especially chap. iii., the conclusion may be drawn that the religious lyric was well developed long before the Exile. But religious poetry found a yet wider field, for the style of the prophets is so decidedly rhythmical that rhetoric immediately glides over into poetry. No doubt this was an inheritance from ancient prophecy, which was accompanied by music (I Sam. x. 5; II Kings iii. 15; cf. Ps. xlix. 4). The teachers of wisdom could not dispense with poetry, hence the proverb is expressed in gnomic form with its parables and rhythm; even Ecclesiastes, though ordinarily colorless and devoid of music, now and then glides into rhythm (Eccles. iii. 1–8, xii. 1–4), and the author of the Book of Job has handled a religio-philosophical problem in such a way that he would have been one of humanity's greatest poets had not the theologian in him dominated the poet.

3. Religious Use of Poetry.

Thus it appears that any presentation of Hebrew poetry is limited to the religious literature of the Old Testament, and the results would have to be modified were secular poetry as plentifully preserved as is the religious. Consequently a definite answer can not be given to the question whether or not the Hebrews had a drama; only this may be said, that none has been preserved, for the Song of Solomon, if rightly understood, is not a drama, and Job is a collection of monologues and dialogues held together by narrative. Still, from all this the inference is not necessary that the Israelites in their secular poetry had no drama, but the salient characteristic of Semitic poetry makes the knowledge of the dramatic art among the Hebrews extremely doubtful. The same is true of the epic, which is hardly conceivable in a prophetic atmosphere that as a rule excludes every mythological element. But since at least one

4. The Epic and the Drama Lacking.

Semitic people, the Babylonians, had the epic, it seems likely that Israel, too, had once epic poetry, and reminiscences or suggestions of such a form are still found, though they are used merely for decorative purpose (Job iii. 8, ix. 13; Ps. lxxiv. 13-14). But if one understand by epic only hero-stories in poetic form, then the Hebrews had much of such poetry. If now, with this reservation, one would get a survey of the whole field of Hebrew poetry, he would find a good aid in the Old Testament division of this variety of literature into lyric song and proverb. The lyric song in the secular field embraces love-songs, war-songs, and dirges, all of which are found in the religious area, as given in Ps.; Ex. xv.; Deut. xxxii.; I Sam. ii.; Nahum i.; Hab. iii., and Lamentations. As special kinds of poetry the Old Testament mentions the prayer-hymn (Ps. lxxi. 1; Hab. iii. 1, cf. Ps. lxxii. 20) and the song of praise (Ps. cxlv. 1). The "proverb" has a far wider range. This is directed rather to the intellect than to the feeling, is complex, combines apparently heterogeneous elements, and gives in condensed, often enigmatical, form an experience or a moral truth (cf. I Sam. xxiv. 14; Ezek. xii. 22–23, xviii. 2; Prov. i. 1, x. 1, xxv. 1); it is used by the philosopher (Job xxvii. 1, xxix. 1), the seer (Num. xxiii. 7, 18), the allegorizer (Ezek. xvii. 2, xxiv. 3), and the mocker (Isa. xiv. 4; Mic. ii. 4; Hab. ii. 6). The following is the range of the use of the proverb: (1) in sentences like those just given, riddles, and dark sayings (Prov. i. 6); (2) it means the riddle proper (Judges xiv. 12 sqq.; I Kings x. 1); (3) it stands for fables (Judges ix. 7–8; II Kings xiv. 9–10); (4) for parables (II Sam. xii. 1 sqq., xiv. 6 sqq.; Isa. v. 1 sqq., xxviii. 23 sqq.); (5) for allegories (Ezek. xvii. 2, xxiv. 3); (6) for satires and mockeries (Hab. ii. 6); (7) for expressions of wisdom (Ps. xlix.; Prov. i.–ix.; Eccles.; Job); (8) for didactic presentation of history (Ps. xcv., lxxviii.); (9) and for prophetic literature (Num. xii. 8, xxiii. 7, 18; Dan. v. 12). But the line between the lyric and the proverb is not sharply drawn, and the two overlap and interchange.

5. Forms Mentioned in the Old Testament.

Absolute certainties about the artistic form of Hebrew poetry are very few; still it may be said that criticism has established the following facts: (1) Poetry is not satisfied with ordinary diction, but searches for sonorous, rare, ancient expressions; it often uses a different relative, longer pronominal suffixes, different nominal endings, and has a preference for alliteration, assonances and word pictures; of a conscious use of rime for metrical purposes there is no trace. (2) Owing to its kinship to music and the dance, poetry demands a form controlled by rhythm. But here is the least known area, for, whereas the Arabs had a developed meter long before they knew how to write, the Old Testament poetry takes such form that many have given up all hope of finding a meter at all, in the place of which they discover merely the "thought-rhythm," the so-called "parallelism of members." The simplest form of this is the synonymous parallelism, in which the second part of the line or verse repeats in different form the sense of the first (Ps. ii. 4; Job vi. 8; Isa. v. 7; Song of Sol. viii. 6); at times only a part of the first line is repeated (Job iii. 8), or the picture is followed by the fact (Prov. ii. 22; Job vii. 9); at times the two members bear the same relation to each other as the obverse and the reverse of a coin (Song of Sol. vii. 10). A second form is known as the antithetical, in which the sense of the two members is opposed (Ps. xviii. 27; Prov. xi. 1). Besides these two varieties, Lowth names a third, the synthetic, in which the members merely hang together without being parallel or antithetic (cf. Ps. iii. 2, xi. 3, xxix. 1; Job xiii. 16, xxxiii. 29; Prov. ii. 31; Ex. xv. 16). Ordinarily the parallelism has two members, at times three (Song of Sol. iv. 10; Ps. ii. 2, vi. 6, liv. 3), four (Ps. cxiv. 1–2; Deut. xxxii. 11; Judges v. 4, 14), and even as many as six (Lam. i. 1). (3) Altogether different is the problem, however, if the search is for the resolution of Hebrew poetry into a true rhythm and if parallelism is regarded merely as a frequent accompaniment. Merx, for example, sees in parallelism merely a rhetorical law which may accompany, but does not constitute, the poetic form, and Grimme goes so far as to deduce parallelism directly from the rhythm. Here appears the question often affirmatively answered, and as frequently answered in the negative, whether or not a meter can be pointed out in Hebrew poetry. The assertion that the Israelites had a verse measure is old. Josephus says that Moses wrote two poems in hexameter (Ex. xv.; Deut. xxxii.), and David some in trimeters, and others in pentameter. Similar claims are found in Eusebius and Jerome; and the latter discovers in Job the hexameter, in Lam. i., ii., iv., the Sapphic measure, and in Lam. iii. the trimeter. It must be remembered, however, that, on the one hand, these authors were endeavoring to remove the prejudice of their readers against the Hebrew, and, on the other, that only by comparing the Hebrew with the Greek could they make Hebrew poetry intelligible; nevertheless their testimony, especially that of Jerome, is of importance. It goes without saying that the discovery of a meter would be a great help to the textual critic and the exegete, consequently a number of scholars have set themselves the task of searching for the key to this mystery. They fall into two groups, the one of which (represented by Merx, Bickell, Gietmann) tries to find the same meter as is found in Syriac poetry, Servian hero-tales, and new Romance poetry where the rhythm is produced by a definite number of syllables. Bickell, the ablest champion of this theory, claims that in the verse every other syllable is accented, and that in the foot the accent always falls on the penultimate; consequently, that in verses of even number of syllables the measure would be trochaic, in those of uneven number, iambic; and he has formulated a complete system of rules, in accordance with which different syllables may at times be dropped, the half-vowels counted or omitted, the suffixes changed, and so on. The other group (Ley, Neteler, Briggs, Grimme, Duhm, Bertholet, Gunkel) counts only the tone-beat, regarding the unaccented and slightly accented syllables between the tone-beats as unessential to the meter. Ley has found hexameters, octameters,

6. Characteristics of Hebrew Poetry.

decameters, and elegiac pentameters, which may be divided into smaller parts and interchange with one another. Grimme, however, has his strophes consist of from two to four verses with from two to five tone-beats, but thinks that the verses must have the same measure; consequently verses of four beats and three beats, or of four and five beats, are not interchangeable, while those of four may interchange with verses of two beats, and verses with five beats (2+3) interchange with verses of two and three beats. In general agreement with this scheme are the conclusions of the exhaustive investigation of Sievers, who found, however, a definite rhythm, fitted both for song and recitation, the so-called pseudo-anapest meter. But too much caution can not be exercised in judgment of these systems, for in all there are admitted difficulties. Every system of metrics rests not only upon laws, but upon incalculable quantities, which no acuteness can discover where every tradition is wanting. But difficulty attends search for the laws of expression, inasmuch as the original pronunciation is no longer certainly known. Moreover, the text is by no means certain; in places it is demonstrably corrupt. Another difficulty is found in the uncertain boundaries of Hebrew poetry. The Masoretes have furnished only Psalms, Proverbs, and Job with poetical accentuation; but this is decidedly erroneous, since other books contain poetry. In different compositions different forms may be expected, as, for instance, in the recited speech and the chanted song; and while it is undoubtedly true that most prophecy contains true poetry, it is hardly conceivable that the authors felt themselves bound to any particular meter. Bickell is able to remove all of these objections by citing Syriac analogies, but proof is entirely lacking that the Hebrews had the same method of making poetry as the Syrians. Moreover, Bickell is forced to ignore the Masoretic notations, and his system is absolutely irreconcilable with Josephus's and Jerome's statements. More probable is the other system, though Ley and Grimme with their rules go far beyond recognized knowledge. In favor of this system there are strong reasons: in the first place, the Masoretic accentuations can be utilized; in the second place, good results are obtainable in spite of a doubtful text; and it is hardly to be denied that double verses of three plus three tone-beats occur so frequently that they may be conceived as governing the normal meter of the Israelites; and besides, the system harmonizes with the statements of Josephus and Jerome. To this it must be added that there are remarkable analogies in Babylonian literature Another form of Hebrew poetry, the so-called Ḳinah or dirge-meter, has been richly illuminated through the investigations of Budde. This is a common line followed by a shorter broken one, usually three tone-beats followed by two, in which Ley and Grimme see lines of five tone-beats (Amos v. 2; Ezek. xix. 2; Isa. i. 21 sqq., xiv. 4 sqq.; Lam. i.–iv.); this measure seems most fit to represent the mood of the mourning-women. When this meter is found in such poems as Ps. xix. 7, sqq. lxv. 5–8, lxxxiv. 1 sq., ci.; Isa. xxxii. 9–14, it is to be regarded as merely a poetic device. (5) Finally the Old Testament has alphabetical (acrostic) poems, Ps. ix.–x., xxv., xxxiv., xxxvii., cxi., cxii., cxix., cxlv.; Lam. i.–iv.; Prov. xxxi. 10 sqq., and no doubt Nahum i. 2–ii. 3 (according to Bickell also Ecclus. li. 13–20). Among these are many variations, from such Psalms as cxi. and cxii., in which a new letter begins every half-verse, to Ps. cxix., where every letter is eight times repeated as an initial. In some the alphabetical order is barely visible (Ps. ix. sq.; Nahum i), a fact which can be due only to faulty transmission; indeed, it seems that Gunkel and Bickell have been able practically to reconstruct the Nahum passage. These alphabetical songs tell further that the poets developed the stanza in its unity, and in complexity carried it at least as far as to the length of sixteen lines, as in Ps. cxix.; a further development was the refrain used in Ps. xlii. 5, 11, xliii. 5, 11, lix. 9, 17, lxxx. 3, 7, 19; also in the Prophets, Amos i. 3, 6. A variation of this is found in the repetition of the opening verse (Isa. v. 8, 11, 18, 22; Hab. ii. 9, 12, 15). Considering such facts as these, many students have followed Köster in supposing that all Old Testament poetry must be composed of stanzas; but a difference of opinion has arisen upon the question whether single lines (so Sommer, Delitzsch) or the distich or tristich (so Hupfeld) should be considered the unit of the stanza. This question has found an elaborate treatment in D. H. Müller's *Die Propheten in ihrer ursprünglichen Form* (Vienna, 1896), but his results appear to be as doubtful as Bertholet's division of Ezek. xv. and Bickell's and Duhm's of Job iii. (F. Buhl.)

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On the history of the study of the Hebrew language: H. Ewald and L. Dukes, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der ältesten Auslegung und Spracherklärung des A. T.*, Stuttgart, 1844; H. Hupfeld, *De rei grammaticæ apud Judæos initiis antiquissimisque scriptoribus*, Halle, 1846; L. Geiger, *Das Studium der hebräischen Sprache in Deutschland*, Breslau, 1870; A. Berliner, *Beiträge zur hebräischen Grammatik im Talmud und Midrasch*, Berlin, 1879; S. Baer and H. L. Strack, *Dikduke ha-teamim des Ben Ascher*, Leipsic, 1879; W. Bacher, *Die hebräische Sprachwissenschaft vom 10. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert*, Leipsic, 1892; idem, *Die Anfänge der hebräischen Grammatik*, ib. 1895; E. Nestle, *Marginalien und Materialen*, Tübingen, 1893. Grammars and lexicons are by: W. Gesenius, *Hebräische Grammatik*, Leipsic, 1813, 26th ed. by E. Kautzsch, 1902, Eng. transl., Edinburgh, 1880; idem, *Ausführliches grammatisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache*, ib. 1817; idem, *Thesaurus philologicus criticus linguæ hebraicæ . . . V. T.*, ib. 1835–58; J. Olshausen, *Lebrbuch der hebräischen Sprache*, Brunswick, 1861; F. Böttcher, *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache*, 2 vols., Leipsic, 1866–68; H. Ewald, *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache*, Göttingen, 1870, Eng. transl., Edinburgh, 1879; B. Stade, *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Grammatik*, Leipsic, 1879; E. König, *Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache*, ib. 1881–97; A. Müller, *Outlines of Hebrew Syntax*, Edinburgh, 1888; S. R. Driver, *Use of the Tenses in Hebrew*, London, 1892; F. Brown,

S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the O. T.*, Oxford, 1892–1906; C. Siegfried and B. Stade, *Hebräisches Wörterbuch zum A. T.*, Leipsic, 1893; A. B. Davidson, *Hebrew Syntax*, Edinburgh, 1896; J. R. Kennedy, *Hebrew Synonyms*, London, 1898; J. D. Wijnkoop, *Hebrew Syntax*, ib. 1898. Consult also the literature under MASORAH.

II. The subject is, of course, to be studied with the help of the works mentioned in and under BIBLICAL INTRODUCTION, especially such as Driver, *Introduction*. A very helpful book is the *Beilage* of E. Kautzsch to his *Heilige Schrift des A. T.*, Freiburg, 1896, Eng. transl., *Outline of the Hist. of the O. T.*, London, 1898. The best book in English, which covers all phases of the subject, is C. A. Briggs, *The Study of Holy Scripture*, New York, 1899. The subject of the study of the Old Testament as literature has during the past decade awakened wide interest. The following are some of the works evoked by this new movement: *The Bible as Literature*, by various hands, New York, 1896; S. Leathes, *The Claims of the Old Testament*, ib. 1897; I. Abrahams, *Chapters on Jewish Literature*, ib. 1899; R. Moulton, *Literary Study of the Bible*, Boston, 1899; idem, *Short Introduction to the Literature of the Bible*, ib. 1903; L. Abbott, *Life and Literature of the Hebrews*, ib. 1901; J. P. Peters, *Early Hebrew Story*, New York, 1904; M. Dods, *The Bible, its Origin and Nature*, ib. 1905; C. F. Kent, *The Origin and Permanent Value of the O. T.*, ib. 1906; idem, *The Student's O. T.*, vols. i., ii., iv. (the introductions and appendices are of special value); N. Mann, *The Evolution of a Great Literature*, Boston, 1905; J. H. Gardiner, *The Bible as English Literature*, New York, 1906; W. F. Adeney, *How to Read the Bible*, New York, 1907. A book not antiquated is J. Fürst, *Geschichte der biblischen Literatur*, Leipsic, 1867–70. For a survey of the conservative literature the reader is referred to the literature under BIBLICAL CRITICISM, where the works of Beattie, Munhall, Green, and Orr are mentioned and do justice to the case for the traditional theory of the origin of the O. T.

III. In addition to the works of Herder and Lowth mentioned in the text, the dissertation of the latter in his commentary on Isaiah is to be noted. The subject is usually discussed in the introduction to the commentaries on the books which contain poetry, and especially those on the poetical and prophetical books. For the English student the best summary is in C. A. Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, chaps. xiv.–xvii., New York, 1899. Consult further on the subject of Hebrew poetry: Köster, in *TSK*, iv. (1831), 40 sqq.; F. Delitzsch, *Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Poesie*, Leipsic, 1836; J. G. Wenrich, *De poeseos Hebraicæ . . . indole*, ib. 1843; E. Meier, *Die Form der hebräischen Poesie*, Tübingen, 1853; idem, *Geschichte der poetischen National-Literatur*, Berlin, 1856; I. Taylor, *Spirit of Hebrew Poetry*, London, 1861; H. Ewald, *Dichter des Alten Bundes*, Göttingen, 1868, Eng. transl., *Poetical Books of the O. T.*, London, 1880; H. Steiner, *Ueber hebräische Poesie*, Basel, 1873; Budde, in *TSK*, 1874, pp. 747 sqq.; *ZATW*, ii (1882), 1 sqq., 49 sqq., iii (1883), 299 sqq., xi (1891), 234 sqq., xii (1892), 31 sqq., 261 sqq.; A. Werfer, *Die Poesie der Bibel*, Tübingen, 1875; G. Bickell, *Metrices Biblicæ regulæ exemplis illustratæ*, Innsbruck, 1879; idem, *Carmina V. T. metrice*, ib. 1882; idem, in *ZDMG*, 1880, pp. 557 sqq.; H. Gietmann, *De re metrica Hebræorum*, Freiburg, 1879; B. Neteler, *Grundzüge der hebräischen Metrik der Psalmen*, Münster, 1879; W. Wickes, *The Accentuation of the Three So-called Poetical Books of the O. T.*, Oxford, 1882; M. Heilprin, *The Historical Poetry of the Ancient Hebrews*, 2 vols., New York, 1879–1880; G. H. Gilbert, *The Poetry of Job*, Chicago, 1889; H. Hartmann, *Die hebräische Verskunst*, Berlin, 1894; H. Grimme, in *ZDMG*, l (1896), 529 sqq.; P. Vetter, *Die Metrik des Buches Hiobs*, Freiburg, 1897; P. Ruben, in *JQR*, xi (1899), 431 sqq.; E. Sievers, *Metrische Studien*, 2 vols., Leipsic, 1901–05; O. Hauser, *Die Urform der Psalmen. Das erste Buch des Psalters in metrischer Umschrift und Uebersetzung*, Grossenhain, 1907; B. Marr, *Altjüdische Sprache, Metrik und Lunartheosophie*, part i., Dux, 1907; E. König, *Die Poesie des A. T.*, Leipsic, 1907; *DB*, iv. 2–13; *EB*, iii. 3793–3804; *JE*, x. 93–100; while the files of the *JBL* and *PSBA* contain very much that is pertinent, especially in treatment of individual books.

HEBREW POETRY. See HEBREW LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE, III.

HEBREWS. See ISRAEL, HISTORY OF, I.

HEBREWS, EPISTLE TO THE.

Title and Destination (§ 1). Authorship. Definite Data (§ 5).
Contents (§ 2). Tradition of Pauline Authorship (§ 6).
The Readers (§ 3). Ascription to Barnabas and Apollos (§ 7).
Date (§ 4).

Although the epistle to the Hebrews is one of the most important doctrinal works comprised in the New Testament, its author can not be determined with certainty either from ecclesiastical tradition or by modern critical research; nor is there any notable tradition from which to identify those to whom it was addressed, beyond the vague "to Hebrews" written at the beginning and the end.

1. Title and Destination.

Although the title is, of course, not of the author's writing, it goes back to the beginning of the circulation of the epistle, which was uniformly called "the Epistle to the Hebrews" by the year 200, among writers and churches that differ widely as to its authorship and relation to the canon, in Clement of Alexandria and his teacher (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, VI. xiv. 2–4) equally with Tertullian (*De pudicitia*, xx.). It can not be shown that the epistle was ever read without this title or with another. Unsuccessful attempts have been made to identify it with the epistle to the Laodiceans mentioned in Col. iv. 16, and now extant in a Latin version; and still more groundless attempts to show that it is the pseudo-Pauline epistle "To the Alexandrians," of which there is no certain knowledge. The ancient title, differing from those of the Pauline epistles in that the recipients are not designated by their place of residence, shows that the author of the title wished to mark them out as born Jews. If the title is supposed to give the original destination of the epistle from tradition, one can not see why it should have been addressed to the Hebrew-speaking part of Jewish Christianity, or to a particular Jewish-Christian Church like that of Jerusalem, to the exclusion of the Hellenistic part. If it is based on the contents of the letter, it is equally difficult to imagine why a work written in such good Greek should be supposed to have been originally addressed to Hebrew-speaking Christians. This theory did not create the title, but from the title Clement evolved the theory that the epistle was first written in Hebrew and then translated by Luke; later writers repeated this view, some substituting Clement of Rome for Luke. The weakness of this hypothesis is now generally recognized. Even if it be established that the recipients are designated as Hebrews with reference to their nationality and not to their language, the conclusion does not follow that the Hebrews of Jerusalem or Palestine are alone meant, as Clement of Alexandria and his teacher (probably Pantænus), Euthalius, and Ephraem thought. The supposition that all Jewish Christians throughout the world are meant is excluded by xiii. 18–25. The addressing of the recipients by their nationality instead of by their residence (supposing the latter to have been known) can be explained only by the fact that the

giver of the title knew or believed the epistle to have been addressed to the Jewish-born part of a definite local or provincial church. This, then, is the sense of the title, if it rests on a tradition going back to the date of the epistle's composition. It is also possible that the title merely reproduces the impression made from the beginning to the present time on most readers of the epistle. The next impression received from the epistle itself as to the character of the recipients is that they formed a homogeneous body. Complete similarity between their conditions appears in the references to the origin of their belief and the men to whom they owe it (ii. 3, 4, vi. 1, xiii. 7), to the duration of their adherence to the faith (v. 12); to their showing of its results by works of mercy (vi. 10), and their sufferings for it (x. 32–34); to their dispositions and the dangers threatening them. That they as well as the author are Jews by descent is evident from numerous passages (i. 1, iii. 9, ii. 16, xiii. 13; cf. vi. 12–18 with I Cor. x. 1; Gal. iii. 7–29, iv. 21–31; Rom. iv. 11–18). The writer considers himself and his readers the direct continuation of the pre-Christian people of Israel, without asking how they became members of God's household. Although he insists on the universal significance of the death of Christ (ii. 9, 15, v. 9, ix. 26–28), he regards it so entirely from the standpoint of the Jewish community that it almost seems as if he knew only of its atoning operation on the sins not atoned for under the old covenant (ix. 15, xiii. 12; cf. Matt. i. 21), and considered the new covenant as one which, like the old, was only for the people to which the old was given and the new promised (viii. 6–13, x. 16, 17).

2. Contents.

For the understanding of the epistle it is necessary to bear in mind that it is really a letter, and one with a practical religious purpose, to which all theoretical expositions are only means. Immediately after the fine exposition in chapter i. the practical purpose comes out in the earnest warning based upon it (ii. 1–4). After the second theoretical exposition (ii. 5–18) comes the exhortation in chapter iii. only broken by short argumentative bits. The exhortation in iv. 14–16 is justified by the exposition of the Jewish high-priesthood and the royal priesthood of Christ. And the passage which is most like a doctrinal dissertation (vi. 13–x. 18) is anticipated and followed by much strong practical admonition (v. 11–vi. 12, x. 19–39), and again chapter xi. is plainly subordinate to the warnings which precede and follow it. If in some places (iii. 12, iv. 1, 11, xii. 15, 16) the danger of individual lapse is mentioned, the whole body is none the less warned not to fall by neglecting the message of salvation (ii. 1–3, xii. 25), not to tread under foot the Son of God and crucify him afresh (vi. 4–8, x. 26–29). In spite of their long continuance in the Christian faith, they are still in the position of new converts who need to be taught the first principles (v. 11–vi. 3). A general relaxation shows itself (xii. 12); their patience fails (x. 36, xii. 1–11). Like the Israelites in the wilderness, they make comparisons between what they have given up and what they have gained in exchange. But the claims which they make are such as only those who were brought up in the faith of the old covenant and its promises could make. Not only in order to show the greater responsibility imposed by the knowledge of Christ's revelation (ii. 1–4), but to remind them of its incomparable excellence, the writer shows the superiority of their mediator to all mediators of the old covenant, even to the angels (i.). What they find unsatisfying is that this mediator has died the common death of men and since that has been invisible; so he shows them how, precisely in order to be their redeemer, Jesus had to partake fully of the common lot (ii. 5–18), and that only through his death and consequent exaltation could he be the high priest who was to do perfectly what the old high priests had done only in type and figure and to fulfil the promise of a royal priesthood (iv. 14–x. 18). Jewish Christians have thus incomparably more than they had before their conversion; but only on condition of holding fast to their faith. It follows that the danger to the recipients of the epistle was not the being led by false teachers into a wrong conception of the Christian faith; the "divers and strange doctrines" mentioned in xiii. 9 are only of subordinate importance. Nor, again, is it that of falling away to a Judaizing Christianity by a belief of their own in the Mosaic law as permanently binding. The view to which the Hebrews are inclined, that faith in the crucified Jesus does not compensate for the trials of the Christian life, is not really a religious doctrine at all. Against a genuine Judaism it would be useless to adduce the fact, on which it insisted itself, that the promises made to God's people were not yet all fulfilled, but were certain of fulfilment. But there was a kind of Judaism which was such in name only —the Judaism of the high priest who brought about the crucifixion, and of Josephus, who betrayed the hope of the nation to the Roman emperor for the "mess of pottage" of court favor (*Wars*, III., viii. 9; VI., v. 4). Against a Judaism like this, without faith or hope, Paul stood with the Pharisees (Acts xxiii. 6–9; Rom. x. 2); and it was to such a Judaism that the recipients of this letter, to judge by the expressions of its author, were in danger of falling away.

3. The Readers.

The opinion represented by Röth (*Epistolam vulgo "ad Hebraeos" inscriptam* . . . Leipsic, 1836) and Von Soden (*JPT*, 1884, pp. 435 sqq., 627 sqq.) that the epistle was addressed to Christians of predominantly pagan origin scarcely deserved the attention it received; and not much more tenable is that which prevailed among a number of the older commentators (Bleek, Riehm), that the recipients were still taking part in the Jewish temple worship and sacrifices, and held this to be necessary to the atonement for sin, so that the purpose of the epistle was to reason them out of this and its practical consequences. Nor is there any support in the epistle for the assumption that the recipients were residents of Jerusalem or of Palestine; and the same may be said of the other theory that they lived in Alexandria and adhered to the worship of the temple at Leontopolis. The view brought up again by

Hofmann, that they were Jewish Christians of Antioch and its neighborhood has at least this in its favor, that the appropriateness of what is said in ii. 3, v. 12, vi. 10 may be historically demonstrated (see Acts xi. 19 sqq., xii. 25, xiii. 1). But there is no strong probability for any hypothesis except the one first put forth by Wetstein (in his ed. of the New Testament, ii. 386, Amsterdam, 1752), that the recipients are to be looked for in Italy, and especially in Rome. Theodoret argued from xiii. 24 that the epistle was written in Italy; and while one can not positively assert the contrary from the designation of those who send salutations as "they of Italy," it seems the most natural construction. Instead of sending greetings from all the Christians near him (I Cor. xvi. 20) or from the church of the place where he is (I Pet. v. 13), the writer sends them here only from the Christians born in Italy, because they would have a special interest in the dwellers in that country. Moreover, in xiii. 9 we find mention of an ascetic tendency related to that discussed in Rom. xiv. The dispositions of the Jewish-Christian majority in Rome which are combated in Rom. ix. 1, xi. 12, might have developed into a bitterness which is reproved in Hebrews. The first traces of the influence of the epistle are found in the earliest writings that issued from the Roman Church, admittedly in the epistle of Clement, and probably in the Shepherd of Hermas. The fact that until the middle of the fourth century the epistle did not belong to the New Testament as received in Rome would be explained by its not being addressed to the Church as a whole, but to a section of Roman Christians, a group within the larger body. Those who have the rule over them in their narrower circle (xiii. 17) are not identical with "*all* them that have the rule over you" in xiii. 24, whom they are to salute, and similarly "all the saints" in that verse are not identical with those to whom the letter is addressed. According to x. 32, they have at some fairly remote period suffered severe trials. The statement that these occurred after they were illuminated would be quite superfluous if the writer had not in mind a contrast with other such trials which they had endured before their conversion. Under Claudius, probably about 52, the Jews were banished from Rome, not without loss of property and other sufferings; under Nero, in 64, the Christians of Rome, for the most part of Jewish birth, suffered much more severely. Like Aquila and Priscilla (Rom. xvi. 3), many more of those who left Rome as Jews under Claudius may have returned as Christians under Nero, or have been converted after their return. In another context they are reminded of the deceased preachers and teachers who have sealed their testimony with their blood—thus especially Peter and Paul (xiii. 7; cf. Clement, I Cor. v.).

4. Date.

From the foregoing it follows that the epistle was not written immediately after 64–67, but probably in 75 at the earliest. On the other hand, the mention of Timothy, and the indisputable use made of the epistle by Clement of Rome prevent us from placing the date of its composition as late as the closing years of the first century. About 80 is the most probable date. The grounds adduced for a date earlier than 70 are mainly the same as are used to prove a continuance of the temple worship at that time, and fall with them. From the allegorical employment of Ps. xcv. in iii. 7 sqq. it may be assumed that forty years had elapsed since the earthly ministry of Jesus, and that the threatened judgment had fallen on the impenitent part of the Jewish race.

5. Authorship. Definite Data.

Even less agreement seems to have been reached as to the identity of the author than as to the recipients of the letter. It may be hoped that the notion of Schwegler (in *Das nachapostolische Zeitalter*, ii. 304–305, Tübingen, 1846), already amply disproved by Köstlin (in *Theologische Jahrbücher*, 1853, pp. 410–428, 1854, pp. 366–446, 463–483), that the writer wished to be taken for Paul without being Paul, will not again be brought forward. This is deprived of all plausibility by the lack of any initial salutation or self-designation, by the lack of emphasis on the allusions to the writer's personality, and by the evidently earnest purpose of guarding a circle of readers whose internal and external circumstances are clearly marked from the danger of apostasy. Equally untenable is Overbeck's theory that the epistle received its present form in Alexandria about 160–170, the initial salutation with the real writer's name having been dropped and the last four verses added, for the purpose of passing it off as an epistle of Paul, and thus getting it included in the canon (*Zur Geschichte des Kanons*, pp. 1–70, Chemnitz, 1880). The bold forger whom this theory supposes would certainly not have stopped short of adding a salutation containing Paul's name, which alone could have made success certain; and it would be impossible to explain on this hypothesis the fact that those parts of the Church (entirely independent of Alexandria) in which the epistle was not thought canonical should also have lost the original salutation, and should have either considered the authorship an unsolved problem or contented themselves with the decision that it was not Pauline. If the epistle originally stood in its present form it seems to follow that the author was a Christian of Hebrew birth, like the recipients; that he owed his conversion to the immediate disciples of Jesus (ii. 3); that he was in relation with Timothy (xiii. 23); that he was not a member of the community addressed, but had spent some time among them (xiii. 14), and could speak to them with the authority of a respected teacher.

6. Tradition of Pauline Authorship.

The Alexandrian Church considered the epistle to be Pauline. On this supposition, and without a hint of any contrary opinion, the predecessor of Clement tried to explain why Paul here, contrary to his custom, did not address his readers as an apostle; and Clement himself in like manner, quoting it as unquestionably Pauline, attempted to explain the absence of the name of Paul. When he speaks of Luke as the translator and points to a similarity of style between it and the Acts, he shows that considerations of literary style had aroused doubts among the Alexandrian scholars as to the Pauline authorship. Yet

their Church adhered to its tradition. The commentary of Origen, more apologetic than critical, presupposes Pauline authorship—though he knows that it is received as Pauline only in certain churches while others reject it as not Pauline. His relations with other parts of the Church, including Rome, prevented him from adhering blindly to his home tradition; his critical sense was awakened and he was forced to admit that the style of Hebrews is thoroughly different from that of Paul. So he came to a compromise—that the ideas were originally Paul's, that they were given from memory, and that their literary form was imparted by another. The Alexandrian tradition spread first in the East, though probably not before the time of Origen. Both Irenæus and his disciple Hippolytus seem to have denied it, and this was the attitude of the Roman Church, and of the West in general, until the fourth century. The author of the Muratorian fragment knows of only seven communities to whom Paul wrote, and does not even mention Hebrews among the pseudo-Pauline writings. Caius of Rome gives only thirteen Pauline epistles; and in the days of Eusebius the opponents of the canonicity of the epistle argued from the fact that it was not received in Rome as Paul's. Ambrosiaster (q.v.) does not treat it in his commentaries on the Pauline epistles. The Africans, from Cyprian to Optatus, seem not to have known it at all; it is not in their canon of 359. Only when the influence of the East upon the West increased so largely after the middle of the fourth century did the acknowledgment of the epistle's canonicity and the Alexandrian tradition as to its authorship become prevalent. The attitude of the Western Church is all the more significant because an epistle which was read in Rome at the end of the first century, quoted by Tertullian, mentioned by Irenæus and Hippolytus, and translated into Latin before Jerome, can never have been wholly overlooked or lost sight of by Western theologians. Their opinion must have been mainly negative, for Eusebius and Photius would not have failed to mention the fact, if Irenæus, Caius, or Hippolytus had named another author; nor would these men have contented themselves with merely denying the Pauline theory, if they had any other credible tradition to oppose to it. Such a tradition (not, as Jerome seems to think, a private opinion) Tertullian gives (*De pudicitia*, xx.) when he speaks of it as the epistle of Barnabas to the Hebrews. But the African Church did not go with him. From the way he himself employs it, and from the total silence of the later African writers, it follows that the epistle here, as in Rome, stood in no connection with the New Testament, and was not widely known. When, then, Tertullian speaks of churches in which it is more considered than the Shepherd of Hermas, and known as Barnabas's, since Rome, Alexandria, Lyons, and Carthage are excluded, his words must apply to the churches of Asia Minor, with which as a Montanist he was in relation. But this view spread no further.

If choice was limited to the claims of Paul and of Barnabas, it would be easy to decide in favor of the latter. Neither in style nor in substance does the epistle sound like Paul. Had it been his, its exclusion from the list of his works and from the New Testament in Rome, where he was early known and read with reverence, and in the West generally, would have been inexplicable; and so would the disappearance of the right tradition in so wide regions, and the rise of the Barnabas theory. On the other hand, it is easy to account for the origin of the Pauline theory in Alexandria, where, if the epistle came as a supplement to the Pauline epistles and was read in church immediately after them (its position from the first), it would have been very natural to add "Epistle of Paul" to the existing title "to [the] Hebrews," on the analogy of all the preceding epistles from "to [the] Romans" to "to Philemon," especially as the reference to Timothy (xiii. 23) would bring Paul to mind. It would be difficult, because of paucity of knowledge concerning Barnabas, to bring a convincing disproof of his authorship upon the contents of the epistle; and the "word of exhortation" (Heb. xiii. 22) might have been written by the "son of consolation" [R.V. "son of exhortation"] (Acts iv. 36). But the history of the tradition is against this theory also. If the decay of the right tradition in Alexandria may be explained by the ease with which Paul's name could be appended to a work which bore that of no author, and if the unwritten Barnabas tradition would drop out there the more easily because the Alexandrian Church knew another epistle of Barnabas which was sometimes included in the canon, both of these explanations fall to the ground for the region represented by Irenæus, Hippolytus, and the ancient Church of Rome. In the abstract, where two mutually exclusive positive traditions are opposed by a third which is purely negative, the balance of probability is in favor of the third. As the early writers guessed now at Paul, now at Barnabas, and later at Clement and Luke, who were first mentioned only as translators, the hypothesis of Luther, who held Apollos to be the author, remains the most plausible. This Jewish convert, "born at Alexandria, an eloquent man, and mighty in the Scriptures" (Acts xviii. 24–28) may well be singled out among the prominent teachers of the Apostolic Age as the author of this remarkable work. (T. Zahn.)

7. Ascription to Barnabas and Apollos.

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don, 1888; F. B. Westcott, London, 1899 (of high value); C. J. Vaughan, ib. 1890; T. C. Edwards, ib. 1890; A. Schäfer, Münster, 1893; D. Shepardson, New York, 1902; F. Blass, Halle, 1903; W. P. Du Bose, New York, 1908.

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HEBREWS, GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THE. See Apocrypha, B, I. (19).

HEBRON. See Judea, II., 1, § 4.

HECKER, ISAAC THOMAS: Roman Catholic; b. in New York City Dec. 18, 1819; d. there Dec. 22, 1888. He was of German parentage, and was brought up in the Methodist Episcopal Church He became an advocate of the principles of the Workingmen's party and was led into sympathy with the Transcendentalist movement. In 1843 he entered the community at Brook Farm, but failed to find himself in harmony with the community, and within the year went to the similar community at Fruitlands, where he felt still less at home. In August he returned to New York and entered business with his brothers in the manufacture of flour, but only for a year. He had long been drawn toward the Roman Catholic Church, and, after many inward struggles and a searching investigation of the claims of the Protestant sects, he became a convert. In 1844 he went to Concord, Mass., to study, but returned to New York, and on Aug. 1 received "conditional baptism" in the Roman Catholic Church, although he had already been baptized in infancy by a Lutheran minister. Determining to enter the Redemptionist Order, he went in the same year to St. Tron, Belgium, and in 1846 took his vows. He then studied at Wittem, Holland (1846–48), and Clapham, England (1848–49), and in 1849 was ordained to the priesthood by Cardinal Wiseman. After a year in mission work, Hecker returned to the United States early in 1851. Until 1857 he was engaged in mission work, particularly in the Eastern United States, but in the latter year was expelled from his order on account of a technical violation of his vows. The result was the formation of the Congregation of St. Paul the Apostle (usually called the Paulist Fathers), the expulsion being ignored by the pope. In 1859 the foundations of the Church of St. Paul the Apostle, which still remains the center of the activity of the Paulist Fathers, was laid in New York City. The greater part of the remainder of his life was to be devoted to the upbuilding of his congregation and the furtherance of its aims. From 1871 until his death Hecker was an invalid. The object of the order was the conversion of Protestants, and it was very successfully carried out, and he was the soul of the enterprise. Yet it was charged against him that he presented those doctrines which were common to both branches of the Christian Church or which were likely to win the acceptance of Protestants more emphatically than strictly Roman Catholic teaching. This course was condemned by Leo XIII., when it was called to his attention by means of the Italian translation of Father Hecker's life and led to his writing to the United States prelates a severe letter condemning this method of presenting the church doctrine which he styled "Americanism." See Modernism.

In 1865 Hecker founded *The Catholic World*, which he edited until his death, and wrote also: *Questions of the Soul* (New York, 1855); *Aspirations of Nature* (1857); *Catholicity in the United States* (1879); *Catholics and Protestants agreeing on the School Question* (1881); and *The Church and the Age: Exposition of the Catholic Church* (1888).

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HECKEWELDER, hek-e-vel'der, **JOHN GOTTLIEB ERNESTUS:** Moravian missionary among the North American Indians; b. at Bedford, England, Mar. 12, 1743; d. at Bethlehem, Pa., Jan. 31, 1823. He came to Pennsylvania with his parents in 1754, and began his missionary labors in 1762 by an unsuccessful attempt to establish a mission in the Tuscarora Valley, O. Then he was employed in the Moravian missions of Friedenshütten and Sheshequin, Pa., till 1771, when he was appointed assistant to David Zeisberger (q.v.). He remained in this service fifteen years. From 1788 till 1810 he labored chiefly in Ohio, as agent of the Society of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen. In 1792, and again in 1793, he was commissioned by the United States Government to assist in effecting a treaty with the Indians. For a time he was in the civil service in Ohio, holding the offices of postmaster, justice of the peace, and associate justice of the court of common pleas. In 1810 he removed to Bethlehem, Pa., and engaged in literary pursuits till his death. His two most valuable works are: *An Account of the History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations who once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States* (Philadelphia, 1818), which was soon translated into German and French; and *A Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Delaware and Mohegan Indians* (1820).

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HEDBERG, FREDERIK GABRIEL. See Bornholmers; Finland, § 5.

HEDGE, FREDERIC HENRY: Unitarian; b. at Cambridge, Mass., Dec. 12, 1805; d. there Aug. 21, 1890. He was educated in schools in Germany (1818–23), Harvard (B.A., 1825), and the Harvard Divinity School (1828). He was then pastor of the Unitarian Church at West Cambridge, now Arlington, Mass. (1829–35), of the Independent Congregational Society in Bangor, Me. (1835–50), of the Westminster Congregational Society in Providence, R. I. (1850–56), of the First Unitarian Church at Brookline, Mass. (1856–72), and was also non-resident professor of ecclesiastical history in Harvard Divinity School (1857–77), as well as professor of German in Harvard College (1872–82). In 1882 he retired from active life. In theology he described himself as "connected with the Unitarian communion into which he was born, attached to it rather by the absence in that body of any compulsory

creed than by sympathy with its distinctive doctrine." He was editor of *The Christian Examiner* from 1857 to 1861, and wrote *Prose Writers of Germany* (Philadelphia, 1848); *Christian Liturgy for the Use of the Church* (Boston, 1853); *Reason in Religion* (1865); *The Primeval World of Hebrew Tradition* (1870); *The Ways of the Spirit, and other Essays* (1877); *Atheism in Philosophy, and other Essays* (1884); *Hours with German Classics* (1886); *Martin Luther, and other Essays* (1888); and *Metrical Translations and Poems* (in collaboration with Mrs. A. L. Wister; 1888).

HEDINGER, hē'din-ger, **JOHANN REINHARD**: Court preacher of Württemberg; b. at Stuttgart Sept. 7, 1664; d. there Dec. 28, 1704. As a child he was distinguished for earnestness and piety, and as student he went through the ordinary course of study of Württemberg theologians. After the completion of his studies he, as preacher and secretary, accompanied two princes of Württemberg to France and England, and later traveled through North Germany, Holland, Denmark, and Sweden. In 1692 he became field-chaplain in the French war, and in 1694 professor of law at the University of Giessen. In 1698 Duke Eberhard Ludwig called him back to his native country as court preacher and confessor. Here he attacked fearlessly the gaiety and frivolity of the court. He wrote certain devotional books and a commentary on Luther's catechism, but his principal work is a translation of the New Testament, "with detailed summaries, accurate concordances, necessary expositions of the most difficult passages from the glossaries of Luther, and notes of other approved teachers, liberally provided with practical applications" (Stuttgart, 1701). It was frequently republished, and is noteworthy especially for occasional discrepancies from Luther's version. Hedinger also published an edition of the whole Bible "with practical summaries," etc., which shows the same noble independence of mind. Both works were esteemed for the vigorous and pointed applications with which the author rebukes the sins of the world, especially the faults of the clergy, and are still worth reading. Hedinger is also noteworthy as a writer of hymns.

(H. Mosapp.)

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HEDIO, hē'di-o, **KASPAR**: Protestant Reformer; b. at Ettlingen (4½ m. s. of Carlsruhe) 1494; d. at Strasburg Oct. 17, 1552. He was educated at the Latin school of Pforzheim and the universities of Freiburg and Basel, and held successive chaplaincies at the churches of St. Theodore and St. Martin in the latter city. A sermon preached by Zwingli at Maria-Einsiedeln made a deep impression upon him, and he eagerly sought the friendship of the Swiss Reformer, while Luther roused in him an equal enthusiasm. Toward the end of 1520 Hedio succeeded Capito as court preacher and spiritual councilor of Elector Albert of Mainz, but since he did not conceal his reformatory sentiments, he incurred the enmity of the clergy. In 1523 he became a preacher at the Strasburg cathedral, where he ranked among the foremost of those who advanced the Gospel cause by word and pen. In the following year he married, without protest from the cathedral chapter, thus signalizing his complete break with the Roman Catholic Church. He took part in all conflicts with monasticism as well as in all efforts for the advancement of the cause of the Reformation. He joined with Butzer and Capito in a successful petition to the magistracy for the erection of schools. He was, moreover, active as an academic teacher, and after the gymnasium, which had been founded in 1538, had developed into a higher school, he became professor of theology, his lectures comprising the New Testament, the Church Fathers, and history. Hedio devoted especial care to the financial support of teachers and pupils, and in 1544 he founded the Collegium Pauperum, a boarding-school, which is still in existence. He also organized charitable work, and introduced a stricter management of church discipline, but he kept aloof from the doctrinal disputes of the theologians. His activity extended over the margravate of Baden, Ortenau, the valley of Kinzig, the electorate of the Palatinate, the county of Hanau-Lichtenberg, and the district of Württemberg in Upper Alsace. Throughout this territory he assisted in the regulation of churches and schools, and in the appointment of preachers and teachers. Elector Hermann of Wied called him and Butzer to Bonn to introduce the Reformation in his archbishopric. Hedio took part in the religious conference at Marburg (1529), and in the negotiations for union at Worms (1540) and at Regensburg (1541), as well as in the meeting of the theologians of Württemberg and Strasburg held at Dornstetten (1551) for a revision of the Augsburg Confession to be presented at the Council of Trent. He was so zealous an opponent of the Interim, however, that he was obliged to resign his position as preacher of the cathedral church, delivering his sermons henceforth in the monastery of the Dominicans. His writings include translations of several treatises of Augustine, Ambrose, and Chrysostom, the historical works of Eusebius, Hegesippus, and Sabellicus, Cuspinian's history of the Roman emperors, Platina's history of the popes, and a number of universal chronicles with his own notes, continuing them to his own time to justify the Reformation from a historical point of view. With some justice Hedio has been called the first Protestant church historian. His principal works are: *Ablehnung auf Cunrats Tregers Büchlin* (Strasburg, 1524); *Von dem Zehnden* (1524); *Radtpredig* (1534); *Epitome in evangelia et epistolas* (1537); *Chronika der alten christlichen Kirche aus Eusebio, Rufino, Sozomeno*, etc. (1530); and *Eine auserlesene Chronika von Anfang der Welt bis auf das Jahr 1543* (1543).

(A. Erichson†.)

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HEDWIG, hĕd'vĭg, **SAINT:** Duchess and patron saint of Silesia; b. at the castle of Andechs (22 m. s.w. of Munich) c. 1174; d. at Trebnitz (15 m. n.n.e. of Breslau), Silesia, Oct. 13 (15 ?), 1243. She was the daughter of Berthold, count of Andechs and duke of Meran (Dalmatia). Of her sisters, Gertrude became the wife of Andrew, king of Hungary, and the mother of St. Elizabeth (q.v.), while Agnes was given in marriage to Philip Augustus of France, a marriage subsequently annulled by Pope Innocent III. At the age of twelve Hedwig was married to Henry I. of Silesia, who followed his father on the ducal throne in 1202. Henry, a mighty warrior, made his duchy independent and extended his boundaries by conquests in Upper Silesia, Poland, and the modern Galicia. Under the influence largely of his German wife he opened his territories to the Teutonic culture and fostered especially the spread of religious institutions. In 1203 nuns from Bamberg were transplanted to Trebnitz, in 1210 the Augustinian canons were established at Kamentz, and in 1222 a Cistercian foundation was begun at Heinrichau; the Franciscans were summoned by Hedwig to Goldberg and Krossen, and the Dominicans established themselves in Breslau and other places. Hedwig bore her husband six children, of whom the eldest son, Henry, succeeded his father in the duchy in 1238, and perished at Wahlstatt in battle against the Mongols in 1241. In 1209 Hedwig retired to the convent at Trebnitz, where she passed more than thirty years in rigorous asceticism and the practise of charity, departing only in 1227 to tend her husband in grievous illness, and again in 1229 when she secured the release of her husband from the hands of Conrad of Masovia. Hedwig was buried in the convent church at Trebnitz, which speedily became a popular place of devotion owing to the wide fame and love which her benefactions had brought her. She was canonized by Clement IV. in Mar., 1267, and the fifteenth of October was made her festival day. In 1268 her bones were translated to a chapel expressly erected near the convent church of Trebnitz, where her skull was shown for a long time as a venerated relic to Silesian and Polish pilgrims. The monastic chronicles of the life of St. Hedwig, while revealing the usual workings of the monkish imagination, nevertheless outline a life of extreme devotion and wide-spread charity. [To be distinguished from St. Hedwig is Hedwig (d. at Cracow, 1399), daughter of Louis, king of Hungary and Poland, who succeeded her father on the throne of Poland in 1384. In 1386 she married Jagello, grand duke of Lithuania, and had a prominent part in the conversion of that land.]

(G. Kawerau.)

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HEERBRAND, hār'brānt, **JACOB:** German Protestant theologian; b. at Giengen (26 m. e.s.e. of Stuttgart), Swabia, Aug. 12, 1521; d. at Tübingen May 22, 1600. He was educated at the school at Ulm, and at the universities of Wittenberg (M.A., 1543) and Tübingen (D.Theol., 1550). He considered it the greatest fortune of his life to have been for five years (1538–43) the pupil of Luther and Melanchthon (*Oratio funebris in obitum P. Melanthonis*, iv.). The Wittenberg student wit styled the diligent scholar the Swabian night-owl. In 1543 he entered the service of the Württemberg Church and accepted a diaconate at Tübingen, in order to continue his studies. For refusing to accept the Interim he was removed from his office, along with Erhard Schnepf (q.v.), on Nov. 11, 1548, but remained in Tübingen to study Hebrew under Oswald Schreckenfuchs, in company with Jakob Andreä. On Feb. 11, 1551, he became pastor at Herrenberg, near Ehingen, where Johann Brenz was then sojourning. In June, 1551, Heerbrand, with the most eminent theologians of the country, subscribed to the *Confessio Wirtembergica*, and in Mar., 1552, with Brenz and Jakob Beurlin (qq.v.), he was sent to defend it at the Council of Trent. Heerbrand eagerly cooperated with the Swabians in their efforts to allay the Osiandrian controversies (1552–53), and in May, 1554, he was sent to a conference of theologians at Naumburg. On the invitation of the margrave of Baden-Pforzheim he went to Pforzheim in Sept., 1556, as pastor and director of the State Church, which had just been reformed on the basis of the Württemberg agenda. In Sept., 1557, he returned to Tübingen as professor of theology, a position which he retained for forty years, being the last pupil of the Wittenberg Reformers to occupy this chair. He was at the same time superintendent of the *stipendium*, and eight times rector of the university. In 1590 he succeeded Andreä as chancellor of the university and provost of the cathedral church. He was a frequent festival orator at great academic ceremonies—e.g., at the memorial service in honor of Melanchthon in 1560, and at the university jubilee in 1578. On Jan. 5, 1599, he resigned his offices because of infirmity.

Heerbrand's sermons are distinguished by conformity to Scripture, lucid arrangement, and powerful, often vernacular, expression. As a dogmatician he exerted a wide influence through his disputations and through his extensively circulated *Compendium theologiæ methodi quæstionibus tractatum* (Tübingen, 1573, and often), which recommended itself by its luminous exposition, scholarly treatment, and moderation. During the negotiations of the Tübingen theologians with the Patriarch Jeremiah of Constantinople, it was translated by Martin Crusius into Greek, and sent to Constantinople, Alexandria, Greece, and Asia. Heerbrand evinced remarkable literary activity in the contest with the Roman Catholic theologians; with the Dominician Peter a Soto, in vindication of the *Confessio Wirtembergica* in 1561, with Melchior Zanger, of Ehingen-Rottenburg, with E. Gotthard of Passau, with J. B. Fickler of Salzburg, with Wilhelm Lindanus, bishop of Ruremond, with the Polish Stanislas Socolocius, with the Freiburg professors F. Lorichius and Michael Hager, and especially with the Jesuits Heinrich Blissemius of Prague and Grätz, Gregory of Valencia at Ingolstadt, Sigmund Ernhofer of

Vienna, and Georg Scherer of Grätz. Heerbrand showed conclusively that the ultimate aim of the Jesuit party's literary activity was calumny of Protestantism, adulation of Roman Catholic princes, and subversion of religious peace (*Refutatio crassissimorum errorum*, ii. 17; *Apologia explicationis*, p. 55). G. Bossert.

Bibliography: There is no extended biography. Consult: Melchior Adam, *Vitæ Germanorum theologorum*, pp. 668 sqq., Heidelberg, 1620; K. Weizsäcker, *Lehrer und Unterricht an der evangelischen theologischen Fakultät der Universität Tübingen*, pp. 19 sqq., Tübingen, 1877; J. Loserth, *Die Reformation und Gegenreformation in den innerösterreichischen Ländern*, Stuttgart, 1898. On the *Compendium* consult: G. C. Storr, *De compendiis theologici dogmatis*, Tübingen, 1795; W. Gass, *Geschichte der protestantischen Dogmatik*, i. 77, Berlin, 1854; H. L. J. Heppe, *Dogmatik des deutschen Protestantismus*, i. 123 sqq., Marburg, 1856; G. Frank, *Geschichte der protestantischen Theologie*, i. 244, Leipsic, 1882.

HEERMANN, JOHANN: German Evangelical preacher, poet, and author of religious tracts; b. at Raudten (43 m. n.w. of Breslau), Lower Silesia, Oct. 11, 1585; d. at Lissa (42 m. s.s.w. of Posen), Poland, Feb. 27, 1647. He studied in his native town as well as at Fraustadt, Breslau, and Brieg, where he supported himself by coaching young noblemen. In 1609 he entered the University of Strasburg, but in 1610 he returned to his home, and in the following year was appointed pastor at Köben. His ill health, combined with domestic trouble and the turmoil of the Thirty Years' War, forced him to resign his pastorate in 1638, whereupon he took up his residence in Lissa, and devoted himself to literary pursuits. As early as his student days at Brieg he had essayed German and Latin poetry with considerable success; and in 1624 he published a volume of Latin poems entitled *Epigrammatum libelli novem*, a book which is still of value as containing data for the history of his life. Some of these Latin verses were translated into German by Tobias Petermann, and published under the title *Geistliche Buhlschaft* (1651). As a German poet Heermann belonged to the school of Martin Opitz, and he was one of the first to apply the latter's system of versification. He marks the transition from the objective hymns of the Reformation to the subjectivity of the Pietists, and is the best religious poet between Luther and Paul Gerhardt. His most important hymn-collections are: *Das Schluss-Glöcklein* (1616); *Exercitium pietatis* (1630); and *Devota musica cordis* (1630), which appeared in several editions. His fame as a writer of religious tracts is based on his publications of passion sermons, such as the *Crux Christi* (1618) and the *Heptalogus Christi* (1619); and of funeral sermons, such as *Christianæ εὐθανασίας statuæ* (1620), and *Schola mortis* (1628). He also wrote *Predigten über die Sonn- und Festtags-Evangelien* (1624), and was the author of *Præceptorum moralium et sententiarum libri tres* (1644), and of the posthumous *Erquickstunden* (1656).

(Ferdinand Cohrs.)

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HEFELE, hê'fe-le, KARL JOSEPH: German Roman Catholic prelate and ecclesiastical historian; b. at Unterkochen (45 m. e. of Stuttgart), Württemberg, Mar. 15, 1809; d. at Rottenburg (25 m. s.w. of Stuttgart), Württemberg, June 5, 1893. From 1827 to 1832 he studied at Tübingen, and then for a year at the clerical seminary of Rottenburg, being ordained priest Aug. 10, 1833. After holding certain minor posts, he was called, when Möhler went to Munich, to teach church history at Tübingen (as privat-docent 1836, adjunct professor 1837, and professor 1840). His theological education fell in the period of the renaissance of Roman Catholic learning in Germany, when the influence of the eighteenth century philosophy was passing away and being replaced by a generous rivalry between Catholics and Protestants to make the most of their respective doctrines, and, on the Catholic side, to look more deeply into the permanently valuable treasures of the past. Drey and Hirscher were among his teachers; but he owed most to Möhler, who gave him his impulse toward historical work. His first literary work consisted of reviews in the *Theologische Quartalschrift* from 1834 on, which show his conception of the unity of church history as the development of God's great plan for the world. His first substantive work was a history of the introduction of Christianity into southwestern Germany (Tübingen, 1837). His edition of the Apostolic Fathers with introduction and notes (1839; revised and improved eds. 1842, 1847, 1855) was a meritorious work. That of the Epistle of Barnabas (1840) led the way to a more correct appreciation of this ancient document, which Hefele ascribed, not to the apostle, but to the first decades of the second century. The new school of Roman Catholic historians founded by Möhler had set out to vindicate the claims of their Church against both philosophers and Protestants; and Hefele labored zealously at this task in his occasional articles, as well as in his monograph on Cardinal Ximenes (1844). Following Ranke and Leo, he emphasized the secular character of the Spanish Inquisition, without sufficient regard to its fatal influence on the political and spiritual development of Spain, displaying a good deal of partizan zeal. He took a brief part in political action as a member of the Württemberg House of Deputies from 1842 to 1845—years of conflict, in which a church party made its first efforts to vindicate ecclesiastical liberty against a government which disregarded it. But another way of defending the Church was more in harmony with his nature. He brought up generations of students in his view of the Church, its unity, its past, and its connection between head and members. He was an admirable teacher, attracting students to him by clearness, freshness, and definiteness, as well as by a kindly willingness to be helpful, and he was highly esteemed by his colleagues. Meantime his literary activity was uninterrupted. To the *Theologische Quartalschrift*, of which he was one of the editors from 1839, and to the *Neue Sion*, he contributed a variety of articles, some of which he worked over for his *Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte, Archäologie und Liturgik* (2 vols., 1864).

Early Life and Literary Work.

But all his other work yields precedence to

his *magnum opus*, the *Conciliengeschichte*, the fruit of years of study (7 vols., Freiburg, 1855–74, 2d ed., vols. i.–vi., viii.–ix., 1873–90; Eng. transl. of vols. i., ii., and part of iii.—to the Second Council of Nicæa, 787—by W. R. Clark, 5 vols., Edinburgh, 1883–96). The contents of the work are as follows: Vol. i. goes to the Synod of Gangra; ii., from 381 to the year 553; iii., to the year 813; iv., to 1073; v., to the year 1250; vi., to the year 1409; viii., from 1434 to 1520; ix., to the year 1536. It is universally admired for the breadth of its survey of the field, and for the relatively complete use of its material and unprejudiced historical attitude. The work, of course, is not everywhere based on the same thorough critical examination, and has in places already become antiquated. But it marks a new stage in the study of conciliar action, which in Hefele's hands broadened out into a history of the Church and of the development of dogma.

The Conciliengeschichte.

The book placed him in the first rank of Roman Catholic scholars, and in 1868 won him a place as consultor on the commission to arrange for the approaching Vatican Council. He spent a part of 1869 in Rome on this business, and returned thither the next year to take part in the council as bishop of Rottenburg. On his arrival in Rome, he at once took a prominent place as a leader of the antiinfallibilist minority. His solid learning and his courage did much to hold them together, and he took part in all their important moves, supporting them also by a small book on the question of Honorius published in Naples. It discussed the questions whether Honorius (q.v.) had declared as *de fide* a heretical proposition *ex cathedra*, and whether a general council, claiming the right to judge him, had condemned him as a heretic. It attracted great attention, and greatly displeased the majority, calling forth several counterblasts. In the debate of May 17 Hefele delivered an impressive speech, voted *non placet* in the decisive session of July 13, and supported Haynald's proposal at a meeting of the minority on the 17th to repeat this vote in the public session of the following day; when this fell through, he signed the solemn protest of the minority to the pope, and left Rome before the final vote was taken. The next few months were full of doubt and difficulty for him. He had at first decided not to proclaim the new dogma in his diocese; but at last, after giving up hope of concerted action on the part of the bishops in the minority, and under pressure from the nuncio at Munich and the Ultramontane party in his diocese, he published it on Apr. 10, 1871. He explained his position clearly, saying that he did not regret the stand he had taken at the Council, and expressing a hope that future conciliar treatment of the parts of the program left unfinished might remove the misgivings which had forced him to take it. On the ground that an authoritative exposition of the definition was still lacking, he gave one of his own which softened it as much as possible. His submission was received with bitter reproaches by the Old Catholics and by others, and unworthy motives were freely imputed. But there is no doubt that it was only the logical outcome of a life devoted to maintaining the unity of the Church, to which he felt bound to bring even this costly sacrifice. His remaining years were spent in untiring work in his diocese, to which he had restored peace by his decision. This left him little time for writing, though he succeeded in completing the revision of the first four volumes for the new edition of his great work, which was completed by the addition of two more volumes by Cardinal Hergenröther. He left behind him in Württemberg the memory of an unselfish, lovable personality, revered far beyond the bounds of his own Church.

The Vatican Council.

(A. Hegler†.) K. Holl.

Bibliography: No complete biography has yet appeared. Consult A. Werfer, in *Deutschlands Episkopat in Lebensbildern*, iv. 2, Würzburg, 1875; Funk, in *TQS*, lxxvi. 1 sqq.; *Deutsches Volksblatt*, 1893, nos. 127–129; and *Grüss Gott*, vol. x., nos. 4–6. Other phases of Hefele's activities are discussed in: J. Friedrich, *Geschichte des vatikanischen Konzils*, vol. i.–iii., part 2, Bonn, 1877–87; H. Roth, *Dr. K. J. von Hefele*, 1894.

HEGEL, hê'gel, **GEORG WILHELM FRIEDRICH**: German philosopher; b. at Stuttgart Aug. 27, 1770; d. in Berlin Nov. 14, 1831. He studied philosophy and theology at Tübingen 1788–93, and lived as a private tutor, first at Bern 1793–96, then at Frankfort 1797–1801. In 1801 he settled at Jena as lecturer on philosophy in the university, and Schelling's coeditor of the *Kritisches Journal der Philosophie*. He was at that time fully agreed with Schelling (q.v.); and their journal, of which he wrote the larger part, was the organ of the system of identity—a philosophy which attempted to represent matter and mind, nature and spirit, world and God, as identical. However, this alliance did not last long, and after Schelling's departure for Würzburg in 1803 it turned into philosophical antagonism. After the battle of Jena (1806), Hegel removed to Bamberg, where for some time he edited the *Bamberger Zeitung*. From 1808 to 1816 he was rector of the Aegidien gymnasium at Nuremberg. In the latter year he was appointed professor of philosophy at Heidelberg; and in 1818 he was called to Fichte's chair at the University of Berlin. It was here that he made himself the dominant figure in the philosophical world, and established the school of philosophy known as Hegelianism. By his defense of existing political institutions he attained to great political influence in Prussia.

Life.

The impression which Hegel made in Germany was at one time almost overpowering. His philosophy swept away all other philosophies, and before he died it began to make itself felt as an actual power both in State and Church. However, four years after his death a controversy was raised among his followers by Strauss's *Leben Jesu* (Tübingen, 1835), and further embittered by Strauss's *Christliche Glaubenslehre* (1840), with the result that the Hegelian school was divided into three groups, called the right, the left, and the center. The adherents of the right (G. A. Gabler, H. T. W. Hinrichs, K. T. Göschel) represented supernaturalism; those of the left (Strauss,

Philosophy.

Ludwig Feuerbach, Bruno Bauer) naturalism; while those of the center (J. K. Rosenkranz, J. E. Erdman, W. Vatke) represented a mediating tendency. The basis of the division was the ambiguity in Hegel's philosophy, and the apparent contradiction between his personal religious belief and his system of pantheism (see PANTHEISM, § 7; and IDEALISM, II., § 16). Hegel's pantheism (he avoided the word) was idealistic; and he called his philosophy the system of the Absolute Idea. Since existence is rational, logic becomes metaphysics; and his philosophy is, therefore, a system of logic interpreted ontologically. He employs the dialectic method, and proceeds from thesis through antithesis to synthesis, from the positive through the negative to the absolute. The intuitional knowledge of the absolute spirit is at the same time the highest form of truth and the highest form of existence.

Religious Views.

Religion Hegel defines as truth, but in the lowest form in which truth can be held by the human mind. In Christianity this form of truth has found its highest, its absolute expression, having passed through the stages of one-sided objectivity and one-sided subjectivity in the ante-Christian religions. On the first stage God is considered an object, a part of nature, a natural being (Lamaism, Buddhism, Brahmanism); on the second he is considered as subject, wholly distinguished from nature (Judaism, Greek and Roman polytheism); but only in Christianity does he become true spirit. The Hegelian idea, however, of God as spirit, is somewhat ambiguous (for instance, with respect to the question of personality); and the specially Christian question, whether the appearance of Christ in the history of mankind is a natural event to be explained like any other event, or whether it is a miracle, the divine incarnation by which creation is saved, is left unanswered. Both views have been developed from Hegelian premises; and the great boast of Hegel's earliest pupils, that in his philosophy faith and science had become fully reconciled, proved empty as soon as the actual application began. It is a very characteristic circumstance that his *Philosophy of Religion* was edited by Marheineke as evidence of the author's conservative orthodoxy, and then by Bruno Bauer as proof of his revolutionary radicalism.

Works and Influence.

In Germany, where Hegel's influence has long since waned, there are now few thinkers who could be called Hegelians. Perhaps the best late representatives of Hegelianism in Germany are Kuno Fischer and Adolf Lasson. It may be said that Hegel was first introduced to English readers by Hutchison Stirling, in his *Secret of Hegel* (London, 1865; 3d ed., 1898). Since then the number of English and American thinkers who follow Hegel more or less closely has grown, until now the so-called neo-Hegelian school is practically dominant.

Hegel's principal works are: *Die Phänomenologie des Geistes* (Bamberg, 1807; Eng. transl. by W. T. Harris, in *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, vol. ii., 1868); *Die Wissenschaft der Logik* (2 vols. in 3, Nuremberg, 1812–16; Eng. transl. *The Subjective Logic of Hegel*, London, 1855; *Encyclopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften* (Heidelberg, 1817), which is the systematic presentation of Hegel's system; *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts* (Berlin, 1821; Eng. transl., *Philosophy of Right*, London, 1896); and his lectures included in his *Werke* (18 vols., Berlin, 1832–1840), from which have been translated *Lectures on the Philosophy of History*, (3 vols., London, 1895), *Lectures on the History of Philosophy* (3 vols., 1892–1896), and *Lectures on the Philosophy of Religion* (3 vols., 1895). From Hegel's *Encyclopädie* W. Wallace has translated *Logic* (Oxford, 1874; enlarged ed., 2 vols., 1892–1894) and *Philosophy of Mind* (1894). His literary remains are to be published by the Société des amis de l'Université de Paris; vol. i., the *Vie de Jésus*, ed. P. Roques, appeared Jena, 1906, and his *Theologische Jugendschriften*, ed. H. Nohl, Tübingen, 1907.

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HEGESIPPUS, hej"e-sip'pus: An ecclesiastical writer of the second century. As to his life little is known except what Eusebius tells. This includes nothing as to his birth or place of residence, though Eusebius concludes from his writings that he was of Jewish origin; and an Oriental residence is indicated by his coming to Rome by sea and stopping at Corinth on the way. He is mentioned under Hadrian as, with Justin, a prominent champion of the faith against the rising Gnosticism. Giving the list of bishops of Rome under Antoninus Pius, Eusebius remarks that Hegesippus according to his own account was in Rome under Anicetus and remained there until the episcopate of Eleutherus (*Hist. eccl.*, IV., xi. 7); but this is an error, for in chap. xxii. he quotes the passage of Hegesippus, which proves only that he lived to the time of Eleutherus, not that he stayed in Rome that long. Under Marcus Aurelius he is named once more at the head of the contemporary ortho-

dox writers; and the *Chronicon Paschale* asserts that he died under Commodus.

Eusebius quotes him frequently as a witness of the true faith, and always from one work, known as *Upomnēmata*, and composed of five books, written at different times and fused into unity in the course of their development. A careful examination of what Eusebius tells of it and what he quotes from it leads to the conclusion that it was not a history in any strict sense of the word, but rather a historical apology, purporting to contain a true account of the traditions received from the apostles. It is evident that no regular historical order was observed from the fact that the story of the life and death of James was in the fifth book of the work, which contained plenty of material from the second century, and even past the middle of it. It is a free setting down of the writer's own reminiscences, following no definite order, though penetrated throughout by the same design and the same beliefs. The result, then, according to Eusebius, is a series of narratives and pictures from church history, reaching from the apostle James to the pontificate of Eleutherus in Rome. They include the death of James; the choice of his successor Symeon; accounts of the insurgent leader Thebuthis and of the sons of David and kinsmen of Jesus in Galilee, with their fate under Domitian; the martyrdom of Symeon under Trajan; and information about the Church of the period when Hegesippus wrote, especially in Corinth and Rome —the tradition of doctrine and the episcopate, refutation of heresies, and something about Jewish sects and Jewish-Christian literature. What he tells of his own time has historical authority in the strict sense; his relation of earlier events has conditional value as a sometimes obscure tradition, but substantive importance as reflecting the ideas entertained about that period in the middle of the second century. The purpose of his writing is clear enough. It is simply to demonstrate the unity of faith in the churches of the leading cities and their bishops, both past and present. The particular cause of his writing the work is the existence of heresy, which he reprobates not only for its contradiction of the true doctrine, but for its external and despicable origin. Its appearance on the scene seems to him so dangerous that conflict with it is not merely the purpose of his book, but the task of his life.

When it is remembered that the heresies of the time professed to be legitimate deductions from primitive Christianity, the full significance of the inquiries of Hegesippus into the state of the Church and its traditions in the different great cities is discerned. The public, secure, historical tradition of the faith in the line of episcopal succession must serve to put out of court the claims of obscure, cryptic sects; and the imposing unity of the Church's faith as handed down from generation to generation will form a striking contrast to the varied line of heretics who follow each other through the years, alike only in being different. Among the early Jewish heretics are Thebuthis, Simon and his party, Cleobius, Dositheus, Gorthæus, and Masbotheus. These form the first generation; in the second appear the followers of Menandrianus, Marcion, Carpocrates, Valentinian, Basilides, and Saturnilus. In opposition to these stand out the person and the work of Hegesippus, important historically as a type, with the emphasis he lays upon the catholic unity of the churches, held fast by their tradition and their mutual relations, and of the episcopate, as all these things were in the middle of the second century.

(C. Weizsäcker†.)

Bibliography: A full list of literature is given by E. C. Richardson, in *ANF, Bibliographical Synopsis*, pp. 111–112. The fragments are collected in M. J. Routh, in *Reliquiæ sacræ*, i. 203–284, Oxford, 1846; Eng. transl. may be found in *ANF*, viii. 762–765; cf. also D. Boor, in *TU*, v. 2, 1889. Consult: Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, xxii.; Fabricius-Harles, *Bibliotheca Græca*, vii. 158–160, Hamburg, 1801; J. Donaldson, *History of Christian Literature*, iii. 182–213, London, 1866; A. Hilgenfeld, in *ZHT*, xix (1876), 177–229; W. Sanday, *The Gospels in the Second Century*, pp. 138–145, London, 1876; H. Dannreuther, *Du Témoignage d'Hégésippe sur l'église chrétienne*, Nantes, 1878; F. Overbeck, *Ueber die Anfänge der Kirchengeschichtschreibung*, pp. 6–13–17–22, Basel, 1892; Ceillier, *Auteurs sacrés*, i. 330, 473–475, iii. 200; Krüger, *History*, pp. 145–146; Harnack, *Litteratur*, i. 144, 483 sqq., 845, II. i. 311 sqq.; Schaff, *Christian Church*, 742–744; *DCB*, ii. 875–878; *KL*, v. 1584–85; and in general the church histories on the period.

HEHN, hêhn, **JOHANN FERDINAND:** German Roman Catholic; b. at Burghausen (57 m. e. of Munich) Jan. 4, 1873. He was educated at the universities of Würzburg (D.D., 1899) and Berlin (Ph.D., 1902), and in 1903 became privat-docent at Würzburg, where in the same year he was appointed associate professor of Old Testament exegesis and Biblical Oriental languages, becoming full professor in 1907. He has written: *Die Einsetzung des heiligen Abendmahles als Beweis für die Gottheit Christi* (Würzburg, 1899) and *Sünde und Erlösung nach biblischer und babylonischer Anschauung* (Leipsic, 1903).

HEIDANUS, hai'dā-nus, **ABRAHAM:** Reformed theologian; b. at Frankenthal (15 m. n. by w. of Speyer) in the Palatinate Aug. 10, 1597; d. at Leyden Oct. 15, 1678. In 1608 his father, a clergyman, was called to Amsterdam, where Abraham studied in the school of Matthæus Sladus. Later he was sent to Leyden to be trained as preacher of the Walloon Church. After a two years' journey in Germany, Switzerland, France, and England, he became preacher of the Netherlandish Reformed congregation in Naarden in 1623. In 1627 he was called to Leyden, and in 1648 he became professor at the University of Leyden. At that time the study of Aristotle ruled in the Dutch universities and was closely bound up with the orthodoxy of Dort. Heidanus, however, and Johannes Cocceius (q.v.) showed a predilection for the teachings of Descartes. Both had to encounter vehement opposition from the camp of the orthodox, headed by Voëtius. The doctrine of Cocceius spread, in spite of the efforts of the curators of the University of Leyden to suppress it. At their instigation Friedrich Spanheim and Antonius Hulsius compiled the theses of the new doctrine which gave the most offense, and Jan. 7, 1675, it was forbidden to treat "in any manner, directly or indirectly" at the university twenty-three propositions. Heidanus,

seeing herein an attack on the liberty of teaching, opposed it in his *Consideratiën over eenige saecken onlanghs voorgevallen in de Universiteijt binnen Leyden* (Leyden, 1676). The work caused such a sensation that within ten days a second edition was necessary, and a third appeared in the same year. Heidanus maintained that his teachings did not contradict the confessional writings, but only presented their truths in a different light. However, on May 4, 1676, he was deposed from his office. The course of the curators was disapproved by many in the Netherlands as well as in foreign countries.

Heidanus represented the view that theology and philosophy should remain each in its own sphere. According to him, there is no such intimate connection between the theology of Cocceius and the philosophy of Descartes that a follower of the former must necessarily agree with the Cartesians. He himself as a theologian was in sympathy with Cocceius, as a philosopher a disciple of Descartes, but his Cartesianism hardly influenced his theology. His writings include: *Proeve en wederlegginghe des Remonstrantschen Catechismi* (Leyden, 1641); *De causa Dei, dat is de sake Godts verdedight tegen den mensche* (1645); *Disputationes de Sabbato et die dominica* (Amsterdam, 1658); *Consideratiën over de heyliging van den Sabbat ende den dagh des Heeren tot vrede der Kerchen* (Leyden, 1659).

(S. D. VAN VEEN.)

Bibliography: The funeral oration by C. Wittich was published Leyden, 1679. Consult P. Bayle, *Dictionary, Historical and Critical*, iii. 360–364, London, 1736 (quite full, quotes sources); J. A. Cramer, *Abraham Heidanus en zijn Cartesianisme*, Utrecht, 1889.

HEIDEGGER, hai'deg"er, **JOHANN HEINRICH:** Swiss Protestant, author of the Helvetic *Formula consensus* (see HELVETIC CONSENSUS); b. at Bärentschweil (15 m. s.e. of Zurich) July 1, 1633; d. at Zurich Jan. 18, 1698. He studied at Zurich, Marburg (1654), and Heidelberg; in the last-named place he became a close friend of Ludwig Fabricius, taught Hebrew and philosophy, and lectured on Latin classics. In 1659 he accepted the theological chair for *Loci communes* and church history at Steinfurt, where he remained until 1665. Then he traveled to Holland, where he became acquainted with Cocceius. The disturbances of war made an end of the Steinfurt academy, and Heidegger returned to Zurich, where he was appointed professor of Christian ethics. In 1667 he succeeded Hottinger as professor of theology, and he remained faithful to his native city in spite of calls to Leyden (to succeed Cocceius) and to Groningen.

Heidegger lived in harmony with his colleagues until the appearance of Johann Müller in 1672, just at the time when the *Formula consensus* was in preparation. Heidegger agreed with the orthodox theologians of Basel, Theodor Zwinger, Lucas Gernler, and others, that Turretin in Geneva ought to be assisted in his opposition to the new hypothesis of Amyraut and the other theologians of Saumur (see AMYRAUT, MOÏSE), but thought that the measures adopted against the Saumur theology should be moderate. There were two parties in Switzerland, one of which, headed by Johann Müller, adhered to the orthodox teachings of Maresius, while men like Heidegger leaned toward the doctrines of Cocceius. The party headed by Müller was interested in eradicating not only the heresies of Saumur, but also the Cocceian theology and Cartesian philosophy. Heidegger with his adherents gained the victory. The special formula for the defense against the innovations of Saumur was drawn up by him, and was approved by all theologians, although the opposition was allowed to make extensive changes. In 1675 the formula was ratified by the council and citizens of Zurich, Bern, Basel, and Schaffhausen. On the insistence of Müller the formula was modified in certain articles before it was sent to the other cantons. Since the formula was directed specifically against Saumur, the Maresians planned new measures against the Dutch tendencies. Heidegger, J. H. Schweizer, and others could hardly print anything without the interference of Müller, who instigated the council against them. Bülod, Füssli, and Gessner incited the people by denouncing the adherents of Heidegger as Arians and Arminians.

The Helvetic Consensus.

From 1664 to 1680 Heidegger developed an extensive polemical activity against the Roman Catholic Church. During the persecution of the Protestants in France in 1682, and their unsatisfactory condition in England under Charles II., he employed his pen in their defense by writing his *Historia papatus* (Amsterdam, 1684), but the situation did not change. In 1685 a Roman Catholic line assumed the rule in the Palatinate, in England the new king, James II., openly avowed Romanism, and Louis XIV. revoked the Edict of Nantes. A multitude of fugitives poured into Switzerland, and Heidegger had an opportunity to prove his hospitality. His polemical attitude against his Roman neighbors was renewed when Sfondrati, abbot of St. Gall, tried to extend his rule over Reformed territory by ordering private baptism by midwives, without excepting the Evangelical families. Heidegger wrote by order of the magistrate on the necessity of baptism and against its profanation by midwives. His relations with the Lutheran Church were always of a conciliatory nature. Instigated by the suppression of the Reformed Church in France, he urged a union of all Evangelicals, which found a response in Spener, but the canons of the Synod of Dort made an agreement impossible in Spener's opinion.

Controversy with Roman Catholics.

Heidegger's literary activity was extensive and chiefly polemical—against the Roman Catholics, Baronius, the superstitious pilgrimages to Einsiedeln, etc. To defend the rights of the Reformed in the German empire he wrote *Demonstratio de Augustanæ confessionis cum fide reformata consensu* (1664), and, aiming to unite all Evangelicals, he wrote *Manducatio in viam concordiæ Protestantium ecclesiasticæ* (1686). His doctrinal writings exerted much influence, especially his *Corpus theologiæ Christianæ* (ed. J. H. Schweizer, 2 vols., Zurich, 1700) and *Ethicæ Christianæ elementa* (ed. J. Curicke, Frankfort, 1711); of the former work he made two shorter compilations, *Medulla theologiæ*

Christianæ (1696) for advanced students, and *Medulla medullæ theologiæ Christianæ* (1697).

(A. Schweizer†.)

Bibliography: His autobiography, *Historia vitæ J. H. Heideggeri*, appeared Zurich, 1698. Consult: L. Meister, *Berühmte Zürcher*, 2 vols., Basel, 1782.

HEIDELBERG CATECHISM.

The Work of Several Collaborators (§ 1).
Ursinus, Olevianus, Frederick III. (§ 2).
Editions (§ 3).
Adverse Criticism (§ 4).
Acceptance of the Catechism (§ 5).
Doctrinal Character (§ 6).
Arrangement (§ 7).

The Reformation did not enter the Palatinate until 1546, and it was only under Frederick III. that it was actually carried through (see Frederick III. the Pious). Offended by the anathematizing tendencies of Lutheran zealots, this sovereign inclined toward the Reformed doctrines. In this spirit he commissioned Caspar Olevianus, professor and preacher in Heidelberg, to draw up a new church order, and conceived the idea of the compilation of a catechism. Owing to the loss of the Palatine archives, the history of the origin of this catechism lacks important documentary evidences. It has been customary to give Olevianus and Zacharias Ursinus the credit of having compiled the book on the initiative of the elector in 1562. But it has been proved that the catechism and the Reformation in the Palatinate were not the work of one or two men, but the result of common efforts. This is evident from Ursinus's preface to the apology of the Heidelberg Catechism; from a letter of Olevianus to Calvin; from the testimony of Quirinus Reuter, a pupil of Ursinus, in the preface to the works of his teacher; and from the introductions to the first three editions of the catechism, written by the elector himself, in which he states that it originated "with the counsel and assistance of our whole theological faculty, also all superintendents and the principal church councilors." The theological faculty of Heidelberg consisted in 1562 of three men, Boquinus (Pierre Bouquin, q.v.), a Frenchman, who was one of the first advocates of Calvinism in Heidelberg; Emmanuel Tremellius, an Italian, who followed Calvin and Butzer; and Ursinus, a pupil of Melanchthon. The foremost among the superintendents was Olevianus, an admirer of Calvin and friend of Bullinger. Among the church councilors may be mentioned Michael Diller, court preacher, and Thomas Erastus, a physician who represented the German-Swiss tendency. Besides these men and others, the elector himself shared in the work of the catechism.

1. The Work of Several Collaborators.

The older tradition, however, is correct in so far as the principal share of the work is due to Ursinus and Olevianus. Ursinus had already prepared two catechisms, the (larger) *Summa theologiæ* and the *Catechesis minor*, which formed the basis of the new work. The larger catechism he had compiled in 1561 for his academic lectures; it contains his own dogmatic views, but reveals at the same time the authorities from which he learned, Melanchthon without his synergism, Leo Jud, Bullinger, and Calvin, also the influence of some Netherlandish catechisms such as the *Kleyne Catechismus* of Martin Micron (1552), *Korte ondersoekinghe des gheloofs* (1553), and *Catechismus ofte Kinderlehre tho nütte der Jöget in Ostfriesslandt* (1554), edited by the preachers of Emden. The smaller catechism of Ursinus approaches the Heidelberg Catechism the more closely; it was probably compiled after discussions with the elector and churchmen of the Palatinate. As the elecror had pledged himself to the Augustana by the Frankfort Recess and his action at the Naumburg Convention (qq.v.), he was anxious to preserve peace with the Lutherans as far as possible by dropping some of the Zurich and Calvinistic peculiarities of doctrine, especially as regarded the Lord's Supper. It was probably Olevianus who was chiefly responsible for the change of the text of the *Catechesis minor* into the German wording of the Heidelberg Catechism and for its final redaction. A comparison of the final text of the catechism with the new church order drawn up by him and with his devotional writings reveals a harmony in language, style, and theological bent which can hardly be accidental. The mediating influence of the elector may be recognized in the changes concerning the doctrine of the Lord's Supper and in the suppression of the discussion concerning election.

2. Ursinus, Olevianus, Frederick III.

At the annual synod held in Jan., 1563, the new catechism was accepted by all superintendents, church councilors, and theologians. The first edition appeared at Heidelberg in Feb., 1563, under the title, *Catechismus Oder Christlicher Underricht, wie der in Kirchen und Schulen der Churfürstlichen Pfaltz getrieben wirdt.* A few weeks later a second edition was published, which, beside many minor changes, contained an entirely new question (lxxx.) concerning the difference between the Lord's Supper and the papal mass. In the third edition, which immediately followed, the condemnatory words in regard to the adoration of the host were added. The real author of this eightieth question was Olevianus. The church order published Nov. 15, 1563, contains the fourth edition of the Heidelberg Catechism, which is to be regarded as the *textus receptus*. It is essentially identical with the third edition, texts of Scripture for different classes and a short summary of the catechism having been added. On the margin, the 129 questions together with the Bible texts have been divided into ten lessons to be read before the main service; the questions alone have been divided into fifty-two Sundays for the purpose of the catechetical afternoon sermons. It is only in later editions that the questions are numbered and the verses stated in Biblical quotations.

3. Editions.

Immediately after its appearance the Heidelberg Catechism encountered violent attacks. Maximilian II. remonstrated against it (Apr. 25, 1563) as an infringement of the Peace of Augsburg. On May 4 followed a joint address from the Count Palatine, Wolfgang of Zweibrücken, Duke Christopher of Württemberg, and Margrave Charles II. of Baden, accompanied with a sharp criticism inscribed *Verzeichnis der Mängel*, probably composed by

4. Adverse Criticism.

Brenz. Many theologians protested against the new catechism. In 1564 Flacius published *Widerlegung eines kleinen deutschen calvinischen Catechismi*, and Hesshus published his *Trewe Warnung*. There appeared also a new and enlarged edition of the *Verzeichnis der Mängel*, which criticized especially the marginal Bible texts. In defense of the catechism, Ursinus published, in 1564, in Heidelberg, three treatises: *Gründtlicher bericht vom heiligen Abendmahl; Verantwortung wider die ungegründten aufflagen unnd verkerungen, mit welchen der Catechismus . . . unbillicher weise beschweret ist; Antwort auff etlicher Theologen Censur uber die am rand dess Heydelberger Catechismi auss heiliger Schrifft angezogene Zeugnusse.* Concerning the further events from the Colloquy of Maulbronn to the Diet of Augsburg, see Frederick III. the Pious.

5. Acceptance of the Catechism.

Having gone through this ordeal, the success of the book began. An assembly of emigrants from the Netherlands in Wesel in 1568 recommended it by the side of the catechism of Calvin. The Synod at Emden in 1571 adopted it for the German-speaking Netherlandish congregations in East Frisia and on the Lower Rhine. It entered also the ranks of the Reformed in Jülich, Cleves, and Berg. Other German regions and individual congregations (in Nassau-Siegen, Wittgenstein, Solms and Wied, Bremen, Lippe, Anhalt, Hesse-Cassel, Brandenburg, Prussia, etc.) followed in the course of time. The Reformed churches of Hungary, Transylvania, and Poland adopted it; and in 1619 the Synod of Dort officially declared it one of the general symbolical books of the Reformed Church. From Holland, and afterward also from Germany, it was brought to America, where it has always been the honored symbol of the Dutch and German Reformed churches. The first reunited General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, at Philadelphia in 1870, authorized its use. It has been translated into all European languages, also into Hebrew, Arabic, Malay, Singalese, and others, and numerous paraphrases, summaries, and expositions have appeared.

6. Doctrinal Character.

From the dogmatic point of view, the history of the origin of the Heidelberg Catechism frustrates every attempt to identify it with the doctrine of any individual theologian of the Reformation time. Its specifically Reformed character shows itself, apart from the doctrine of the sacraments, by its continual going back from all perishable authorities to the Bible; by its ethical rather than metaphysical mode of viewing Christ as being anointed by the Holy Ghost for the execution of his work; by its peculiar manner of closely connecting the moral life of the Christian with faith as its subjective proof; finally, by its conception of the intimate social connection in the congregation and by its designation of the church or congregation as the real source of discipline. In an anonymous pasquil of 1566 the Heidelberg Catechism is said to have been compiled "by Bullinger and his associates." Quantitatively it contains more of Calvin's catechism than of Bullinger's. Bullinger's influence, however, may be recognized, perhaps, if it be considered in its total impression; for it is true that the catechism does not share the philosophical and intellectual traits of Calvin, but takes its root in the Christian experience of salvation which it represents practically and devotionally. The doctrine of election is represented even more cautiously than by Bullinger. The doctrine of the Lord's Supper is distinguished less by clearness than by an effort to bridge over existing differences. In bringing the Lord's Supper into relation to the suffering of the Lord, the influence of Zurich may be recognized; the emphasis of a mystical union of the believers with the heavenly body of Christ reveals Calvin's influence; and in order to reconcile the distrusting Lutheran adversaries, the confessional and obligatory character of the celebration was given up.

7. Arrangement.

Considered as a catechetical text-book, the Heidelberg Catechism is distinguished from Luther's smaller catechism by its systematic arrangement. The five traditional articles of faith have been retained, but have been inserted into an organic whole in accordance with subjective, psychological reasons, under the head of three main conceptions. After the two introductory questions there follow: (1) the misery of man as it may be recognized from the condensation of the law in Matt. xxii. (questions iii.–xi.); (2) the redemption of man, the Gospel to be accepted in faith developed according to the three articles of the Apostles' Creed, which is followed by the doctrine of justification, the sacraments, and the power of the keys (questions xii.–lxxxv.); (3) thankfulness, i.e., the new life according to its basis in conversion, its norm in the decalogue, and its most beautiful expression in prayer (questions lxxxvi.–cxxix.). The catechism is not entirely adapted to a child's capacity; but its noble language, captivating by its clearness as well as by its fervent joy of faith, may justify its being offered to school children for memorizing.

(M. Lauterburg.)

Bibliography: The official German editions were published in 1563, 1585, 1595, 1684, 1724; the American in 1863. Only one copy of the first edition is known, now in the university library at Utrecht. The most valuable work is the *Tercentenary Monument. In Commemoration of the Three Hundredth Anniversary of the Heidelberg Catechism, Published by the Germ. Ref. Ch. of the U. S. A. in Eng. and Germ. The German ed. by Dr. Schaff, with an historical Introduction*, Chambersburg, 1863 (contains a number of essays by authorities on the history and theology of the symbol). With the foregoing may be conveniently compared Schaff, *Creeds*, i. 529–554 (history, specimens, and estimates), iii. 307–355 (text, Germ. and Eng.); idem, *Christian Church*, vi. 555–557, 681, vii. 669, 811. The best work in Eng. on the catechism is by J. W. Nevin, *History and Genius of the Heidelberg Catechism*, Chambersburg, 1847 (cf. his introduction in the *Tercentenary Monument*, ut sup., pp. 11–127). Valuable also for the early history is J. I. Doedes, *De Heidelbergsche Catechismus in zijne eerste Levensjaren 1563–67*, Utrecht, 1867; also *TSK* for 1863 and 1867. Other works which may be consulted are: H. S. von Alpen, *Geschichte und Literatur des Heidelberger Katechismus*, Frankfort, 1796–1797; J. C. W. Augusti, *Versuch einer historisch-kritischen Einleitung in die beiden Haupt-Katechismen der evangelischen Kirche*, pp. 96 sqq., Elberfeld, 1824; K. Sudhoff, *C. Olevianus und Z. Ursinus*, ib. 1857; G. W. Bethune, *Expository Lectures on the Heidelberg Catechism*, New York, 1864; H. Calaminus, *Die Geschichte des Heidelberger Katechismus in Deutschland*, Elberfeld, 1885; M. A. Gooszen, *De Heidelbergsche Catechismus en het boekje*

van de breking des broods in het jaar 1563–64 bestreden en verdedigt, Leyden, 1892; J. I. Good, *History of the Reformed Church in the United States, 1725–1892*, passim, Reading, 1899; *Der Heidelberger Katechismus und vier verwandte Katechismen, mit . . . Einleitung*, ed. A. Lang, Leipsic, 1907.

HEIL, WILLIAM FRANKLIN: Bishop of the United Evangelical Church; b. at Berlinsville, Pa., May 1, 1857. He was educated in Pennsylvania schools, and fitted himself for the ministry while teaching 1874–80. He served as pastor 1880–90 and 1895–1903, was presiding elder 1890–95, and has been bishop since 1902.

HEIMBUCHER, hīm'bū-her, **MAX:** German Roman Catholic; b. at Miesbach (16 m. s.s.w. of Munich) June 10, 1859. He was educated at the Lyceum of Freising and the University of Munich, and was ordained to the priesthood in 1883. After holding various clerical positions until 1889, he became privat-docent at the University of Munich, and two years later (1891) was appointed to his present position of professor of dogmatics, encyclopedics, and patristics at the Lyceum of Bamberg. He has written: *Die Wirkungen der heiligen Kommunion* (Regensburg, 1884); *Die Bibliothek des Priesters* (1885); *Kurze Geschichte Freisings und seiner Bischöfe* (Freising, 1885); *Die heilige Oelung* (Regensburg, 1888); *Die heilige Firmung* (Augsburg, 1889); *Die Papstwahlen unter den Karolingern* (1889); *Die Orden und Kongregationen der katholischen Kirche* (2 vols., Paderborn, 1896–97; 2d ed. 3 vols., 1907–08); and *Die praktisch-sociale Thätigkeit des Priesters* (1902).

HEINECCIUS, hī-nec'tsi-us, **JOHANN MICHAEL:** German theologian; b. at Eisenberg (35 m. s. of Halle) 1674; d. at Halle Sept. 11, 1722. He studied at Jena, Giessen, and Helmstedt, and traveled in Germany and the Netherlands. In 1699 he was ordained deacon at Gosslar, became pastor at Halle in 1708, and assistant superintendent of Halle and neighborhood. About 1709 he qualified for the doctorate in theology at Helmstedt, and was appointed councilor of the royal Prussian consistory and superintendent for the duchy of Magdeburg, and rector of St. Mary's Church at Halle.

The reputation sustained by Heineccius was that of a great scholar, both in theology and in other branches of knowledge. His library consisted of 4,000 volumes—a very considerable number for those times. He was, moreover, a writer of ability, and most of his works are preserved in the university library at Halle. He seems to have been the first scientific student of seals, and a result of this pursuit was his *De veteribus Germanorum aliarumque nationum sigillis eorumque usu* (Frankfort, 1709). In the same year he published a large volume on the history of Gosslar and its neighborhood. His best work in history is his *Eigentliche und wahrhaftige Abbildung der alten und neuen griechischen Kirche nach ihrer Historie, Glaubens-Lehren und Kirchen-Gebräuchen* (3 vols., Leipsic, 1711). The full bibliography concerning the Greek Church found there is still useful. Heineccius received high commendation for his sermon preached at the bicentennial of the Reformation in 1717. Of especial interest is his *Prüfung der sogenannten neuen Propheten und ihres ausserordentlichen Zustandes* (Halle, 1715). Heineccius is credited also with the authorship of two hymns.

Heineccius was a man of wide learning, of a balanced and hospitable temperament, and an adherent of moderate Lutheran orthodoxy.

(F. Kattenbusch.)

Bibliography: J. C. Wetzel, *Hymnopœographia*, iv. 221–222, Nuremberg, 1728; *ADB*, xi. 361.

HEINRICI, hīn-rī'kī, **KARL FRIEDRICH GEORG:** German Protestant; b. at Karkeln (44 m. n.e. of Königsberg) Mar. 14, 1844. He was educated at the universities of Halle (Ph.D., 1866) and Berlin (lic. theol., 1868), and was assistant preacher at the cathedral in 1869–70 and inspector of the foundation for canonical candidates at Berlin in 1870–71. In 1871 he became privat-docent at the University of Berlin, but two years later went as associate professor to Marburg, where he was promoted to the rank of full professor in the next year. Since 1892 he has been professor of New Testament exegesis at Leipsic. He has written: *Die valentinianische Gnosis und die heilige Schrift* (Berlin, 1871); *Erklärung der Korintherbriefe* (2 vols., 1880–87); *Wesen und Aufgabe der evangelisch-theologischen Fakultäten* (Marburg, 1885); *D. A. Twesten nach Tagebüchern und Briefen* (1889); *Theologische Encyklopädie* (Freiburg, 1893); *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Erklärung des Neuen Testaments* (4 vols., Leipsic, 1894–1903); *Das Urchristentum* (Göttingen, 1902); *Ist die Lebenslehre Jesu zeitgemäss?* (Leipsic, 1904); and *Der litterarische Charakter der neutestamentlichen Schriften* (1908). He also edited H. A. W. Meyer's *Exegetisches Handbuch zu den Korintherbriefen* from the fifth to the eighth edition (2 vols., Göttingen, 1881–1900).

HEITMUELLER, hīt'mül-ler, **WILHELM:** German Protestant; b. at Döleberg (Hanover) Aug. 3, 1869. He was educated at the universities of Greifswald, Marburg, Leipsic, and Göttingen (1888–1892), and since 1892 has been privat-docent for New Testament exegesis at Göttingen. He has been associate editor of the *Theologische Rundschau* since 1900, and has written: *Im Namen Jesu, eine sprach- und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung, speziell zur altchristlichen Taufe* (Göttingen, 1903) and *Taufe und Abendmahl bei Paulus* (1903).

HEJIRA: The term, meaning "departure," applied by Mohammedans to the migration of Mohammed and his supporters from Mecca to Medina in the year 622 A.D. This event was made the starting-point in the Mohammedan reckoning of time. See Mohammed, Mohammedanism.

HELDING, MICHAEL (called **Sidonius**): German Catholic theologian; b. at Langenenslingen (35 m. s.w. of Ulm), Württemberg, in 1506; d. at Vienna Sept. 30, 1561. He was of humble parentage, studied at Tübingen from 1525 to 1528, and three years later became rector of the cathedral school at Mainz. Taking holy orders, he was made preacher at the cathedral in 1533, and the fame which he earned by his talent as a preacher led, in 1538, to his nomination as titular bishop of Sidon. In 1545 he was present at the opening of the Council of Trent as the

representative of the archbishop Albert, and on the death of that prelate in the same year he acted as incumbent of the see till the election of a successor. The emperor, who considered him useful for the execution of his ecclesiastical policy in Germany, in the summer of 1547 summoned him to Ulm. Helding appeared at the Augsburg diet, where he was honored with the commission of preaching in the cathedral during the sessions of the diet. In 1548 he published at Ingolstadt his fifteen sermons on the mass which have been counted as among the most notable contributions of the sixteenth century to the subject. They gave rise to a lively controversy in which Helding found himself assailed by Flacius, who demolished his arguments for the early character of the sacrament. Helding made no attempt to defend the untenable position he had assumed. In 1548 he returned to Mainz and devoted himself to the task of introducing the Interim in the Nassau region, and to his duties in connection with the higher administration of the Church. From him emanated the great catechism of Mainz, the *Institutio ad pietatem Christianam* (1549), also a compendium intended for the use of the pages at the court of Mainz. The books were assailed by Wigand and by Flacius, and Helding may have been right in discerning that one of the causes of the virulence to which he was subjected was his nomination by the emperor to the chapter at Merseburg as a candidate for the vacant see. The chapter was in difficulty between the imperial candidate and the candidate proposed by Maurice of Saxony, Julius Pflug. In spite of Maurice's utmost endeavor, Helding, in May, 1549, was chosen bishop by a reluctant chapter. The papal confirmation was not obtained till April of the following year; meanwhile the affairs of the see were conducted by Prince George of Anhalt; on surrendering the office to Helding in December the prince exacted the promise that he would attempt no change in the established doctrine, enter on no reforms without the consent of the entire chapter, and follow a policy of conciliation toward the married priests. Prince George remained in Merseburg to watch over the fortunes of the church under its new bishop, and when the latter, after the first period of caution was over, seemed about to enter on a process looking to the reestablishment of the old authority, Maurice intervened and compelled him to abstain from all open attack on the Reformed faith. Helding attempted by friendly means to win over the clergy; he installed Catholic priests in his cathedral, introduced Catholic ceremonial, and from the cathedral pulpit preached indirectly against the Protestant "sect." The break between Maurice and the emperor and the sudden change in public affairs that followed convinced him of the hopelessness of attempting to restore the Catholic faith in his town. He could not prevent his clergy from applying for ordination to the consistory of Leipsic, and one of them assumed virtual control of the diocese. He nevertheless managed to confer many benefits upon the see by his wise administration and charitable labors. In 1555 he was present at the Diet of Augsburg, and two years later he played a most important part at the Conference of Worms, where, with Pflug and Canisius, he headed the Catholic deputation. He brought confusion into the ranks of the Protestants by demanding from them a statement of their position as to the doctrine of Calvin and Zwingli regarding the Lord's Supper, that of Osiander concerning justification, and that of Flacius regarding the freedom of the will and good works. The last point gave rise to the violent controversy between the Jena theologians and the Philippists, and led to the secession of the party of Flacius and the failure of the conference, a result which delighted the Catholics. In 1558 Helding was made president of the Imperial Chamber at Speyer, and three years later he became head of the Aulic Council at Vienna. In the same year he addressed with Pflug a memorial to the emperor, recommending the concession of communion in both kinds and the marriage of priests. Helding occupies a leading place among Roman Catholic pulpit orators of the sixteenth century. While holding fast to the Catholic position, he was exceedingly adept in expressing his opinions in words that often proved acceptable to the Protestants. In his sermons at Merseburg he shows respect for the authority of the Scriptures and a general conception of the nature of the priestly office and of the relations between priest and layman that reveal the acute and experienced apologist speaking to an audience whose sympathies were Evangelical. (G. Kawerau.)

Bibliography: There is a biography by M. Winter in *Mittheilungen des Vereins für Geschichte und Alterthumskunde in Hohenzollern*, xv (1881–82), 1–15; cf. N. Paulus, in *Katholik*, 11 (1894), 410 sqq., 481 sqq.

HELDRING, OTTO GERHARDT: Founder of the Inner Mission in the Netherlands; b. at Zevenaar (8. m. s.e. of Arnhem), Gelderland, May 17, 1804; d. at Marienbad (38 m. n.w. of Pilsen), Bohemia, July 11, 1876. In his university studies he displayed a decided preference for history and political economy over theology, but accepted, nevertheless, in 1826, a call to the pastorate of Hemmen, a little village of 150 inhabitants. There his bent for practical sociology was not slow in manifesting itself. The life of the peasantry attracted him; the causes and problems of poverty, with its effect on the physical and moral being of the community, were made the subjects of careful investigations, the results of which he published with the object of arousing a general interest that might lead to the initiation of remedies. The first of his works, "Nature and Man," appeared in 1833, and was followed by a succession of writings published independently or in the form of contributions to periodicals, revealing a charming union of religion, poetry, history, economics, and homely wisdom, expressed in a simple style suitable for the wide audience to which he appealed. With the year 1841 begins the essential activity of his beneficent career. A journey undertaken in that year brought him by chance to the little village of Hoenderloo, whose inhabitants lived in a state of material and spiritual privation that aroused his pity. Through his exertions Hoenderloo was supplied with a well and a school; a church was established soon after, and within a few years Heldring had the satisfaction of witnessing the regeneration of a community. He devoted him-

self next to the cause of temperance, to the relief of the stricken in the famine years of 1845–46, to remedial schemes of colonization. At a time when orthodoxy and public beneficence had no intimate connection, he succeeded in uniting the propagation of the Gospel with the distribution of material aid. In this field he was assisted by the "Assembly of Christian Friends" of Amsterdam, which included such men as Capadose, Da Costa, Beets, and Groen van Prinsterer. But, while no branch of philanthropy failed to receive his attention, Heldring devoted his particular efforts to rescue work among the fallen. For the reclamation of unfortunate women he established an asylum at Steenbeck in 1847, and to gain support for this institution traveled throughout the country preaching the Gospel of charity toward the weak. The asylum was followed by other institutions for the protection of young women and girls, and by a seminary for the training of teachers for work in that field.

(Theodor Schäfer.)

Bibliography: His autobiography was published by his son, L. Heldring, at Leyden, 1881, Germ. transl., Gütersloh, 1882; N. Beets, *Zum Gedächtniss an O. G. Heldring*, Hamburg, 1876.

HELENA, hel'e-na, **SAINT: 1.** The most famous of the saints of the church bearing the name of Helena was the mother of Constantine the Great (q.v.). Little is known of her life, although it is certain that her importance in the career of her son was less than is generally supposed. There is no doubt that she was of humble birth, and the legend which makes her a British princess is late. Her only child, Constantine, seems to have been born at Naissus in Upper Mœsia in 274, while she herself probably came from Drepanum, later called Helenopolis, on the Gulf of Nicomedia. According to Ambrose, she was a female tavern-keeper, and it is not certain whether her marriage with Constantius was at first legal. Her husband divorced her in 292 to marry Theodora, the stepdaughter of Maximus Herculius, for reasons of state, and Helena then retired to obscurity, although her son, after his accession, recalled her to court and heaped honors upon her. Late in life, after the defeat of Licinius in 324, she visited Palestine, founded churches in various cities, and dispensed much charity, but the date of her conversion to Christianity is unknown. She was still living when Crispus was murdered in 326, and overwhelmed her son with reproaches for the assassination of her grandson. Nevertheless, Constantine had coins struck in her honor. The place and date of her death are uncertain, but she must have died between 326 and 328 or 329. Her body was brought to Constantinople by her son, although the church of Aracœli in Rome, the city of Venice, and the monastery of Hautvilliers near Reims have all claimed to be her final resting-place. The best-known legend connected with her is the invention of the Holy Cross (see Cross, Invention of the), a tradition told neither by Eusebius nor by Cyril of Jerusalem, but first by Rufinus, on whom Socrates, Sozomen, and others based their accounts. The foundation of the legend is Josephus' story of the Jewish convert Helena, queen of Adiabene (*Ant.* XX., ii., iv. 3), and this tradition was first transferred to the mother of Constantine in the latter part of the fourth century. Her day is Aug. 14. See Constantine the Great and His Sons, I., § 2.

2. A second St. Helena is the Russian Grandprincess Olga, the widow of Igor, who was baptized at Constantinople 955, when she assumed the name of Helena. Her day in the Julian calendar is July 11.

3. A third saint of this name is **Helena of Sköfde,** in Sweden, where she was murdered by her noble kinsmen of West Gothland about 1160, after her return to Sweden from a pilgrimage. She was canonized by Alexander III. in 1164, and her remains are interred on the island of Seeland. Her cult is restricted to the Scandinavian countries, and her day is July 31. (Adolf Harnack.)

Bibliography: **1.** Sources are: Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, iii. 41–47; Socrates, *Hist. eccl.*, i. 17–18; Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.*, ii. 1–2; Rufinus, *Hist. eccl.*, x. 7–8; Theodoret, *Hist. eccl.*, i. 18. The *Vita* by the cenobite Altmannus (d. 882), with comment, is in *ASB*, Aug., iii. 548–599. Consult: DeMas Letrie, *Hist. de l'île de Chypre*, Paris, 1852–61 (for traditions as to place of her death); Abbé Lucot, *S. Hélène, . . . sa vie, son culte en Champagne, son suaire à Châlons, son corps à Paris*, Paris, 1877; S. Beissel, in *Geschichte der Trierer Kirchen*, i. 82–90, 123, 124–131, Trier, 1887; H. V. Sauerland, *Trierer Geschichtsquellen*, pp. 61–79, 140 sqq., 144–172, ib. 1889; Ceillier, *Auteurs sacrés*, iii. 118–119, 143, 579–580, vii. 482–483, viii. 71–72, 114–115, 516, x. 44, xii. 697, xiii. 524–525; Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, i. 397 sqq., ii. 211, 290, 455; Neander, *Christian Church*, ii. 7, 31, 377; *DCB*, ii. 881–885; *KL*, v. 1735–39.

2. E. Castremont, *Hist. de l'introduction du christianisme sur le continent russe et la vie de S. Olga*, Paris, 1879; *KL*, v. 1741.

3. *ASB*, July, vii. 329–333; *KL*, v. 1739–41.

HELIAND, THE, AND THE OLD-SAXON GENESIS: Until recent times the only Old-Saxon Biblical poem known was the harmony of the Gospels called the Heliand, which is found in approximately complete form in two manuscripts, one at Munich (originally in Bamberg) and the other in London. These two manuscripts give a poem of 5,983 verses; smaller fragments are also found in manuscripts at Prague and in the Vatican, the latter being originally from Mainz, whence it was taken successively to Heidelberg and Rome. As early as 1875 E. Sievers advanced the theory that an interpolation (lines 235–851) in the Anglo-Saxon version of Genesis attributed to Cædmon (q.v.) was taken from an Old-Saxon original, and this hypothesis was confirmed when, in 1894, K. Zangemeister discovered in the Vatican manuscript already noted not only the original of the Anglo-Saxon passage, but also two other portions of an Old-Saxon version of Genesis, giving 617 verses treating of the fall of the evil angels and the fall of man (corresponding to the passage in the Anglo-Saxon Genesis), 134 verses of the history of Cain and Abel, and 177 of the fall of Sodom.

The Heliand and Genesis are closely related, both in vocabulary and in formulas, phrases of considerable length occasionally recurring, almost without alteration, in both texts. This is confirmed by the only external authority regarding the text, the *Præfatio in librum antiquum lingua Saxonica conscriptum*, copied by Flacius Illyricus in 1562 in his *Catalogus testium veritatis* from a source now lost. Although

the value of this document is somewhat diminished by the fact that the original text has received legendary interpolations drawn in great measure from the account of Cædmon in Bede (*Hist. eccl.*, iv. 24; see CÆDMON), its statement is at least authentic that Louis the Pious, who is represented as still living, "commissioned a certain Saxon, who was regarded as no ignoble bard by his countrymen, to translate the Old and New Testaments into the Germanic tongue." Although this passage evidently refers to the Old-Saxon Heliand and Genesis, close investigation shows that the two poems are not by the same author, as the writer of the *Præfatio* supposed. The poet of Genesis is far inferior to the author of the Heliand not only in talent, but also in diction, style, and meter. The Old-Saxon Genesis must be regarded, therefore, as the work of a direct imitator, who prepared himself for his task by careful study of the Heliand, without being able to equal his predecessor.

According to the *Præfatio*, the German people had "recently" gained direct knowledge of the Scriptures through these two poems. The Heliand and Genesis must, therefore, have been written before 840, while a *terminus a quo* is given by the fact that the former poem uses the commentary on Matthew written by Rabanus Maurus in 820 or 821. The date of both poems may accordingly be assigned roughly to the decade 825–835, but the place of their composition is as yet unknown, and there is no external testimony to decide whether the poet, especially of the Heliand, was a priest or a layman.

The Biblical material of the Heliand is not taken immediately from the Gospels, but is selected from Tatian's harmony, with supplementary and explanatory additions from patristic literature. This latter material, with a few exceptions, is derived in all probability from the four commentaries on the Gospels most immediately preceding the composition of the Heliand, Bede's exposition of Mark and Luke, Alcuin's of John, and Rabanus Maurus' of Matthew. It is evident, both from the nature of the sources and from the combination and selection of Biblical passages and the exegesis upon them, that the author of the poem can scarcely have been other than a priest or monk. Nor does the treatment of the material oppose this assumption. The author sought to compose a poem, and not a compendium of dogmatic theology; he wished to bring before his countrymen the life and deeds of Christ, and his redeeming death and resurrection, whence the character of his work is preponderatingly epic. Only in the account of the Sermon on the Mount is the treatment essentially didactic; elsewhere the poet chose such passages as were either complete in themselves or would arouse in his audience a purely human or poetic interest, omitting such incidents as might be offensive to his hearers.

In his presentation the author of the Heliand employs the Germanic alliterative verse, and the entire coloring is equally Teutonic. The personages of the poem are essentially Germanic in character, as are the descriptions of ceremonies, feasts, natural phenomena, and the like, while the literary style is exceptionally admirable.

In criticizing the Old-Saxon Genesis, the Anglo-Saxon version must be taken into consideration, since the discovery of the Vatican fragment has shown that the latter is an exact translation of the former. On the other hand, the criticism of the poem is rendered more difficult by the fact that its sources are still uncertain. It is clear that the Biblical book of Genesis is not the only source, as when the poet treats of the medieval doctrines of angels and devils, or of Antichrist or Enoch, and one portion seems to contain reminiscences of Avitus's *De initio mundi* and *De originali peccato*. The work is far inferior to the Heliand, particularly in its prolixity and in its lack of rigid structure. Words and phrases are constantly borrowed from the Heliand, while the style is halting and heavy, and the versification has neither swing nor strength.

(E. SIEVERS.)

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A special edition of the included parts of the Genesis by E. Sievers appeared in his *Der Heliand und die angelsächsische Genesis*, Halle, 1875. Consult F. Vetter, *Die neuentdeckte deutsche Bibeldichtung*, Heidelberg, 1894; P. Pachaly, *Die Variation im Heliand und der altsächsischen Genesis*, Berlin, 1899. A more extended list of literature is given in Hauck-Herzog, *RE*, vii. 617.

HELIODORUS: The name of several men recorded in the history of the Eastern Church: (1) A minister of the Syrian King Seleucus IV. Philopator (187–175 B.C.), sent by him to Jerusalem to demand the surrender of the Temple treasures, and, according to the account in II Macc. iii. 7–40 (also IV Macc. iv.), struck down by a horseman appearing from heaven, but healed by the intercession of the high priest Onias. Josephus says nothing of the occurrence; but Fritzsche (Schenkel's *Bibellexikon*, iii. 7) thinks there is a historic basis for the narrative, and the courtier Heliodorus mentioned by Appian (*Hist. Syriaca*, xlv.), who poisoned the king in order to seize the throne for himself, has been identified with the Heliodorus of Maccabees. (2) A bishop of Laodicea mentioned by Dionysius of Alexandria in his letter to Stephen of Rome (254–257). (3) A bishop of Tricca in Thessaly mentioned by Socrates (*Hist. eccl.*, v. 22) as the author of the rule enforced there that bishops should abstain from commerce with their wives, and identified by him with the author of an erotic romance still extant, but probably written later. (4) Some have also identified the Thessalonian bishop with the friend of Jerome, a native of Dalmatia mentioned with reverence in several of Jerome's oldest letters (iii.–vii.), and in another, twenty years later, to Nepotian, the nephew of Heliodorus, who had in the mean time been ordained at Aquileia and had become bishop of Altino, though still keeping up his monastic manner of life.

Once more, probably in 396, Jerome writes to him on Nepotian's death (*Epist.* lx.); and he dedicates to him his version of the Proverbs. (5) A presbyter mentioned by Rufinus (*Apol.*, xxx.) as one of the Greek-speaking collaborators of Hilary on his commentaries. (6) A Christian who, in 269, wrote some iambic verses to Theodosius I. (7) A priest who, according to Gennadius (vi.), lived about the middle of the fourth century, and wrote against the Manicheans a work (now lost), *De naturis rerum exordialium*, in which he defended the doctrine that God is the only world-principle. (8) Another priest mentioned by Gennadius (xxix.) as living in Antioch about the middle of the fifth century and the author of a lost treatise, *De virginitate*.

(Adolf Harnack.)

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HELIOGABALUS. See Elagabalus.

HELIOPOLIS. See On.

HELL. See Hades; Gehenna; and Future Punishment.

HELL, CHRIST'S DESCENT INTO. See Descent of Christ into Hell.

HELL, PUNISHMENTS OF. See Punishment.

HELLENISM: Properly, the spirit and culture of the Greeks, spread among Eastern peoples as a consequence of the short but brilliant career of Alexander the Great. The independent states which arose out of the ruins of his empire were bound together by Greek speech and culture, for all who received the Greek language came into possession of a specially rich literature. This does not mean that the Greek language superseded the local dialects over this area, but that, especially in the large cities, the people used the Greek along with their own tongues. To those who had literary inclinations the wide diffusion of Greek had large results, since it enabled them to express themselves in the *lingua franca* of the world and to attain a world-wide celebrity denied them under the old conditions of writing in their mother tongue only. The fostering centers of this influence were the courts of the different princes, where writers, artists, and high officers collected, and where temples, theaters, gymnasia, and baths in the Greek style were erected and had their influence upon the culture of the land. Nevertheless, the resulting culture was different from the Greek original. The golden age of Greek literature had passed. The new peoples had to learn Greek, a fact which gave to the result a somewhat pedantic character. Moreover, along with this went a mixing of the vernacular and the acquired speech (see Hellenistic Greek). This was in part unconscious, in part the result of an effort by the Orientals to emphasize their national characteristics, to prove their higher antiquity, and demonstrate its meaning for the development of culture, to tell their myths and stories after the ruling methods. The Jews, both of Palestine and of the Diaspora, were among the peoples drawn into this movement, which is of importance for theology, and also had other important bearings. The Jews were conscious of possessing a heritage at least equal to anything Greek, for the protection of which they must strive with all their powers. Their faith in one Holy God, his promises to them, and above all their law, they regarded as superior to all earthly wisdom, and for this they strove to win a larger domain by uniting in its service Greek philosophy and Greek literature, thus assuming the attitude of teachers of the world (see Proselytes). Greek influence, however, had not the same results in Palestine as among the Jews of the Diaspora, and this fact must be distinguished in the discussion.

Diffusion of Greek Language and Learning.

Exact details are lacking of the way in which Alexander came into possession of Palestine, but it is clear that his treatment of its inhabitants was gentle and that they were undisturbed by the developments which immediately followed. The establishment of Greek cities all about them afforded to the Jews opportunity to become acquainted with Greek forms of culture, of which Jewish commerce took advantage. Greek culture found in Palestine congenial soil in the temple aristocracy, and Jesus Sirach speaks appreciatively of Greek medical science and of Greek music. Indeed, the Jewish aristocracy appeared ready to give up all Jewish customs and to depart from its prohibitions. A high priest sent gifts to Greek games, Jews took Greek names, in Jerusalem a place was prepared for Greek celebrations, the mark of circumcision was disguised or obliterated, and Judaism seemed destined to disappear entirely in Greek culture. The violence of the Seleucidæ aroused the Maccabees, and for a time checked the movement. But the later Maccabees espoused the Greek cause, Aristobolus was named "the friend of the Greeks," while John Hyrcanus was named with honor in Athens because of his friendliness to Greeks in Palestine. This tendency developed still further under Herod the Great, who raised Greek temples in the non-Jewish parts of his realm, built the Temple in Jerusalem in a style partly Greek, and erected in the same city or near it a theater, amphitheater, and a hippodrome, while the language received large accessions of Greek words. And yet it is to be noted that there was an inner circle of Judaism which remained unaffected by this tendency, and in the discussions over the law there was an exclusiveness which held at a distance all foreign modes of thought and expression.

Greek Influence on Palestinian Judaism.

An essentially different condition existed among the Jews of the Dispersion. The fact that they had unlearned their old tongue made a fundamental distinction, though nevertheless they held fast to their Judaism. They had gained the ability to live amid foreign surroundings after the manner of their own faith. But they could not but be impressed with the brilliancy of Greek literature, and be urged to the attempt to combine the forces of their own faith with it. Out of this grew, especially

Greek Influence on the Judaism of the Diaspora.

in Alexandria, but also in other centers of Jewish life abroad, the very rich Jewish-Greek literature, of which sufficient remains have been preserved to enable a very fair estimate of it to be made. A farther stimulus to the production of this literature were the correspondences and coincidences found by Jews in Greek writings with their own ideas, and an essential relationship felt to exist was embodied in Jewish allegorical exegesis. Greek was seized as a vehicle by which to convey to others the Judaic sense of the superiority of their own law and to glorify Judaism even by interpolation of existing writings.

Results in Literature.

The basis of Hellenistic literature was the translation of the Old Testament into Greek (see Bible Versions, A, I. 1, § 1; Hellenistic Greek), which, upon its completion, became the Bible of the Jews of the Dispersion as well as that of the early Christians. Similarly, extracanonical Palestinian writings, like that of Sirach and the Psalms of Solomon, were made accessible to Greek-speaking Jews through translations. Through these translations a certain freedom in handling the Scriptures was attained. The literature which arose upon the basis of the Septuagint embraced three departments: history, philosophy, and poetry. The task of the Jewish historians was to show the significance of Moses for the entire world as the originator of all sciences and arts. The retelling of the Old Testament story by Philo was in the interest of an ethical-philosophical tendency. And other writers had the purpose of setting forth the newer developments of history in the Jewish world, as did Jason of Cyrene the period of the Maccabees, and Josephus the story of the fall of Jerusalem. Jewish apologetics also received assistance from Josephus, who attempted to prove the high antiquity of the Jewish nation, and hence its equality at least with other peoples. Similarly, the narrative of Aristeas had the object of showing the regard with which a heathen people honored the Jewish law. Naturally the philosophy which sprang up in this region was eclectic. On the border-land between the Palestinian wisdom literature and Greek philosophy stood the Wisdom of Solomon, influenced by Plato and the Stoics. The newer treatment set forth a moral theory of the rule of reason under the influence of Stoicism, as in IV Maccabees. And the results of the philosophic eclecticism have gained a not unworthy place in the history of philosophy. A third class of Jewish-Greek writers took the Greek poets as models and entered the domain of the drama and epic poetry. Thus there are fragments of a poem on the history of Jerusalem and of a drama on the Exodus. But the most noteworthy efforts in this direction were those which interpolated the Sibylline Oracles and other Greek productions, using them as a propaganda for the Jewish religion.

After the fall of the Jewish State the exclusive tendency of the strict Palestinian school began to work, and is well exemplified in the new translation of the Old Testament by Aquila in order to suppress the Septuagint and to support the pure Palestinian text and canon. The tendency against the union of Jewish and Gentile learning grew ever stronger, until finally the Hellenistic literature was forgotten. The consequence would have been the entire loss of this body of literature had it not been rescued and preserved by the Christians whose linguistic affinities were with the Greek. (F. Buhl.)

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HELLENISTIC GREEK.

Hellenistic Greek Defined (§ 1).
Constituents of Hellenistic Greek (§ 2).
Vernacular Basis of Hellenistic Greek (§ 3).
Unity of Hellenistic Greek (§ 4).
Pronunciation and Inflection (§ 5).
Lexicography (§ 6).
Syntax (§ 7).
The Greek Bible not Literary Greek (§ 8).

1. Hellenistic Greek Defined.

The definition given in a former edition of this work of Hellenistic Greek as "the prevailing designation of that mode of speech in use among those Jews who lived among the Greeks, or that peculiar form of the Greek language which it took in the thought and mouth of the Semitic Orient when the two spheres of life began to act upon each other," is not only "narrow and historically insufficient" but no longer historically possible. Knowledge of this idiom is no longer gained chiefly from Jewish works, there being now accessible a rich fund of sources in inscriptions and papyri from many lands, and it is of such a character that it bespeaks the interest not only of the philologist, but of him who is engaged in the study of culture and of religious history. Hellenistic Greek can no longer be isolated as a "sacred tongue" or as "Biblical Greek," conceptions mediated on the one side by religious dogmatics, and on the other side by a dogmatic philology, the latter of which played with the catchwords "classical Greek" and "vulgar" or "common Greek," and so prevented the perception of the historical fact of the spread of a language to wider usage and of its consequent development. For an impartial method of viewing the subject from a historical-linguistic point of view Hellenistic Greek must be defined as the world-speech of the times of the Diadochoi and the emperors. If all Greek is divided into "ancient," "middle and late," and "new" Greek, Hellenistic Greek is in general identical with "middle and late" Greek, used between 300 B.C. and 600 A.D.; i.e., it begins with Alexander's conquests and closes with the establishment of a national Greek State, the

Byzantine empire. Various designations have been used for the language thus defined: Hellenistic Greek, Greek world-speech, middle or late Greek, and *koinē* ("common"). The most used is the last, *koinē*, employed alone as a noun, though with no general agreement as to its exact meaning. Some understood by it postclassic literature with the exception of Atticizing works (so Winer-Schmiedel). Hatzidakis meant by it the whole development of common Greek, oral and written, between the limits assigned above, 300 B.C.–600 A.D. With this Schweizer practically agrees, excluding only the Atticizing works. The varying usage to which the term *koinē* has been subjected makes it advisable to retain the term Hellenistic Greek for the language as defined above.

In historical investigations of the language two tendencies are observable. One emphasizes the Attic as the real basis of Hellenistic Greek, the other minimizes its influence. This is due to the fact that investigators have laid stress upon only one of two sets of sources; they have looked exclusively either upon books, such as the works of Polybius, or have directed their attention to inscriptions and papyri alone and have forgotten or not recognized that these were two sides of a common possession. It is to be observed with Schweizer and with Kretschmer (*Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie*, xvi., 1899, cols. 2 sqq.) that a difference exists in any language between the spoken and the written language, between literature and conversation.

2. Constituents of Hellenistic Greek. The former is bound by law, is polished and regulated; the latter is a thing of wild and untrammeled growth, yielding to the call of the moment's emergency. But neither is to be separated from the other as if they were separate entities. If literature alone is observed, a greater or less degree of Attic influence might be seen, more or less influence of the vernacular also detected. Many of these works bear almost no trace of Attic flavor, but are marked by expressions, turns of thought, and a vocabulary strange to classical Attic. Such results produced a reaction and a conscious attempt to approach the classic standard, the first example of which is Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the contemporary of Augustus. As a consequence, even in the literature which most closely approaches this standard, much is at once discernible as imitation or mere ornament. Discerning inquiry will strip this off as a mask and leave open to the sight the kernel, the origins and the peculiarities of the new world-speech as it appears in the inscriptions and ostraca and papyri of the times, which stream in numbers from Greece, Egypt, and Nubia, and are so rich as to promise a renaissance of Greek philology. Auxiliary to this mass of new material is the literature of the Greek of the Old and the New Testament, the Apocrypha, and the Pseudepigrapha, the legends and books of martyrs, correspondence of various sorts, and particularly the material in the works of the grammarians and lexicographers, including matter which the schoolmasters would have ruled out from the language, but which existed in the vernacular. This contains Attic elements with much that is so un-Attic that it can not be called either Attic or perverted Attic. Of such a character is the reduction in pronunciation of diphthongs to single vowels, which continues to this day, and is registered also in the inscriptions of the Egyptian Greek, going back to a Beotian dialect. Other changes register Ionic or Eolian influence upon the vowels of the whole language. The consonants also underwent change. By sibilation *tt* became *ss*, aspiration was dropped and added (*kuthra* for *chutra*), while Doric influences were also felt. Thus a new speech was made out of diverse elements, just as the New High German has come into being from Upper, Middle, and Low German elements. As elements of the varied Greek-speaking peoples gathered in Egypt and the Orient, they welded the varieties of their mother tongue into a common vernacular, based indeed on Attic, but embracing the other constituents.

3. Vernacular Basis of Hellenistic Greek. Along with these changes it is obvious that with the spread of the language into new parts of the world a mass of words would come in from the Egyptian, Persian, and Semitic tongues—names for animals, plants, and the commodities of public and private life. Political conditions brought about a blending of local peculiarities of dialect in the common *lingua franca*, since neither Attic nor Doric nor Ionic were the norms of language in the new domain. Desire for learning this new speech which was on its way to become the bond of a new world-citizenship promoted its growth. And doubtless much that comes out as new in literature was really far older, having happened to come to light for the first time in the new documents. The old hypothesis that in the new tongue the Macedonian and Alexandrian dialect were predominant can no longer be held, if by "Macedonian" be meant the language of Macedonia. That the vocabulary of Alexandria was influential in the Hellenistic world by reason of the centrality of Alexandria is of course correct. But the character of this new tongue is due to the welding in common intercourse of elements, especially but not exclusively Attic and Ionic, into a new and living vernacular, which in turn became a vehicle of literature. Hellenistic vernacular is not the vulgarizing of a literary language; the literary language is the ennobling of the vernacular.

It seemed quite natural to differentiate Hellenistic Greek according to local peculiarities, as when K. Dieterich divided it into that of Egypt, Asia Minor, and Greece. The old notion of an Alexandrian "dialect" as a separate philological quantity had a long-lived popularity and a certain specious basis, since most of the writers of note of the period were of Egypt. Naturally the peculiarities they showed were called "Egyptian" Greek. Warning must, however, be uttered against the conception that the local differences in the *lingua franca* hardened into "dialects." While there were local differences, they were not significant; the common speech was one, and Schmid rightly speaks of the "wonderful completeness" of this common tongue, and of the unity which pervaded its phonetic and morphological changes. So that the phrases "Jewish Greek," "Christian Greek," and the like are "fanciful"

(Jülicher, in *GGA*, 1899, p. 258), dear though they are to the grammarians, lexicographers, and exegetes of the Greek Bible. Historical ground for thus isolating this literature philologically is not in existence. There are indeed linguistic peculiarities which were isolated or viewed apart, religious tendencies also, which were and remain authoritative for the doctrine of "Biblical" Greek. As long as the Septuagint and the New Testament were the only specimens known of Hellenistic Greek, no special linguistic sense was needed to differentiate them from classical Greek. Comparison of these with Polybius revealed a different world, replete as they were with Hebraisms and Semitisms. "Hellenistic" Greek became a catchword to express a certain blending of two wholly different languages, exactly as Yiddish is used in modern times. The fixing of this term or of the term "Biblical" Greek was helped by another fact, the dogma of inspiration. In consequence of this the unregenerate were not permitted to pass judgment upon the linguistic character of the Bible (Quenstedt, in Luthardt, *Kompendium der Dogmatik*, Leipsic, 1886, p. 312), and the inspiration assumed for the Old Testament and the New was tacitly carried over to the Septuagint. Thus not only the text, but the quality of the language as language was isolated, and a distinction grew up between a "profane" and a "sacred" Greek. One of the most influential promoters in modern times of this theory was Hermann Cremer, who, in the preface of his lexicon, expressly approves the position of Richard Rothe (in *Zur Dogmatik*, Gotha, 1863, p. 238), who says that one may with good right speak of a language of the Holy Ghost since it lies open in the Bible that the Divine Spirit, operating in the sphere of revelation, has built for itself a language of religious content out of the speech of the people of the regions where it operated, and formed this new language after a shape suited to the particular purpose. The proof of this position Cremer seeks to introduce in many parts of his lexicon. Until recent times, therefore, the linguistic and the theological modes of thought have agreed in setting Biblical Greek apart as something *sui generis*. The disproof of this theory, which has been a fetter upon linguistics, exegesis, and Christian faith, was attempted in the *Bibelstudien* and *Neue Bibelstudien* of the undersigned (Eng. transl., *Bible Studies*, 2d ed., Edinburgh, 1903), to which reference must be made for the general character of the Greek Bible as a monument of Hellenistic Greek. Further light is thrown by the same author's *New Light on the New Testament* (Edinburgh, 1907); *The Philology of the Greek Bible* (London, 1908); and *Licht vom Osten, Das Neue Testament und die neuentdeckten Texte der hellenisch-römischen Welt* (Tübingen, 1908).

4. Unity of Hellenistic Greek.

The most significant marks of the living Hellenistic Greek were its treatment of sounds and inflections, and upon these the conception of a special Biblical Greek is wrecked. Every one of the minute peculiarities distinguishing the text of the Bible from that of Plato and Xenophon is found in the contemporary Greek of the *lingua franca* as evidenced in the inscriptions, ostraca, and particularly the papyri now in hand. That this quality inheres especially in the papyri is not a matter of accident, since they more nearly concern private and common life. The inscriptions, which are public, are often, particularly when official, consciously made to approach the norms of literary style; while the papyri are often unpolished and express the many needs and varying situations of the daily life of the mass of the population. And this general situation is borne out by the formulas and usage of legal procedure. Schmiedel's edition of Winer's grammar of New Testament Greek, appearing though it did before the mass of newly found material was accessible, pointed the way to the newer conception of the language, and was fortified by K. Dieterich's *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der griechischen Sprache . . . bis zum zehnten Jahrhundert* (Leipsic, 1898). The works of Schmiedel, Blass, and Moulton on New Testament Greek, and the *Neue Bibelstudien* of the undersigned make it unnecessary to recount here the peculiarities of Hellenistic Greek. It is sufficient to say that the documents so often referred to, coming from the times of the Diadochoi and the emperors and often dated most precisely to the very day, afford rich material to illustrate Biblical Greek (cf. on this material U. Wilcken, *Griechische Papyri*, Berlin, 1897, and *TLZ*, xxi., 1896, pp. 609 sqq., xxiii., 1898, pp. 628 sqq.).

5. Pronunciation and Inflection.

The vocabulary of the Greek Bible shows the characteristic additions of Hellenistic Greek. While the same evidence is not forthcoming as for changes in sound and inflection, it is not needed. It is self-evident that the vocabulary of this world-speech, which enriched itself from all the lands subjected to the Greeks, can not be fully known. From the newly discovered sources words are continually emerging which are vainly sought in the lexicons; it is not surprising therefore that many words in the texts already known occur only once. That these were newly coined by the authors on the spur of the moment no intelligent person will maintain; they are simply *hapax heurēmena* ("words found only once"), not *hapax eirēmena* ("words used only once"). These words "found" only once are numerous in the Greek Bible, and have been employed to strengthen the theory of a "Biblical" Greek—indeed Cremer designates such words as "Biblical" or as "belonging to the New Testament," in the latter case as due to the constructive strength of Christianity, in which he is followed by Grimm, who conveys the impression that they were unknown elsewhere, though Thayer's edition is, in this matter, more prudent. Of a great number of these *hapax heurēmena* one may at once assert on internal grounds that their rare occurrence is mere accident. In other cases there turn up in hitherto unknown authors, in the inscriptions, ostraca, and papyri, words and combinations which have hitherto been assumed to be exclusively "Biblical" or of the New Testament. And the same fact is true of "Biblical" meanings of common words, which meanings have been regarded as peculiar to Biblical

6. Lexicography.

Greek. In commentaries on the New Testament these meanings have received much emphasis, the dogmatic utility of which would be undermined were a careful examination of the facts undertaken. Unfortunately the situation in this regard has been confused by not keeping distinct the linguistic-historical and the religious-historical points of view. It is true that both Greek Judaism and Christianity have created new words and new meanings for words; but these are facts in the history of religion, not of linguistics, since the words or meanings originate out of Jewish or Christian faith and not out of Jewish or Christian *Græcitas*. It would be as correct to speak of Gnostic Greek or the Greek of the Stoa or the Greek of Neoplatonism as of "Jewish" or "Christian" Greek on the ground that they have created new words or given new meanings to words. So that from the lexicological point of view the Greek Bible is a document of the Hellenistic world-speech.

7. Syntax.

At first sight the syntax of the Greek Bible may seem to warrant the designation of Biblical Greek. In the Psalms and in the Synoptic Gospels there are constructions, collocations of words, and methods of sentence-building which can not be duplicated even in the papyri which proceed from the peasantry of Egypt. Here is a Greek which is full of Semitisms. Yet other parts of the Scripture do not contain these elements; IV Maccabees, the Pauline Epistles, the Epistle to the Hebrews differ in this respect from the books named above, and belong to the common Hellenistic speech. Syntactically these are to be disconnected from the works with so pronounced a Jewish flavor, and the reason is seen to be that they are original compositions while the others mentioned are translations from the Hebrew or Aramaic; thus for the latter a new measure is secured for their syntactical peculiarities, and we should speak not of Jewish Greek, but of translation-Greek. But a question arises whether this translation is in the every-day Greek of the translator or is simply a Greek fashioned upon the Semitic model. In the former case it would then be a part of the *lingua franca;* in the latter case it would be a Jewish Greek existing only on paper in which the original was not translated into Greek, but simply transferred word by word into Greek equivalents. Or, to put the matter in another form, are the "Semitisms" of the Bible normal or exceptional? Following out this distinction as made in H. Paul, *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte* (Halle, 1898), pp. 67 sqq., 145 sqq., translation-Greek is a variety which is seen to be artificial and existent only on paper; its numerous syntactic Semitisms are therefore exceptional. If there was a Jewish idiomatic Greek, how was it that the Greek Jew, Paul, who wrote not books, but only letters, did not employ it? and why did Philo and the author of the Aristeas letter write Greek that was so un-Jewish? Two Biblical authors make further argument unnecessary, Sirach and Luke. Both have prologues of which it can not be said that they are "Jewish-Greek" or that they "Hebraize." Yet both authors have made use of Semitisms, though not with the same frequency. For those who argue for a "Jewish Greek" the occurrence of these two kinds of Greek from the same pen is embarrassing. The explanation is, however, exceedingly simple. In the prologues these authors wrote as they spoke; in the body of the work they were more or less dependent, directly or indirectly, upon a Semitic basis. The Jewish Greek was, therefore, not a living speech, but an inferior method of translation. The Septuagint is more Jewish than the Synoptic Gospels because the former had a documentary basis; the latter came probably from the oral tradition of a bilingual people (cf. Merx, in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, xix. [1898] 989). That there are, so to speak, normal Semitisms along with the exceptional is to be recognized; they exist as a coloring of certain books, just as sermons and religious papers of the present are colored with Biblical terminology. An investigation, therefore, of the Semitisms of, say, the old Christian texts is an urgent need. A comparative view of the writers of the Hellenistic common speech would doubtless show that many of the so-called Semitisms are rather parts of the every-day language. Such cases are the use of *anastrephesthai* ("to walk") and *anastrophē* ("walk") in an ethical sense, *onoma* ("name") in the sense of person, the numeral used distributively by doubling it, and so on. The number of real Semitisms would be greatly reduced and would appear due to the religious terminology. How much came into the common speech in pre-Christian times can hardly be estimated, but that technical words were introduced is certain, though only a single "Egyptiscism" is known, *onos hypo oinou*. So that from the point of view of syntax the Greek Bible belongs to the common Hellenistic speech. Its Semitisms are curiosities, but are not of linguistic importance any more than are the Latinisms or other linguistic booty which Greek took over in its conquest of the world of the Mediterranean lands.

8. The Greek Bible not Literary Greek.

When the question is raised whether the Greek Bible is a monument of the vernacular or of the literary language, it must be borne in mind that the boundaries between the two are fluctuating. Moreover, distinction has to be made among the various books in this Bible. Blass says of the Epistle to the Hebrews that it is the only book in the New Testament which in structure and style shows the care and finish of an artistic writer. The Pauline letters, on the contrary, are monuments of the vernacular; his vocabulary is of the sort that an Atticizing grammarian would have continually corrected in order to get rid of the words forbidden to literature. His sublime combination in I Cor. xvi. 13 of *grēgoreite stēkete* ("watch ye, stand fast") is one that no writer who regarded form would have permitted himself to use; both verbs are, as Blass calls them, "plebeian." But to expect literary Greek of the apostle would be wrong—he was no *littérateur*, but a writer of letters, who spoke as the common people of Ephesus and Corinth spoke; he was just Paul who knew the world-speech of Asia, Europe, and Egypt, Paul with a native eloquence and a prophetic pathos which came from his soul of fire; and as he spoke so he wrote. Similarly the Gospels are monu-

ments of the vernacular, and the same is true of most of the books of the Septuagint; they swarm with words which were the abomination of the Atticists. Investigations into the individual books with reference to their inner character would be both timely and profitable. It is a significant fact for the religious-historical judgment of the earliest Christianity that the men of this, its classical time, were anything but bookish. In the more popular texts of the later Christian centuries, the legends, romances, letters, accounts of martyrs, and the like are to be seen monuments of the living speech on its way to become the New Greek (cf. H. Rheinhold, *De græcitate patrum apostolicorum librorumque apocryphorum*, Halle, 1898, pp. 1–113; B. W. Fritz, *Die Briefe des Bischofs Synesius von Kyrene*, Leipsic, 1898). (Adolf Deissmann.)

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HELMICHIUS, WERNER: Dutch theologian; b. at Utrecht 1551; d. at Amsterdam Aug. 29, 1608. In 1578 he was pastor at Utrecht, and as an adherent of the consistorial party came into conflict with the advocates of more liberal tendencies, led by Hubert Duifhuis, displaying, however, a spirit of mildness and moderation that gained him the esteem of his opponents. In 1581 he delivered the first Protestant sermon in the Utrecht cathedral, and organized the Walloon community in that city. With the fall of the consistorial party Helmichius was removed from his post; he went as pastor to Delft, and, after repeatedly declining a call to the University of Leyden, became preacher to the Amsterdam community in 1602. Upon the death of Philips van Marnix (q.v.) in 1598, the work of completing the translation of the Bible which the latter left uncompleted was entrusted to Helmichius, who, however, also left the work unfinished. Of his works, which were published posthumously, the most important is *Psalmorum Davidis et aliorum prophetarum analysis* (Amsterdam, 1621).

(G. Kawerau.)

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HELMOLD: Preacher of Bosow, a village on the Plön Lake in Holstein; b. in Holstein; d. after 1177. He was a younger friend of Vicelin (q.v.), and at the instigation of Gerhard, the first bishop of Lübeck, wrote a chronicle of the Wends, with the intention of showing "how Christianity and the German rule (through colonists from Westphalia and Holland) had gained a firm footing among the Wends, especially in Wagria." The chronicle treats chiefly of Henry the Lion and the new bishopric of Oldenburg-Lübeck, and is written in comparatively good Latin, but is quite unreliable. It extends to 1171, but was not concluded until after 1172. The last trace of Helmold is found in the list of witnesses to the deed of foundation of the monastery of St. John in Lübeck, 1177. (Wilhelm Altmann.)

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HELPERS IN NEED, THE FOURTEEN: A group of twice seven saints especially honored in Roman Catholic Germany since the middle of the fifteenth century. They belong to various peoples and periods, and bear the names Achatius, Ægidius (or Giles, q.v.), Barbara, Blasius (Blaise), Catherine (the Martyr), Christopher, Cyriacus, Dionysius (Areopagita ?), Erasmus, Eustachius, George, Margaret, Pantaleon, and Vitus. Sporadically the number is increased to fifteen by the insertion of a St. Magnus (Bishop Magnus of Oderzo, near Treviso, in Italian tradition; Abbot Magnus of Füssen-am-Lech in South German legend). Those not treated in special articles are the following: (1) Achatius (more correctly Acacius), is said to have been a bishop of Melitene in Lesser Armenia, who fearlessly professed his faith in the Decian persecution and thus gained mercy from his judge. (2) Blasius, or Blaise, bishop of Sebaste in Armenia, martyred, according to tradition, about 316, is said to have possessed

marvelous gifts of healing. (3) Erasmus (Ital. Elmo), whose death is dated by tradition in 303, is said, after being unharmed by burning pitch and brimstone in Lebanon, to have come to Formiæ in Campania, where he converted many heathen and worked miracles by his prayers. (4) Margaret, a Christian virgin, beheaded after incredible tortures at Antioch in Pisidia during the Diocletian persecution, is said to have prayed in prison especially for women in childbirth and for the amelioration of their pangs. (5) Pantaleon is said to have been Diocletian's physician in Nicomedia, and, after marvelous deeds of self-sacrificing devotion during the first two years of this monarch's persecution, is supposed to have been tortured and beheaded. (6) Vitus (Ital. Guido) is said, at the age of seven or twelve, to have converted his nurse, St. Crescentia, and her husband, Modestus, and to have performed miracles, healing the emperor's son of demoniac possession. He refused to sacrifice to idols, and after terrible tortures was drowned in the Lucanian river Silarus. Each of these saints is invoked in special forms of danger, as Margaret in difficult delivery, Vitus in possession by demons and cramps, Ægidius in pestilence, and Barbara in fever.

The formation of this group of fourteen saints may date back to 610, when Boniface IV. converted the Pantheon at Rome into the Christian Church of the Virgin and the Martyrs, replacing the fourteen idols in it with an equal number of altars with relics of martyrs. At all events, the origin of the cult of this group is far prior to the vision, in 1446, in which the Upper Franconian shepherd Hermann Leicht beheld the Christ-child surrounded by the helpers in need, thus leading to the foundation of the famous pilgrim shrine of the Vierzehnheiligen-Kirche near Staffelstein.

(O. Zöckler†.)

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HELVETIC CONFESSIONS.

I. The First Helvetic Confession, 1536.
Origin of the Confession (§ 1).
Its Content (§ 2).
Its Acceptance by the Swiss (§ 3).
II. The Second Helvetic Confession, 1566.
Origin and History (§ 1).
Content (§ 2).

I. The First Helvetic Confession, 1536 (*Confessio Helvetica prior*, also called Second Confession of Basel, *Confessio Basiliensis posterior*, in distinction from the Basel Confession of 1534; see Basel, Confession of):

1. Origin of the Confession.

The reformatory movement of Switzerland was for a long time without a uniform formula of confession, each city having its own confession. It was only in 1536 that the necessity for uniformity was felt, when Pope Paul III. (q.v.) convened a general council, to meet in Mantua in the following year. The desirability of a union between the Reformed and the Lutherans was recognized, and Capito of Augsburg and Butzer of Strasburg especially tried to influence the Swiss Reformed in the direction of union. Luther expressed a longing for peace in several letters to Upper German cities. The chief task of the mediators was to have a Swiss formula of the Lord's Supper prepared which would meet the approval of Luther. At the end of 1534 Butzer held a convention of Swabian cities on the question of the Lord's Supper at Constance, to which the Zurich Reformers sent a *Confessio super eucharistia* with the approval of Basel, Schaffhausen, and St. Gall. It acknowledged that the true body and the true blood of Christ are really present in the Lord's Supper, and are offered to the believers who eat the true body by faith. All ideas of substance were guarded against, but the people of Bern refused their signature. Even a more moderate formula, drawn up by theologians of Zurich and Basel in 1535 at Aarau, did not satisfy the people of Bern. They desired a general meeting, and this was convened by the magistrates of Zurich, Bern, Basel, Schaffhausen, St. Gall, Mühlhausen, and Biel, on Jan. 30, 1536, at Basel. A general confession was here drawn up by Bullinger of Zurich, Myconius and Grynæus of Basel, and others. They were joined later by Leo Jud of Zurich and Megander of Bern, and still later by Butzer and Capito.

2. Its Content.

The confession declared emphatically that the Lord's Supper is not merely a human act of confession, but that the bread and wine are food and nourishment of spiritual and eternal life. Nevertheless, the confession did not go beyond the statement of the spiritual partaking of the person of the crucified Christ. Speaking generally, it removed the peculiarities of Zwinglian theology most offensive to the Lutherans in the spirit of the Zwinglian Reformation. This spirit finds expression in the arrangement of the whole—the Scripture, its interpretation and "purpose" forms the basis (arts. i.–v.), upon which the doctrines of salvation (vi.–xiii.) and then, with characteristic minuteness of detail, the doctrines of the Church, the Word, the sacraments, and church ordinances (xiv.–xxvii.) are discussed. In particular points the Reformed spirit is recognizable from the still intact union of the new life with the faith of salvation (art. xiii.); also from the doctrine of the Church, which places the invisible congregation of the exalted Christ in the foreground, and emphasizes as the sign of the visible congregation "common, public, and orderly discipline" (art. xiv.).

3. Its Acceptance by the Swiss.

The confession was written in Latin, and translated into German by Leo Judæ. After the completion of the theological work, the secular and spiritual delegates assembled on Feb. 4 for a final session. The Strasburg party once more emphasized the necessity of Christian harmony with the German estates, but the delegates claimed to possess no authority in that matter. On Mar. 27 the delegates of the town councils assembled again at Basel, without theologians, and unanimously accepted the confession. Then the delegates of Strasburg and Constance were called before the assembly, but they refused their signature; the Strasburg delegate especially, who was accompanied by Capito—the only theologian

present—was intent upon putting obstructions in the way of the new confession and inducing the Swiss to accept the Tetrapolitan Confession (q.v.). In this way Strasburg undoubtedly thought a union of Lutherans and Reformed could more easily be effected, but the result was only that the Swiss promised to examine the Tetrapolitan Confession and not to publish their own. Thus the First Helvetic Confession did not bring about the desired union, in spite of the fact that it contained Lutheranizing formulas; but it cemented the union of the Evangelical cantons of Switzerland, and the new confession formed the basis upon which their later doctrinal discussions rested.

II. The Second Helvetic Confession, 1566 (*Confessio Helvetica posterior*): This was the work of Heinrich Bullinger (q.v.), who made the first draft of it in 1562. During the plague in 1564 he revised and elaborated this sketch, and laid it beside his will, to be presented, in case of his death, to the magistrates of Zurich, as a testimony of his faith. An incident brought it before the public. The Emperor Maximilian II. called a diet to Augsburg, Jan. 14, 1566. As the Elector-palatine Frederick III., who had seceded from the Lutheran and joined the Reformed Church, was afraid that, for this reason, he would be put under the ban of the realm, he addressed himself to Bullinger, and asked him to draw up a confession showing that the Reformed Church in no point differed from the true apostolic doctrine. Bullinger sent him the above-mentioned memoir, and it pleased him so much that he asked permission to have it translated into German and published. Bullinger's work appeared in Mar., 1566, at Zurich, under the title *Confessio et expositio simplex orthodoxæ fidei et dogmatum catholicorum synceræ religionis christianæ*. At the same time there appeared a German edition, a little later a French translation at Geneva, and the confession was translated also into Dutch, English, Hungarian, Polish, Italian, Rumanian, even into Arabic and Turkish. As the origin of the confession excluded the influence of parties and cliques, it soon found approval without compromises, not only in the Swiss Churches, but in all Reformed Churches. The union of Zwinglianism and Calvinism which appears in it was not artificially produced, but was a natural growth. By suppressing many a harsh formula which would have separated the different parties, Bullinger not merely harmonized the Zurich and Genevan theology, but expressed to the satisfaction of all the peculiarly Reformed conception of Christianity. His work was not a compromise in the sense of Lutheran Melanchthonianism; in spite of all its elasticity it retained a sufficiently defined type of Reformed thought.

1. Origin and History.

The order of articles (i.–ii., Scripture; iii.–v., God and worship; vi.–vii., providence and creation; viii.–xi., the fall and preparation of salvation; xii.–xvi., appropriation of salvation and new life; xvii.–xxi., Church, sermon, and sacraments; xxii.–xxx., church ordinances, etc.) and the thorough treatment of the ecclesiastical organization show the same Reformed peculiarities as the first Helvetic confession. The doctrine of predestination avoids with the utmost care every speculative offense. The confession is entirely silent upon the question of reprobation; it shows Bullinger's practical caution which, by cutting off all speculative consequences, clings to the consoling part of the dogma. Election finds unmitigated expression without any synergism. The doctrine of the sacraments is an expansion of the First Helvetic Confession. The rejection of old and new heresies serves an apologetic tendency, by showing that the Reformed could not be classed as heretics (i.e., Anti-Trinitarians), in the sense of the imperial law of Theodosius, while minor deviations of doctrines and forms ought to be tolerated by Evangelical brethren.

2. Content.

(E. F. Karl Müller.)

Bibliography: The text is given in H. A. Niemeyer, *Collectio confessionum*, Leipsic, 1840; Schaff, *Creeds*, iii. 211–306, 829–909 (of First, in Lat. and Germ.; of Second, in Lat. and Eng.); K. Müller, *Die Bekenntnisschriften der reformierten Kirchen*, Leipsic, 1903. For the history consult: Schaff, *Creeds*, i. 388–420; idem, *Christian Church*, vii. 219–222; J. J. Hottinger, *Helvetische Kirchengeschichte*, vol. iii., Zurich, 1708; C. Pestalozzi, *Heinrich Bullinger*, Elberfeld, 1858; K. Müller, *Symbolik*, Leipsic, 1896; E. Blösch, *Geschichte der schweizerisch-reformirten Kirchen*, Bern, 1898–99. On the First Confession, besides the above, consult: *Sammlung der älteren eidgenössischen Abschiede*, iv., i., pp. 598, 616 sqq., 669 sqq., 682 sqq., 784 sqq., Lucerne, 1878; M. Kirchhofer, *Oswald Myconius*, Zurich, 1813. On the Second, consult: H. A. Niemeyer, ut sup., prolegomena, pp. lxiii.–lxviii.; L. Thomas, *La Confession helvétique*, Geneva, 1853.

HELVETIC CONSENSUS (*Formula consensus ecclesiarum Helveticarum*): The name of a Swiss Reformed symbol drawn up in 1675 to guard against doctrines taught at the French academy of Saumur. The strict and uncompromising definition of the doctrines of election and reprobation by the Synod of Dort (1618–19) occasioned a reaction in France, where the Protestants lived surrounded by Roman Catholics. Moïse Amyraut (q.v.), professor at Saumur, taught a hypothetical or conditioned universalism. His colleague, Louis Cappel, denied the verbal inspiration of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament; La Place rejected the immediate imputation of Adam's sin as arbitrary and unjust. The famous and flourishing school of Saumur came to be looked upon with increasing mistrust as the seat of heterodoxy, especially by the Swiss, who were in the habit of sending students there. The first impulse to attack the new doctrine came from Geneva. In 1635 Friedrich Spanheim (q.v.) wrote against Amyraut, whom the clergy of Paris tried to defend. In course of time the heresy of Amyraut gained ground in Geneva. In 1649, Alexander Morus, the successor of Spanheim, but suspected of belonging to the liberal party, was compelled by the magistrates of Geneva to subscribe to a series of articles in the form of theses and antitheses, the first germ of the *Formula consensus*. His place was taken by Philippe Mestrezat, and later by Louis Trouchin, both inclined toward the liberal tendency of France, while François Turretin zealously defended the orthodox system. Mestrezat induced the Council of Geneva to take a moderate standpoint in the article on election, but the other cantons

Origin.

of Switzerland objected to this new tendency and threatened to stop sending their pupils to Geneva. The Council of Geneva submitted and peremptorily demanded from all candidates subscription to the older articles. But the conservative elements were not satisfied, and the idea occurred to them to stop the further spread of such novelties by establishing a formula obligatory upon all teachers and preachers. After considerable discussion between Gernler of Basel, Hummel of Bern, Ott of Schaffhausen, Heidegger of Zurich, and others, the last mentioned was charged with drawing up the formula. In the beginning of 1675, Heidegger's Latin draft was communicated to the ministers of Zurich; and in the course of the year it received very general adoption, and almost everywhere was added as an appendix and exposition to the Helvetic Confession.

Content.

The Consensus consists of a preface and twenty-six canons, and states clearly the difference between strict Calvinism and the school of Saumur. Canons i.–iii. treat of divine inspiration, and the preservation of the Scriptures. Canons iv.–vi. relate to election and predestination. In canons vii.–ix. it is shown that man was originally created holy, and that obedience to law would have led him to eternal life. Canons x.–xii. reject La Place's doctrine of a mediate imputation of the sin of Adam. Canons xiii.–xvi. treat of the particular destination of Christ—as he from eternity was elected head, master, and heir of those that are saved through him, so in time he became mediator for those who are granted to him as his own by eternal election. According to canons xvii.–xx., the call to election has referred at different times to smaller and larger circles. Canons xxi.–xxiii. define the incapacity of man to believe in the Gospel by his own powers as natural, not only moral, so that he could believe if he only tried. According to canons xxiii.–xxv., there are only two ways of justification before God and consequently a twofold covenant of God, namely the covenant of the works for man in the state of innocence, and the covenant through the obedience of Christ for fallen man. The final canon admonishes to cling firmly to the pure and simple doctrine and avoid vain talk.

Later History.

Although the Helvetic Consensus was introduced everywhere in the Reformed Church of Switzerland, it could not long hold its position, as it was a product of the reigning scholasticism. At first, circumspection and tolerance were shown in the enforcement of its signature, but as soon as many French preachers sought positions in Vaud after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, it was ordered that all who intended to preach must sign the Consensus without reservation. An address of the great elector of Brandenburg to the Reformed cantons, in which, in consideration of the dangerous position of Protestantism and the need of a union of all Evangelicals, he asked for a nullification of the separating formula, brought it about that the signature was not demanded in Basel after 1686, and it was also dropped in Schaffhausen and later (1706) in Geneva, while Zurich and Bern retained it. Meanwhile the whole tendency of the time had changed. Secular science stepped into the foreground. The practical, ethical side of Christianity began to gain a dominating influence. Rationalism and Pietism undermined the foundations of the old orthodoxy. An agreement between the liberal and conservative parties was temporarily attained in so far that it was decided that the Consensus was not to be regarded as a rule of faith, but only as a norm of teaching. In 1722 Prussia and England applied to the respective magistracies of the Swiss cantons for the abolition of the formula for the sake of the unity and peace of the Protestant Churches. The reply was somewhat evasive; but, though the formula was never formally abolished, it gradually fell entirely into disuse. (Emil Egli.)

Bibliography: The official copy, in Latin and German, is in the archives of Zurich. It was printed in 1714 as a supplement to the Second Helvetic Confession, then in 1718, 1722, and often, and may be found in H. A. Niemeyer, *Collectio Confessionum*, pp. 729–739, Leipsic, 1840 (Latin), and in E. G. A. Böckel, *Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-reformirten Kirche*, pp. 348–360, ib. 1847 (German). Consult: J. J. Hottinger, *Succincta . . . Formulæ Consensus . . . historia*, Zurich, 1723; idem, *Helvetische Kirchengeschichte*, iii. 1086 sqq., iv. 258, 268 sqq., ib. 1708–29; C. M. Pfaff, *Dissertatio . . . de Formula Consensus Helvetica*, Tübingen, 1723; A. Schweizer, *Die protestantischen Central-dogmen in ihrer Entwickelung*, pp. 439–563, ib. 1856; E. Blösch, *Geschichte der schweizerisch-reformirten Kirchen*, i. 485–496, ii. 77–97, Bern, 1898–1899; Schaff, *Creeds*, i. 477–489.

HELVÉTIUS, el''vê''sî''üs', CLAUDE ADRIEN: French philosopher; b. in Paris Jan., 1715; d. there Dec. 26, 1771. He studied at the Collège Louis-le-Grand, and in 1738 received the lucrative post of farmer-general, which, however, he soon exchanged for the position of chamberlain to the queen. Tiring of the idle and dissipated life of the court, he married in 1751, and retired to a small estate at Voré, in Perche, where he devoted himself chiefly to philosophical studies. He visited England in 1764, and the following year he went to Germany, where he was received with distinction by Frederick II. He was one of the Encyclopedists (q.v.), and held the skeptical and materialistic views common to that school of philosophy. His principal works are: *De l'esprit* (Paris, 1758; Eng. transl., *De l'Esprit: or, Essays on the Mind*, London, 1759), which, condemned by the Sorbonne and publicly burned at Paris, was translated into most European languages, and read more than any other book of the time; and the posthumous *De l'homme, de ses facultés intellectuelles et de son éducation* (2 vols., London, 1772; Eng. transl., *A Treatise on Man; his Intellectual Faculties and his Education*, 2 vols., 1777).

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HELVICUS, hel'vî-cus (HELWICH), CHRISTOPHORUS: German theologian and educator; b. at Spreudlingen (23 m. s.w. of Mainz), Hesse, Dec. 26, 1581; d. at Giessen Sept. 10, 1617. He was educated at the University of Marburg (M.A., 1599), and was called to teach in the academic gymnasium at Giessen in 1605. In 1610, three years after the school had been reorganized as a university, he

was appointed professor of theology and Hebrew there. He composed grammars of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, wrote on poetics and history, and took part in the dogmatic controversies of his time. He won renown chiefly by his knowledge of Hebrew. On account of his efforts for educational reform, particularly in connection with Wolfgang Rattich (Ratke), he occupies also a worthy position in the history of pedagogy in the seventeenth century. CARL MIRBT.

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HELVIDIUS: A layman living in Rome at the time of Damasus I. (366–384). Concerning his personality nothing is known, except that he was an imitator of the pagan rhetorician and statesman Symmachus, and a pupil of the Arian Auxentius, bishop of Milan. During the second sojourn of Jerome at Rome, 382–385, Helvidius wrote a tract in which he combated the perpetual virginity of the mother of Jesus. This tract is known only through Jerome's counter-tract, composed prior to 384. From this it appears that Helvidius also opposed the practical deductions made in the monastic circles of Rome from the perpetual virginity of Mary, and sharply antagonized the claims of monasticism to represent a higher ideal of Christian life. Helvidius proceeded upon the assumption that Mary, subsequent to the virgin-birth of Jesus, bore several children in wedlock with Joseph, citing Matt. i. 18, i. 25; Luke ii. 7. Jerome undertook to refute him and at the same time make propaganda for monasticism. Jerome's objections are purely sophistical. He argues that from the expression "before they came together" (Matt. i. 18) it can not be inferred that there was afterward an actual estate of conjugal cohabitation between them, that the expression "firstborn son" (Luke ii. 7), according to Old Testament phraseology, only indicated what "openeth the womb," and by no means referred to younger brothers or sisters of Jesus, and that the brethren of the Lord were not literal brothers, but only cousins. Jerome also advocates the perpetual virginity of Joseph, because the virgin's son was to issue from a virginal marriage. Augustine enumerates the *Helvidiani*, or followers of Helvidius, in his catalogue of heretics. The views of Helvidius were shared by Bonosus (see BONOSUS AND THE BONOSIANS). G. GRÜTZMACHER.

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HELYOT, ê″lî″ō′, **PIERRE** (or **HIPPOLYTE**; the latter his monastic name): French Franciscan; b. at Paris 1660; d. there Jan. 5, 1716. At the age of twenty-three he entered the Third Order of St. Francis (Congregation of Picpus), whose most noteworthy author he became. His fame was gained not so much through his edifying writings, such as his *Le Chrétien mourant* (Paris, 1695), as through his *Histoire des ordres monastiques, religieux et militaires et des congrégations séculières de l'un et de l'autre sexe, qui ont été établies jusqu'au présent* (8 vols., Paris, 1714–19); to this he devoted a quarter of a century, and it was completed after his death by Maximilien Bullot, a member of the same order. It went through repeated editions in France (1721, 1792, 1838), and formed the basis of M. L. Badiche's *Dictionnaire des ordres religieux*, published as part of Migne's *Encyclopédie théologique* (4 vols., Paris, 1858). It was translated into Italian by Fontana (Lucca, 1737), and into German anonymously (8 vols., Leipsic, 1753–56), and likewise formed the basis of several imitations and abbreviations. Such modern handbooks as J. Fehr's German revision of M. R. A. Henrion's *Histoire des ordres religieux* (Brussels, 1838) under the title of *Geschichte der Mönchsorden* (2 vols., Tübingen, 1845) or M. Heimbucher's *Orden und Kongregationen der katholischen Kirche* (2 vols., Paderborn, 1896–97) are more or less dependent on Helyot's work, which, despite its occasional lack of critical insight, is a product of laudable diligence. (O. ZÖCKLER†.)

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HEMANS, FELICIA DOROTHEA: English poetess; b. at Liverpool Sept. 25, 1793; d. at Dublin May 16, 1835. She was the daughter of George Browne, a merchant of Liverpool, who removed to North Wales in 1800. She received her education under her mother's care, and early began writing verse, publishing her first volume in 1808. In 1812 she married Captain Alfred Hemans, an Irish gentleman who had served in Spain; but she separated from him in 1818, after the birth of her fifth son, and never saw him again. In 1828 she removed from North Wales to Liverpool, and in 1831 she went to Dublin to live. While lacking in depth, her poetry is marked by a certain pleasing sweetness and naturalness, which is particularly noticeable in some of her best lyrics, e.g., *The Graves of a Household, The Treasures of the Deep*, and *The Homes of England*. As a hymn-writer she occupies a subordinate position. Perhaps her best known hymn is *Calm on the bosom of thy God*. She published some twenty volumes of verse, the most important being *The Forest Sanctuary* (London, 1825); *Records of Women* (1828); *Songs of the Affections* (Edinburgh, 1830); *Hymns for Childhood* (Dublin, 1834); *National Lyrics and Songs for Music* (1834); and *Scenes and Hymns of Life* (Edinburgh, 1834). Her works were edited, with a *Memoir* by her sister Mrs. Hughes (7 vols., London, 1839), also her *Poetical Works*, with a *Memoir*, by W. M. Rosetti (ib. 1873).

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HEMERLI (not **HEMMERLIN**), **FELIX:** Swiss canonist, an advocate of reform in the Church; b.

at Zurich probably Sept. 11, 1388; d. at Lucerne before 1464. He descended from an old and well-to-do family, and in 1406 was matriculated at the University of Erfurt. Soon afterward, in 1408 or earlier, he appeared in Bologna, where he seems to have remained until 1412. In the beginning of that year he was chosen canon of the chapter of St. Felix and Regula in Zurich. In 1413 he was matriculated a second time in Erfurt, remaining there until he obtained the degree of bachelor from the faculty of canon law, probably in 1418. He was present at the Council of Constance. Probably at the end of 1421 he became provost of St. Ursus at Soleure and began his activity there with necessary reforms. In 1423 he reentered the University of Bologna to complete his studies, and associated with Johannes Andreas de Calderinis, and famous canonists like Petrus Aristotiles, Salicetus, Antonius de Albergatis, and Lamola. In 1424 he was made doctor of canon law. He was in Zurich from 1427 till 1454, and in 1428 became cantor of the cathedral. In 1429 he appears also as canon of St. Maurice in Zofingen. He quarreled with his chapter, and many censures, both just and unjust, were hurled at him. Even his life was in danger. After the citizens of Zurich had concluded peace with the confederates, they invited the latter to a great festival in the middle of Feb., 1454. On this occasion, probably at the instigation of Gundolfinger, vicar of the cathedral church in Constance, whom Hemerli had provoked, the confederates captured the canon and delivered him over to Gundolfinger, who imprisoned him in the castle of Gottlieben, and later in Mersburg. Then he was handed over to the people of Lucerne, who imprisoned him in a tower, and afterward in the Franciscan monastery where he died.

Hemerli fought with much courage against the ignorance, stupidity, and immorality of the clergy, not halting before the highest authorities of the Church. He attacked the abuses of the Church, and wrote against the Lollards and mendicant friars, establishing his literary fame by a treatise, *Contra validos mendicantes* (1438), which was edited later in German by Nicholas of Wyle under the title *Von den vermögenden Bettlern* (possibly in *Translation oder Tütschungen etlicher Bücher*, Esslingen, 1478 ?, Augsburg, 1536). In *De libertate ecclesiastica* he approved the efforts of the Council of Basel to abolish the celibacy of the clergy. Of his legal works may be mentioned *Tractatus de matrimonio, De emptione et venditione unius pro viginti*, and *Processus judiciarius*. His principal work is his great political *Dialogus de nobilitate*, in which he vehemently attacked the enemies of his native city, the people of the canton of Schwyz. In 1452 he wrote the story of his sufferings in his *Passionale*. During his captivity he wrote *Registrum querele*, a solemn assertion of his innocence and a vehement accusation against Gundolfinger, and a *Dialogus de consolatione inique suppressorum*. Most of his writings were first edited by Sebastian Brant in 1497 (Basel). They were nearly all merely occasional tracts, lack breadth of view, profundity, and consistency, and aim at sensational effect, with a predilection for scandalous stories. Therefore Hemerli's admonitions had little influence toward promoting a real reformation. (A. Schneider.)

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HEMMINGSEN, NIELS (*Nicolaus Hemmingii*): Danish theologian; b. at Erindlev, island of Lolland, Denmark, June 4, 1513; d. at Roskilde, Zealand, May 23, 1600. He studied under the humanist Niels Black at Roskilde, and at the age of twenty-four went to Wittenberg, where he was graduated B.D., and became a devoted follower of Melanchthon. In 1542 he returned to Denmark, and was appointed privat-docent at the University of Copenhagen; in 1543 he became instructor in Greek, and in 1545 lecturer in Hebrew and professor of dialectics; in 1553 he was appointed professor of theology.

In 1555 he published his *De methodis*, the second volume of which treats of hermeneutics and rhetoric. His *Enchiridion theologicum* appeared in 1557, and became popular in Denmark and abroad as a handbook of dogmatics and ethics. He was a pronounced adherent of Melanchthon, and he considers his own work merely an aid to the deeper understanding of Melanchthon's *opus sacrosanctum*. His *Enchiridion* consists of four parts, the first treating of the covenant of grace and the kingdom of Christ; the second, of man's duties toward God, dwelling especially on the ten commandments; the third, of the three articles of faith, the Lord's Prayer, and the importance of traditional teachings; and the fourth, of the public and private duties of a Christian. Of still greater importance from an ethical point of view is his *De lege naturæ apodictica methodus* (Wittenberg, 1562).

When the waves of Crypto-Calvinism reached Denmark Hemmingsen was called upon to defend the Lutheran conception of the Lord's Supper, which he did in his *Tavle om Herrens Nadvere* ("Table of the Lord's Supper"); in consequence of this he came to be regarded as the foremost theologian in Denmark. In 1569 he was entrusted with the task of drafting the twenty-five articles of religion to which every foreigner who settled in Denmark had to conform; and in the following year he published his *Livsens Vej* ("The Path of Life"), a compendium of the teachings he himself followed during his long career.

When at the very summit of his greatness Hemmingsen published (1572 and 1574) certain writings which displayed a leaning toward Crypto-Calvinism, and King Frederick II. forbade him to engage in any disputations concerning the Lord's Supper. Repeated accusations on the part of the duke and duchess of Saxony, who were related to the king, compelled Frederick II. further to demand that he renounce his Crypto-Calvinistic tendencies altogether; and he had to retract his utterances publicly. The accusations continued, and the king finally deposed Hemmingsen. On July 29, 1579, he was dismissed from his professorship, and ordered to leave Copenhagen. He went to Roskilde, where for

twenty years he occupied himself with studies, officiating also as protector of the cathedral there. Upon the death of Frederick II. he again ventured to publish his writings, and his commentary on the Gospel of St. John, accompanied by a *Tractatus de gratia universali* (Copenhagen, 1591), showed that he was no adherent of Calvin as far as the latter's teachings of predestination were concerned. In 1599, however, he wrote some *Spórgsmaal og Svar om Alterens Sakramente* ("Questions and Answers concerning the Lord's Supper"), which proved that his conceptions of the Lord's Supper were more Calvinistic than Lutheran.

(F. Nielsen).

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HEMPHILL, CHARLES ROBERT: Presbyterian; b. at Chester, S. C., April 18, 1852. He was educated at the University of South Carolina, the University of Virginia (B.A., 1871), and the Presbyterian Theological Seminary at Columbia, S. C. (1874). He was tutor in Hebrew there (1874–78), fellow in Greek at Johns Hopkins University (1878–1879), professor of Greek and Latin at Southwestern Presbyterian University, Clarksville, Tenn. (1879–82), and professor of Biblical literature in Columbia Seminary (1882–85). He was pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church at Louisville, Ky. (1885–99), and from 1893 to the present time he has held a professorship in the Louisville Presbyterian (now Kentucky Presbyterian) Theological Seminary. He contributed to *Moses and His Recent Critics* (New York, 1889) the essay entitled *Validity and Bearing of the Testimony of Christ and His Apostles to the Mosaic Authorship of the Pentateuch.*

HEMPHILL, SAMUEL: Church of Ireland; b. at Clonmel (45 m. n.e. of Cork), County Tipperary, July 5, 1859. He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin (B.A., 1882), and was curate of Holy Trinity, Rathmines, Dublin (1883–88), rector of Westport, County Mayo (1888–92), and rector of Birr, King's County, since 1892. He was also professor of Biblical Greek in Trinity College, Dublin (1888–98), and select preacher to the same university in 1891–92 and 1899, and has been canon of Killaloe since 1897, in addition to being examining chaplain to the bishop of Killaloe since 1894. He has edited *The Diatessaron of Tatian* (London, 1888); and has written *My Neighbour* (London, 1897) and *Immortality in Christ* (1904), in addition to a translation of the "Satires" of Perseus (London, 1901).

HENDERSON, ALEXANDER: Scotch Presbyterian; b. in the parish of Creich (12 m. w. of St. Andrews), Fifeshire, 1583; d. in Edinburgh Aug. 19, 1646. He studied at St. Salvator's College, St. Andrews (matriculated Dec., 1599; M.A., 1603), and taught philosophy in the university for several years. In Sept., 1611, he is known to have been an "expectant" or probationer, and soon thereafter he was presented to the church of Leuchars (a parish adjoining St. Andrews on the north and west). So unpopular was his settlement there that the people fastened the church doors on the day of his ordination, and he had literally to enter by a window. A year or two afterward he went, perhaps out of curiosity, to hear Robert Bruce preach at a communion in the adjoining parish of Forgan. In order to be hid, he sat in a dark corner of the church; and there the sharp arrows of the king pierced his heart as Bruce read for his text, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber."

Ministry in Leuchars.

Henderson's views on church government and worship appear to have undergone a radical change at this time, and in 1618 he opposed the "Five Articles" in the Perth Assembly (see Perth, Five Articles of). In 1619 he was charged with not having given the communion according to the prescribed order, and explained that his disobedience was due not to contempt, but to doubts of its lawfulness. For the next eighteen years he seems to have been allowed to live in Leuchars in comparative peace, storing his mind with knowledge, doing good work among his people, and educating young men boarding with him. He bought a house and lands which, with a thousand pounds Scots, he gave as an educational endowment to the parish. To the school of his native parish he bequeathed two thousand merks.

Resistance to Episcopacy.

In 1636 Charles I., instigated by Archbishop Laud, tried to force upon the Church of Scotland a book of canons, a book of ordination, and a book of common prayer. The arbitrary manner in which it was sought to impose these on the Scottish Church was perhaps more offensive than their matter. To please the king, the Scottish privy council issued a proclamation in Dec., 1636, commanding all the people to conform in public worship, and that two copies at least of the prayer-book should be procured for each parish before Easter, 1637. In June the council issued an order charging those ministers who had not already provided themselves with copies of the book to do so within fifteen days, under penalty of being considered in rebellion. An attempt to use the book in St. Giles's, Edinburgh, in July, 1637, led to the "Jenny Geddes riot" (see Geddes, Jenny). The next month Henderson and two other ministers appeared before the privy council and presented formal reasons for suspension of the letters of outlawry under which they had been charged to procure the book. Petitions, many of which are still preserved, poured in upon the council. Soon the body of the nation was embarked in the cause; and four committees were appointed to represent the noblemen, gentlemen, burgesses, and ministers. These committees, each of which contained four members, were called "the tables," and met in the parliament house. On their meetings being prohibited by royal proclamation, they resolved to renew the old covenants, and on Feb. 28, 1638, the "National Covenant," in the drafting of which Henderson had a part (see Covenanters, § 3), was sworn and subscribed by thousands in the Greyfriars' Church and Churchyard, Edinburgh. Copies were circulated through the country; and almost everywhere it was sworn with zeal and alac-

rity by all ranks and classes. The shires subscribed by their commissioners, and so did the towns, save Aberdeen, St. Andrews, and Crail. Henderson preached at St. Andrews, and won it over, not a burgess refusing to sign. Henderson, Dickson, and Cant were sent to the north, and preached to great crowds at Aberdeen, securing several hundreds of subscriptions; but with the doctors of divinity they had only a fruitless controversy. The king had to call a general assembly and parliament to consider the national grievances. Henderson was unanimously chosen moderator of the former, which met on Nov. 21, 1638, in the High Church or Cathedral of Glasgow. Though the royal commissioner dissolved it in the king's name, it continued its sittings, condemned the six spurious assemblies from 1606 to 1618, as well as the service-book, the book of canons, the book of ordination, and the court of high commission. It also excommunicated eight of the bishops, deposed the other six, and prohibited episcopacy and the articles of Perth. Though anxious to remain in Leuchars, Henderson was translated by this assembly to Edinburgh, and was inducted into the Greyfriars' Church on Jan. 10, 1639.

A *Remonstrance of the Nobility, etc.*, which Henderson drafted (1639), strongly impressed the English with the justice of the covenanted cause. He accompanied the Scotch army to Dunse Law, and took part in arranging the articles of peace at the Birks, near Berwick-on-Tweed, in June, 1639. Next year he was appointed rector of Edinburgh University. He gave it an immense stimulus, and is now regarded as the ablest educator and the man of clearest insight who had had to do with the university since its foundation. On the king refusing to carry out the stipulations of the pacification, denouncing the Covenanters as rebels, and preparing again to invade the country, the Scotch army entered England in Aug., 1640, and the king was fain to treat a second time. For this treaty Henderson, who had accompanied the army, was appointed a commissioner. While in London he wrote several pamphlets, held service according to the Scottish form, preached in St. Antholine's Church to crowded audiences, and heartily concurred with William Castell's petition to the English Parliament for propagating the Gospel in America as "most pious, Christian, and charitable." Toward the end of July, 1641, he returned to Edinburgh, and was chosen moderator of the assembly then sitting. The king having come to Scotland to preside in Parliament, Henderson was appointed royal chaplain and dean of the chapel royal, and Parliament unanimously declared that, in the matter of the recent treaty, he had proved a loyal subject to the king and a true patriot to his country. By his exertions the revenues of the bishopric at Edinburgh were secured for the university of that city, and probably he helped to secure for the University of St. Andrews the grant of the rents of the archbishopric and priory of St. Andrews, under certain reservations. In 1641, and again in 1644, Parliament appointed him as one of the commissioners to visit St. Andrews University; and he manifested his practical interest in that ancient seat of learning by giving a thousand pounds Scots for perfecting the building for its library. In Jan., 1642, he was translated to the East Kirk. As he was anxious to reconcile the king and the English Parliament, he was sent with the Scotch commissioners to Oxford. There he perceived that there was no hope of accommodation consistent with the liberties of England. On his return he had a conference with Montrose, and, seeing that he was determined to support the king, cautioned his friends against him. He was moderator of the general assembly in 1643, when commissioners were present from the English Parliament; and he drafted the Solemn League and Covenant (see COVENANTERS, § 4), which was cordially adopted by the Assembly and Convention of Estates. The assembly renewed the commission's appointment of members to assist at the Westminster Assembly. Henderson accordingly sailed from Leith for London on Aug 30. He addressed the English House of Commons and the Westminster Assembly, when met in St. Margaret's Church to swear the Solemn League and Covenant on Sept. 25. He was of great service in the Westminster Assembly, and often took a leading part in its debates. Early in 1645 he was appointed to assist the commissioners of both parliaments in their treaty with the king at Uxbridge. On this treaty being broken off without success, he returned to his duties at Westminster, though his health was now failing.

Negotiations with the English. The Westminster Assembly.

In the spring of 1646 the king threw himself into the Scottish army, who retired with him to Newcastle. The Independents were now supreme in the English army, which had crushed the royal forces; and the king's only hope lay in speedily coming to terms with the Presbyterians. He sent for Henderson as the fittest man to remove the difficulties of his mind. Though unfit for the journey, he complied, and reached Newcastle in May. But he soon found that there was little hope of Charles agreeing to abolish prelacy in England. It was arranged that the conscientious scruples of Charles should be discussed in a series of papers between him and Henderson. Of these there are eight, five being by the king. Henderson prepared four; but, perhaps to let the king have the last word, only three were published. The object of Charles seems to have been to gain time; and, as the discussion lasted fully six weeks, he was not altogether unsuccessful. As Henderson's health had grown much worse, he returned to Scotland, arriving in Edinburgh on Aug. 11, sick and exhausted. Eight days after his arrival he entered into his rest. He was undoubtedly, after Knox, the greatest of Scottish ecclesiastics, and has been held in universal honor for his tact, statesmanship, and patriotism, as well as for his attachment to the faith and polity of the Reformed Church.

Discussion with Charles I.

Most of the principal public papers of the Presbyterians from 1637 to 1646 were drafted or polished by Henderson. In 1641 he published *The Order and Government of the Church of Scotland. The Platform of the Presbyterian Government*, published by

authority in 1644, is substantially the same without the preface. He seems to have published a pamphlet against episcopacy, and another against Independency. Several of his sermons have been printed separately; and a volume of *Sermons, Prayers, and Pulpit Addresses*, from the notes of a hearer, was issued at Edinburgh in 1867. His speech before the Solemn League and Covenant was sworn at Westminster is in the Appendix to James Reid, *Memoirs of . . . those Eminent Divines who Convened in the Famous Assembly at Westminster* (2 vols., Paisley, 1811–15). The papers which passed between him and the king are in Aiton's Appendix (see Bibliography), and are printed with Charles's Works.

Writings.

D. Hay Fleming.

Bibliography: The best biography is by J. Aiton, *Life and Times of A. Henderson*, Edinburgh, 1836 (embodies original research into sources and contains documents). Consult further: Wodrow Society publications, *Wodrow's Correspondence*, ed. T. MacCrie, Edinburgh, 1842–43, and Wodrow's *Select Biographies*, ed. W. K. Tweedie, ib. 1845–47; T. MacCrie, *Life of A. Henderson*, ed. T. Thomson, Edinburgh, 1846; D. Neal, *Hist. of the Puritans*, ed. J. Toulmin, iii. 216–217, Bath, 1822; W. M. Hetherington, *Hist. of the Church of Scotland*, pp. 148–150, et passim, New York, 1881; *DNB*, xxv. 390–395 (where may be found a list of references).

HENDERSON, EBENEZER: Scotch linguist and missionary; b. in the parish of Dunfermline, Fifeshire, Nov. 17, 1784; d. at Mortlake (8 m. w.s.w. of London), Surrey, May 16, 1858. His parents were of humble station, and he enjoyed few educational advantages; nevertheless, in the midst of the duties of an active professional life, he acquired a knowledge of many languages, including not only Greek, Latin, French, German, Danish, and Swedish, but also—so it is said—Hebrew, Syriac, Ethiopic, Russian, Arabic, Tatar, Persian, Turkish, Armenian, Manchu, Mongolian, and Coptic. In 1803 he entered Robert Haldane's seminary in Edinburgh to study for the ministry. In 1805 he left Scotland in company with the Rev. John Patterson, with whom he continued to be associated in missionary labor and friendship for a great part of his life. His original destination was the East Indies; but difficulties connected with the existing policy of the East India Company led Henderson, who had gone to Denmark with the view of a passage to India in a Danish ship, to alter his plans, and devote his future labors mainly to the northern countries of Europe.

In Jan., 1806, he undertook a ministerial charge at Elsinore, Denmark, whence, in Sept., 1807, he removed to Gothenburg, in Sweden. In the following year he itinerated in Sweden, Lapland, and Finland, forming Bible societies in connection with the British and Foreign Bible Society. In 1811 through his influence, the first Swedish Congregational Church was formed. In 1812–13 his headquarters were at Copenhagen, where a Danish Bible Society was established and where his chief work was the superintendence of a translation of the New Testament into Icelandic. In 1814 he visited Iceland, distributed the newly printed Testaments, and preached in many parts of the island. In 1816 he went to St. Petersburg, and, under the auspices of the Czar, procured the printing of the Bible in ten dialects. In 1825, however, through the influence of the Greek Church, the work of the Bible Society was interdicted in Russia.

Henderson returned to England in 1825, and for the next twenty-five years devoted himself to the work of training others for the labors which had occupied him for the twenty years preceding. For five years he was theological tutor at Hoxton. In 1830 he was appointed to the theological lectureship at Highbury, where he also gave instruction in Oriental languages. In 1850 he retired on a pension, but continued to preach, particularly in the Independent Chapel at Mortlake, 1852–53. In addition to a number of popular reprints which appeared under his editorship, Henderson's literary works include: *Translation of Roos on the Prophecies of Daniel* (Edinburgh, 1811); *Two Dissertations on Hans Mikkelsen's* (Danish) *Translation of the New Testament* (Copenhagen, 1813); *Iceland, or the Journal of a Residence in that Isle in 1814, 1815* (Edinburgh, 1818); *Biblical Researches and Travels in Russia* (London, 1826); *The Great Mystery of Godliness* (1830); *An Appeal to the Members of the British and Foreign Bible Society* (1824); *The Turkish New Testament Incapable of Defence* (1825); *Divine Inspiration* (1836); *Translation of Isaiah, with Commentary* (1840); *Translation of Ezekiel* (1855); *Translation of Jeremiah and Lamentations* (1851); and *Translations of the Minor Prophets* (1845).

Henry Cowan.

Bibliography: Thalia S. Henderson (his daughter), *Memoir of Ebenezer Henderson*, London, 1859; *Bible of Every Land*, p. 216, ib. 1861; *DNB*, xxv. 398.

HENDRIX, EUGENE RUSSELL: Methodist Episcopal (South) bishop; b. at Fayette, Mo., May 17, 1847. He was graduated from Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. (B.A., 1867), and Union Theological Seminary (1869). He was then pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, at Leavenworth, Kan. (1869–70), Macon, Mo. (1870–1872), Francis Street, St. Joseph, Mo. (1872–76), and at Glasgow, Mo. (1877–78), and was president of Central College, Fayette, Mo. (1878–86). Since 1888 he has been a bishop of his denomination. He has been one of the managers of the Board of Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, since 1878, of the Board of Church Extension since 1886, and of the Board of Education since 1894. He was Cole Lecturer at Vanderbilt University in 1903, and Quillian Lecturer at Emory College in the same year. In theology he is a Wesleyan Arminian, and has written *Around the World* (Nashville, Tenn., 1877); *Skilled Labor for the Master* (1900); *Religion of the Incarnation* (1903); *Personality of the Holy Spirit* (1903); and *Religion of the Incarnation;* (1907).

HENGEL, WESSEL ALBERT VAN: One of the foremost Dutch exegetes of the school of Van Voorst; b. at Leyden Nov. 12, 1779; d. there Feb. 6, 1871. He received his education in his native city, and held pastorates at Kalslagen (1803–1805), Driehuizen (1805–10), and Grootebroek (1810–1815). In 1815 he was appointed professor of theology at the academy of Franeker, whence he was called, three years later, to a similar position in Amsterdam. In

1827 he became professor of theology at Leyden, where he resided until his death, although he was made professor emeritus in 1849. This period of retirement was the time of his ripest literary activity. He was a prolific writer both in Latin and in Dutch. His principal works are as follows: *Annotatio in loca nonnulla Novi Testamenti* (Amsterdam, 1824); *Institutio oratoris sacri* (Leyden, 1829), a handbook of homiletics; *Geschiedenis der zedelijke en godsdienstige beschaving van het hedendaagsche Europa* (3 vols., Amsterdam, 1831–44; 2d ed., Leyden, 1862–66); *Commentarius perpetuus in Epistolam Pauli ad Philippenses* (Leyden, 1838); *Keizer Hendrik de Derde* (1844); *Interpretatio Epistolæ Pauli ad Romanos* (2 vols., Bois-le-Duc, 1855–59); *De Testamenten der Twaalf Patriarchen op nieuw ter sprake gebragt* (Amsterdam, 1860); and *De gave der talen* (Leyden, 1864).

(C. Sepp†.)

HENGSTENBERG, ERNST WILHELM: German Protestant exegete; b. at Fröndenberg (a village of Westphalia, near Hamm, 22 m. n.n.w. of Arnsberg) Oct. 20, 1802; d. at Berlin May 28, 1869. He was a descendant of an old Westphalian patrician family of Dortmund, one in which the tradition of service in the ministry was very persistent. His health did not permit attendance at a public school, but he received so excellent a training from his father, who was a Lutheran clergyman of supranaturalistic views, that in 1819 he found himself qualified to enter the newly founded University of Bonn. Destined from early childhood for a theological career, he prepared himself by a thorough grounding in philology and philosophy. He studied Old Testament exegesis and church history under Freytag and Gieseler, passed through a complete course in classical philology, gave particular attention to the Aristotelian philosophy, but above all devoted himself to the study of Arabic. The results of his philosophical studies were embodied in a German translation of the metaphysics of Aristotle (Bonn, 1824), and of his Arabic studies in an edition of the *Moallakah of Amru'l'Kais* (Bonn, 1823), with the latter of which he obtained his doctorate. He was unable to enter on a course in theology on account of lack of means so, through the recommendation of Freytag, he became assistant to Stähelin at Basel, taking part there in the latter's Oriental investigations. The leisure there enjoyed gave him opportunity for serious study of the Scriptures.

Finding his theological views to be in accord with the Augsburg Confession, he decided to enter the Lutheran communion. In 1824 he went to Berlin as privat-docent, and in the following year took his baccalaureate in theology. His thesis embodied a defense of the truth of Protestantism and an earnest criticism of the rationalistic position, especially on Old Testament problems. As head of the seminar of Old Testament studies his activity and his reputation continued to increase, while as guide and counselor of the students who gathered around him he exercised a profound and beneficent influence that was inferior only to that of Tholuck, his lifelong friend. Other of his friends were August Neander, Friedrich Strauss, Theremin, and many of the younger clergymen of Berlin. His connection with these men and the growing vigor of his orthodoxy brought upon Hengstenberg the dislike of the authorities. In order to remove him from the sphere of his influence, the minister Von Altenstein repeatedly attempted to transfer him to another university under the guise of promotion, which attempts were frustrated by Hengstenberg's refusal to accept the offers made. In July, 1827, he became editor of the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, a medium through which he was to exercise a far wider and deeper influence on the religious life of his age than through his strictly academic labors.

His Work in Berlin.

Once convinced that his proper field lay in the career then opened for him, Hengstenberg entered with vigor on a task that he was to carry on under great discouragement for forty-two years. No man of our time has been exposed to more opposition and enmity, ridicule and slander, open and secret denunciation than the editor of the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*. "The opinion of the world during the last forty years has associated with Hengstenberg's name all that it finds condemnatory in the revival of a former faith—Pietism, a dead orthodoxy, obscurantism, fanaticism, Jesuitism, sympathy with every influence for retrogression" (Kahnis). Moreover, charges which were mutually contradictory were filed against him. To the impartial student these accusations will appear no more justified than to blame the policy of the *Kirchenzeitung* in changing its views and its attitude on many important ecclesiastical questions. That publication would never have accomplished its purpose as organ of the Evangelical Church if it had not accommodated its policy to the progress of religious development. However vacillating its position may have been on particular issues, Hengstenberg's organ remained steadfast in the pursuit of its great mission—the combating of the rationalistic spirit. It was not content to assail rationalism as an abstract system, but attacked its tendencies in whatever individual form it manifested itself, in concrete localities, personalities, and publications. Its quarrel was with all who assailed or denied the divinity of the Savior, exalted matter and the flesh, or paid undue worship to the human reason. Against error in its manifold forms it upheld the standard that the Church of all ages has upheld against error and recusancy—the word of God and the creed of the Church.

His Contest against Rationalism.

Of Hengstenberg's writings the *Christologie des Alten Testaments* (Berlin, 1829–35; Eng. transl., *The Christology of the Old Testament*, 4 vols., Edinburgh, 1854–58) contains his first contribution to the development of the theology of the older law. His avowed purpose was to create a line of defense against those who denied prophecy and miracle and to restore the Old Testament to its ancient and well-founded rights. The *Kommentar über die Psalmen* (4 vols., Berlin, 1842–47; Eng. transl., 3 vols., Edinburgh, 1845–48) adopts the methods of interpretation employed in the ancient Church and

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during the period of the Reformation. Minor exegetical works are *Geschichte Bileams und seine Weissagungen* (Berlin, 1842), *Hohelied Salomonis* (Berlin, 1853), *Prediger Salomo* (Berlin, 1858; Eng. transl., *Commentary on the Book of Ecclesiastes, to which are appended Treatises on the Song of Solomon, the Book of Job, the Prophet Isaiah, the Sacrifices of Holy Scripture, the Jews and the Christian Church*, Edinburgh, 1860), and *Weissagungen des Propheten Ezechiels* (Berlin, 1867–68; Eng. transl., *The Prophecies of Ezekiel*, Edinburgh, 1869). Allied with his studies in the Hebrew prophets are the *Offenbarung des heiligen Johannes* (2 vols., Berlin, 1849–51; Eng. transl., *The Revelation of St. John*, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1851–52), and *Evangelium des heiligen Johannes* (Berlin, 1861–64; Eng. transl., *Commentary on . . . John*, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1865). His *Beiträge zur Einleitung ins Alte Testament* (Berlin, 1831; Eng. transl., *Genuineness of the Pentateuch*, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1847; *Genuineness of Daniel and Integrity of Zechariah*, ib. 1848) examine critically the prophecies of Zechariah and Daniel and maintain the authenticity of the Pentateuch. Other writings are *Geschichte des Reiches Gottes unter dem Alten Bunde* (2 vols., Berlin, 1869–71; Eng. transl., *History of the Kingdom of God under the Old Testament*, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1871–72), *Ueber den Tag des Herrn* (Berlin, 1852; Eng. transl., *The Lord's Day*, Edinburgh, 1853), and *Die Opfer der heiligen Schrift* (Berlin, 1859). His *Egypt and the Books of Moses* appeared in Eng. transl., Edinburgh, 1843.

(J. Bachmann†.)

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HENHOEFER, hên''hŭf'er, **ALOYS**: German theologian; b. at Völkersbach (near Carlsruhe) July 11, 1789; d. at Spöck (near Carlsruhe) Dec. 5, 1862. He was born of Roman Catholic parents, and in 1811 entered the University of Freiburg, later attending the seminary at Meersburg, where he was ordained priest. After acting for three years as a private tutor, he was appointed to the parish of Mühlhausen in 1818. His sermons soon began to show a marked Evangelical tendency, deepened by his reading of Boos's pamphlet *Christus für uns und in uns*. Henhöfer made many enemies, however, and the episcopal vicar at Bruchsal requested him to vindicate himself. In reply he published his *Christliches Glaubensbekenntnis des Pfarrers Henhöfer von Mühlhausen* (Heidelberg, 1823), which caused his excommunication from the Roman Catholic Church. Together with many members of his former congregation, he joined the Evangelical Church, and was installed as pastor of Graben (near Carlsruhe) in 1823. Four years later he was appointed to the pastorate of Spöck, where he officiated for thirty-five years. Together with several young theologians, whom he had converted, he published a signed protest against a new catechism which had been introduced by the church authorities, which was characteristic of their lukewarm spirit. This pamphlet, published in 1830, and entitled *Der neue Landeskatechismus der evangelischen Kirche des Grossherzogtums Baden, geprüft nach der heiligen Schrift und den symbolischen Büchern*, became immensely popular, and gave rise to a lively controversy, in which even a Catholic clergyman took part, only to be refuted by Henhöfer in his *Biblische Lehre vom Heilswege und von der Kirche* (Speyer, 1832), while only the *Christliche Mitteilungen*, of which he was one of the founders, aided his Evangelical propaganda.

The French Revolution of 1830, and the inner disturbances which agitated Germany in 1848 and 1849, caused a religious upheaval in Baden in favor of liberalism, and Henhöfer was compelled to flee to Stuttgart. During the latter years of his life he published *Baden und seine Revolution. Ursache und Heilung* (anonymously); *Die wahre katholische Kirche und ihr Oberhaupt* (Heidelberg, 1845); *Das Abendmahl des Herrn oder die Messe, Christentum und Papsttum, Diamant oder Glas* (Stuttgart, 1852); *Die Christliche Kirche und die Concordat* (Carlsruhe, 1860); and *Der Kampf des Unglaubens mit Aberglauben und Glauben, ein Zeichen unserer Zeit* (Heidelberg, 1861).

(K. F. Ledderhose†.)

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HENKE, ERNST LUDWIG THEODOR: Professor of theology at Marburg; b. at Helmstedt Feb. 22, 1804; d. at Marburg Dec. 1, 1872. He was the youngest son of Heinrich Philipp Konrad Henke (q.v.), studied in Helmstedt, at the Collegium Carolinum in Brunswick, at Göttingen (1822–24), and at Jena. In 1826 he became privat-docent in Jena, lecturing on church history and the New Testament. In 1828 he was appointed professor at the Collegium Carolinum in Brunswick, where he lectured on theological encyclopedia, church history, isagogics, logic, and history of philosophy. In 1833 he became professor of exegesis and church history at Jena. In 1836 he removed to Wolfenbüttel as councilor of the consistory and director of the theological seminary; as a partial fulfilment of his duties here he lectured on Biblical theology and the epistles of Paul, and directed the practical exercises of the candidates for the ministerial office. In 1839 he followed a call to Marburg; he lectured on homiletics, liturgics, church history, history of dogma, Biblical theology, and propædeutics, assumed the leadership of the Homiletical Society, and in 1843 was entrusted with the superintendency of the Seminarium Philippinum; in 1848 he became also first librarian of the university library.

Henke's theology was the result of his comprehensive studies in church history and philosophy. He considered the dualism of faith and science an essential factor of the human mind; a higher unity

may be postulated, but it can not be realized. His broad theological views made it impossible for him to look with favor upon confessional particularism and Pietistic narrowness. He advocated the right of the Evangelical Union in the fullest and broadest sense. In religion, he maintained, love and gratitude toward Christ must find expression in different formulas according to the different states of religious knowledge. Owing to his consistent separation of religion and theology, he considered it the right and duty of science to test and change the transmitted systems of religion.

Henke's literary productions were numerous. The most important in the sphere of church history was *Georg Calixtus und seine Zeit* (2 vols., Halle, 1853–1860). He issued several addresses and memorials of deceased teachers and colleagues. The Evangelical Union was treated by him in *Das Verhältnis Luthers und Melanchthons zu einander* (Marburg, 1860). He also wrote *Das Unionskolloquium zu Kassel im Juli 1661* (1861); *Spener's pia desideria und ihre Erfüllung* (1862); *Schleiermacher und die Union* (1869). With his pupil Lindenthal he issued the first edition of Abelard's *Sic et Non* (1851), and he was a diligent contributor to the *Hallische Encyklopädie, Konversationslexicon der Gegenwart* and the first edition of the Herzog *Realencyklopädie*.

(W. J. Mangold†.)

Bibliography: W. J. Mangold, *E. L. T. Henke, ein Gedenkblatt*, Marburg, 1879; J. Günther, *Lebensskizzen der Professoren der Universität Jena*, pp. 37 sqq., Jena, 1858.

HENKE, hên'ke, HEINRICH PHILIPP KONRAD: Professor of theology at Helmstedt; b. at Hehlen (on the Weser, near Hameln), in Brunswick, July 3, 1752; d. at Helmstedt May 2, 1809. He attended school in Brunswick, and in 1772 entered the University of Helmstedt. In 1777 he became professor of philosophy, and lectured on the classics, history of literature and philosophy, logic and esthetics, devoting, however, some time also to instruction in theological branches. In 1780 he became professor of theology, in 1795 abbot of the monastery of Michaelstein, which had been transformed into an Evangelical seminary, in 1800 general superintendent, in 1803 abbot of Königslutter, and in 1804 vice-president of the consistory and superintendent of the Collegium Carolinum, without, however, interrupting his work as professor at Helmstedt.

Henke found his way to theology by his humanistic, philological, and philosophical studies. His aversion to orthodoxy, however, did not exclude the most faithful and vital reverence for Christ; he could not help acknowledging in the greatness and beauty of ancient philosophy and poetry traces and gifts of God. In the human history of Christ he saw his divinity and the deeds of him who had sent him. Thus he was inclined to trace the unevangelical disfigurement of original simplicity not only to the fourth and fifth centuries, but to much earlier phases of theological development. He wrote a church history (6 vols., Brunswick, 1799–1808). His dogmatics, *Lineamenta institutionum fidei Christianæ historico-criticarum* (Helmstedt, 1793), was written from the point of view of opposing the unpolluted Christianity of the earliest times to the whole later development of doctrine as a perversion of primitive faith. (E. Henke†.)

Bibliography: A life was written by two of his pupils, G. K. Bollmann and W. Wolff, Helmstedt, 1816, and a notice by his youngest son in Ersch and Gruber, II., v. 308–314.

HENOTICON, THE: The "decree of union" or "instrument of union," probably drawn up by Acacius, patriarch of Constantinople, and issued by the Emperor Zeno (482) for the purpose of reconciling the Monophysite and orthodox divisions of the Church. It satisfied neither party. In the East it was made obligatory on all bishops and teachers. In the West it was anathematized by Felix II., and a schism of forty years followed, until the death of Anastasius (518); his successor, Justin, belonged to the orthodox side and suffered the Henoticon to fall into disuse without formally repealing it. See Monophysites, § 6.

Bibliography: *KL*, v. 1770–74 (where the substance and part of the text is given in Latin); Neander, *Christian Church*, ii. 588–590, 592.

HENRICIANS: A name given to the followers of Henry of Lausanne (q.v.).

HENRIQUEZ, ān''rí''kês', HENRICUS: 1. Portuguese Jesuit; b. at Oporto 1536; d. at Tivoli (19 m. e.n.e. of Rome), Italy, Jan. 28, 1608. He entered the Society of Jesus at the age of sixteen, and taught with distinction at several Jesuit colleges, attaining the zenith of his fame at Salamanca. There he published, in 1590, his *De clavibus ecclesiæ*, which was condemned by the papal nuncio at Madrid for its anticurial tendencies. A still greater sensation was caused by his *Summa theologiæ moralis* (3 vols., Salamanca, 1591–93), a commentary on those portions of the *Summa* of Thomas Aquinas which treat of moral theology. In an excursus, *De fine hominum*, appended to the section on the Sacraments, Henriquez sharply attacked the doctrine of grace propounded by his fellow Jesuit Molina (q.v.). The violence of his polemic caused Aquaviva, then general of the Jesuits, to forbid him to write. Thereupon, he appealed to a general council, yet refused to obey its summons until, in 1594, he was carried forcibly to Rome. He was sentenced to leave the Jesuit order, but was allowed to become a Dominican. Nevertheless, after making his novitiate in the latter order, he returned to the Jesuits, among whom he spent the remainder of his life. In 1603 those sections of his *Summa* which discussed the Sacraments were placed upon the Index *donec corrigatur*. As a casuistic moralist, Henriquez contributed much to the probabilistic tradition of the Jesuits (see Probabilism), although he was free from any suspicion of laxity.

2. A second Jesuit Henricus Henriquez, older than the one just discussed, worked as a missionary in Portuguese India for thirty-four years, and died in 1600 after publishing a Malabar grammar and several religious works. (O. Zöckler†.)

Bibliography: N. Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana vetus*, i. 563, Rome, 1672; H. Hurter, *Nomenclator literarius recentioris theologiæ catholicæ*, i. 413, ii. 988, Innsbruck, 1881; F. Reusch, *Index der verbotenen Bücher*, ii. 309 sqq., Bonn, 1885; G. H. Putnam, *Censorship of the Church*, vol. ii., chap. ii., New York, 1906; *KL*, v. 1774–79.

HENRY IV.: King of France. See Huguenots, § 9.

HENRY OF CLAIRVAUX: Abbot of Clairvaux, cardinal bishop of Albano; b. at Marcy, near Cluny; d. at Arras Jan. 1, 1189. He joined the Cistercians at Clairvaux in 1156, and was made abbot of the monastery in 1176. He had already taken part in an undertaking against the Cathari (see NEW MANICHEANS, II.). In compliance with his request, he was called to attend the council of 1179, and against his expectation was made a cardinal there. He took part in 1181 in the campaign against the Cathari, in which the fortress Lavour was taken. Finally he was active in bringing about the third crusade. Through his efforts a reconciliation took place between the Emperor Frederick I. and Archbishop Philip of Cologne, as well as between the kings of England and France. At the "Tag Gottes," at Mainz in 1188, he finally induced the Emperor Frederick to take the cross. He did not live to see the beginning of the crusade. His importance in church history rests on the fact that he favored ardently the use of force and all worldly power to extirpate heresy, and helped to make them an essential factor in church policy.

S. M. DEUTSCH.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: His letters and fragments of a work are given in *MPL*, cciv. 215–402; other notices are found in the *Chronicon Claraevallense*, *MPL*, clxxxv. 1247–52. Consult: *Histoire littéraire de la France*, xiv. 451–462; H. Reuter, *Geschichte Alexanders III.*, vol. iii., Leipsic, 1864; W. von Giesebrecht, *Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, vols. v., vi., Brunswick, 1874; *KL*, v. 1701–03.

HENRY OF CLUNY. See HENRY OF LAUSANNE.

HENRY OF GHENT, (called in Latin, *Henricus a Gandavo, Henricus Gandavensis, Henricus Mudanus;* and sometimes *Hendrik Goethals*): Archdeacon of Tournai; b. at Mude (a village near Ghent) about 1217; d. either at Paris or at Tournai (35 m. s.w. of Ghent) 1293. In 1276 he was a famous teacher in Paris, where he held a disputation on *de quolibet*, and in 1277–78 he was archdeacon of Tournai. These are the only certain data concerning him, although medieval historians and Servite authors add many unauthentic details. It is not probable that he was a member of a mendicant order, since he sided with the secular clergy in the controversy concerning the right of these orders to hear confession. As shown by his works, the *Quodlibeta* and the *Summa theologiæ*, he was a realist and a Platonist, if such a statemen tmay be made of one who scarcely knew Plato in the original and thought that the tenets of Plato and Aristotle were essentially the same. Though ranked among the great scholastics and much read, he never founded a school.

(R. SCHMID.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Huet, *Recherches historiques sur la vie . . . de Henri de Gand . . .*, Ghent, 1838; K. Werner, *Heinrich von Gent, ein Repräsentant des christlichen Platonismus*, Vienna, 1878; F. Ehrle, in *Archiv für Litteratur und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, vol. i., 1885; H. Delehaye, *Nouvelles recherches sur Henri de Gand*, Ghent, 1886; A. Wauters, *Sur les documents apocryphes qui concernaient Henri de Gand*, Brussels, 1888.

HENRY OF HUNTINGDON: English historian; b. c. 1084; d. 1155. He was brought up in the household of Robert Bloet, bishop of Lincoln, and was made archdeacon of Huntingdon in 1109 or 1110. In 1139 he visited Rome with Archbishop Theobald. On his way he stopped at the monastery of Bec, making the acquaintance there of Robert de Monte (de Torigny), the Norman historian, who drew his attention to the *Historia Britonum* of Geoffrey of Monmouth. This circumstance, added to a request from Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, led him to write his well-known *Historia Anglorum*, covering the period from 55 B.C. to 1154 A.D. The work was first printed in H. Savile's *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores post Bedam* (London, 1596), reprinted at Frankfort in 1601, also in *MPL*, cxcv. 799–978, and edited by T. Arnold in the *Rolls Series* (London, 1879). An English translation by T. Forester will be found in Bohn's *Antiquarian Library*, vol. xxi. (London, 1853). A letter by Henry, *De contemptu mundi*, is reprinted in E. L. d'Achéry's *Spicilegium*, vol. iii. (Paris, 1723), pp. 503–507, in *MPL*, cxcv. 979–990, and in Arnold's edition of the history.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: T. D. Hardy, in the Introduction to the *Monumenta historica Britannica* (which contains his chronicles), London, 1848; T. Wright, *Biographia Britannica literaria*, ii. 167–173, ib. 1846; F. Liebermann, in *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, xviii (1878), 267–295; *DNB*, xxvi. 118–119.

HENRY OF KALKAR (HEINRICH AEGER or **EGER):** Carthusian; b. at Kalkar (55 m. n.w. of Düsseldorf) 1328; d. at Cologne Dec. 20, 1408. He studied theology and philosophy in Paris, and afterward received a canonical prebend on the St. George's foundation at Cologne and Kaiserswerth. In 1365 he resigned this position and entered the Carthusian Order at Cologne. On account of his erudition and earnest piety he was selected to direct sundry houses of the order, being prior at Munickhuizen, near Arnheim, 1367–72, at Roermund 1372–77, at Cologne 1377–84, and at Strasburg 1384–96. Because of bodily infirmity he then returned to the cloister in Cologne. For twenty years he was visitator of the order's Rhenish province, and five times he was definitor in its general chapter.

Henry was renowned as a fervent adorer of Mary, whom he extolled in poems, and whose rosary devotions he introduced far and wide. He had an exceptional influence upon the spiritual awakening and the conversion of Geert Groote (q.v.), the founder of Brothers of the Common Life, who spent considerable time with him. This accounts for the similarity in thought between Henry and Groote and his followers, and also for the fact that he has been thought the author of the *Imitatio* of Thomas à Kempis.

Henry's writings, often copied with those of the Brothers, particularly Thomas, have not yet been collected. They are: (1) *De ortu ac progressu* (or *decursu*) *ordinis Carthusiani* (1398); Hartzheim saw the original in the Cologne library (no. 117); a copy is also in the Darmstadt library (no. 819) and at Münster (no. 171); the chronicle no. 517 in Vienna is also doubtless the same work. (2) *Loquagium de rhetorica* for the Carthusians at Utrecht, where an extract is still preserved (mss. 251 *med. ævi eccles.*). (3) *Cantuagium de musica.* (4) *De continentiis et distinctione scientiarum.* (5) *Epistolæ variæ ad diversos.* (6) *Sermones capitulares breves; Epistolæ et sermones* in a manuscript of 1483, in the library at Münster (171). (7) *Scala spiritualis exercitii per modum orationis.* (8) *De holocausto quotidiano spiritualis exercitii* (found by De Vooys in Mainz). (9) *Liber exhortationis ad Petrum quendam Carthusiæ Confluentiæ religiosum.* (10) *Modus faciendi collationes more Carthusiano.* In print there are only: (1) *Psalterium seu rosarium*

B. Virginis, 150 dictiones in ejusdam laudem (Cologne, 1609; cf. also the little known poem printed by Acquoy). (2) A treatise found by T. A. Liebner in 1842 in a Quedlinburg manuscript and attributed by him to Thomas à Kempis, whose authorship was denied by Ullmann (*TSK*, 1843); other manuscripts are known, one of which (Brussels, no. 11889) bears the inept title *Speculum peccatorum*, added by a later hand; the best text on the basis of all manuscripts is given by Hirsche (pp. 482–504; cf. pp. 470 sqq.).

L. Schulze.

Bibliography: Thomas à Kempis, *Vita Gerhardi*, chap. iv., Eng. transl. by J. P. Arthur in *Founders of the New Devotion*, pp. 9–11, London, 1905; Trithemius, *De vir. ill.*, in J. A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Latina medii et infimæ ætatis*, iii. 665, Hamburg, 1746; V. Andreas, *Bibliotheca Belgica*, p. 356, Louvain, 1643; G. H. M. Delprat, *Verhandeling over de Brodershap van G. Groote*, p. 10, Utrecht, 1822; W. Moll, *Kerkgeschiedenis van Nederland*, ii. 2, pp. 119 sqq., Utrecht, 1871; J. G. R. Acquoy, *Het Klooster te Windesheim*, p. 23, Utrecht, 1875; K. Hirsche, *Prolegomena zu einer neuen Ausgabe der Imitatio Christi*, i. 514 sqq., Berlin, 1883; L. Schulze, in *ZKG*, vol. ix., 1886; *KL*, v. 1700–01.

HENRY OF LANGENSTEIN (*Henricus de Hassia*): Roman Catholic; b. near Langenstein, upper Hesse, c. 1340; d. at Vienna Feb. 11, 1397. He received his early education at Kirchhain, probably among the Carmelites, then entered the University of Paris, where, on completing his studies, he became professor of philosophy in 1363. He soon acquired fame as an astronomer and as an opponent of astrology. After 1375 he devoted himself entirely to theology, lecturing and writing on dogmatics, Biblical exegesis, and canon law. Early in 1383 he was compelled to leave Paris, because he, together with the best forces of the university, had declared himself in favor of Urban VI. against the French Pope Clement VII. He entered the Cistercian monastery at Eberbach-on-the-Rhine, but later in the same year accepted a call to the University of Vienna, becoming rector of the university in 1394. He has been celebrated as a prophet of the Reformation, but he has no claim to that distinction. His chief work is the *Epistola concilii pacis* (in H. von der Hardt's *Magnum œcumenicum Constantiense*, ii. 1, 3–60, 6 vols., Leipsic, 1697–1700), written in 1381 with reference to the papal schism and emphasizing the necessity of a general council. (B. Bess.)

Bibliography: His *Epistola de cathedra Petri*, and *Invectiva contra monstrum Babylonis* are in A. Kneer, *Die Entstehung der konziliaren Theorie*, pp. 127–129, 134–145, cf. 103 sqq., 130–134, Rome, 1893; his *Epistola de oblatu episcopatu Osiliensi* was published at Helmstädt, 1715; his *Epistola pacis* was also reprinted at the same place, 1779; and his *Liber adversus Telesphori . . . vaticinia* is in B. Pez, *Thesaurus anecdotorum*, i. 2, pp. 507–566, Augsburg, 1721. The one book to consult is O. Hartwig, *Leben und Schriften Heinrichs von Langenstein*, Marburg, 1858. Consult further: Kneer, ut sup.; *Auctarium chartularii Universitatis Parisiensis*, ed. H. Denifle and Æ. Chatelain, vol. i., Paris, 1894; *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, same editors, vol. iii., ib. 1894; P. Féret, *La Faculté de théologie de Paris*, iii. 263 sqq., ib. 1896; Pastor, *Popes*, i., passim, consult index under Langenstein.

HENRY OF LAUSANNE: An itinerant preacher of France of the first half of the twelfth century; d. after 1145. From contemporary accounts preserved by his enemies it appears that he was not a native of France. He was a man of deep learning and extraordinary oratorical powers; the tradition that he had been a member of the congregation of Cluny (whence he has been called Henry of Cluny) has not been substantiated. According to his opponents, he left the cloister because of gross irregularities in conduct, but there is as little foundation for this report as for the Protestant statement that he was moved to the step by the corruption of monastic life. As a matter of fact, his life was that of an ascetic outside of the cloister, and he remained true to the tenets of medieval faith. In 1101 he made his appearance in Le Mans and from Bishop Hildebert obtained permission to preach. The influence he exerted on his auditors was tremendous. The charge that he attacked the faith of the Church is justified only to the extent that he found the only basis for the sanctity of the priesthood and the validity of the sacraments in purity of action and sincerity of repentance and belief. At the order of Hildebert he left Le Mans and passed by way of Poitiers and Bordeaux into Provence, where he seems to have preached in conjunction with Peter of Bruys (q.v.). In 1135 he was arrested by the archbishop of Arles and brought before the Synod of Pisa, which probably refused to condemn him as a heretic, but attempted to put an end to his public work by ordering him to enter a cloister. Despatched with a letter to Bernard at Clairvaux, he must have remained there for a brief time only, if at all, and returned to his mission work in the south of France. Döllinger's supposition that Henry was imbued with Manichean doctrines is based on an unjustifiable interpretation of the account of Peter the Venerable. For ten years Henry pursued his work without molestation, but in 1145, at the instance of the papal legate Alberic, Bernard of Clairvaux was sent to the south to combat his teachings. Henry was arrested, and died probably soon after. (A. Hauck.)

Bibliography: Sources are Bernard of Clairvaux, *Epist.*, 241–242, in his *Opera*, ed. J. Mabillon, i. 199 sqq., Paris, 1667; Gaufrid of Clairvaux, *Epist.*, 5, in *MPL*, clxxxv. 412; *Vita Bernhardi*, iii. 16–19; idem, 312 sqq.; the *Exordium magnum*, xvii., idem, pp. 427–428; *Acta episcoporum Cenomanensium*, in J. Mabillon, *Vetera analecta*, Paris, 1723. Consult: A. Neander, *Der heilige Bernhard und sein Zeitalter*, with additions by Deutsch, Gotha, 1889; C. N. Hahn, *Geschichte der Ketzer im Mittelalter*, Stuttgart, 1845; J. J. I. von Döllinger, *Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte*, i. 75 sqq., Munich, 1889; E. Vacandard, *Vie de S. Bernard*, ii. 217 sqq., Paris, 1895; and the literature under Bernard of Clairvaux.

HENRY OF NOERDLINGEN, nūrt'ling-en: German mystic of the fourteenth century. His comprehensive correspondence with Margareta Ebner (q.v.), a nun in the Dominican convent of Maria Medingen, near Dillingen, and his confessant, extending from 1332 to 1350, throws valuable light upon the mystical life of the time and is the principal source for Henry's life. About 1332 he is found in Nördlingen (in Bavaria, 50 m. s.w. of Nuremberg), his native town, as secular priest and spiritual adviser and leader of mystical souls, surrounded by pious women, mostly of the nobility, to whom his mother belonged. It was his desire to lead as many women as possible to the "Common Life" and associate them in a large mystical union. On account of the strained relations between the pope and Emperor Louis, Henry, as a faithful son of the Church, had to leave his native country. He wandered aimlessly about until he finally settled

at Basel, in 1339, where Tauler took care of him. Here he preached daily, often twice a day, with extraordinary success. In 1346 and 1347 he was in Cologne, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Bamberg, collecting relics, and in 1348 or 1349 he went to Sulz, in Alsace, to live in solitude. In 1349 he is found again wandering from place to place and preaching. In 1350 he returned to his native country. After the death of Margareta Ebner (1351), whom he had frequently visited, he resumed his wandering life. The time and place of his death are not known. His correspondence with Margareta Ebner is the oldest collection of letters in the German language that has been preserved, and is a valuable storehouse of information for the history of culture. In 1344 Henry translated the Low German "Revelations" of Matilda of Magdeburg (q.v.) into High German. From his intercourse with mystics he appropriated a mystical method of preaching, which found applause because mysticism was fashionable at the time, especially among women, and it was chiefly to them that his pious, childlike heart and his amiable character appealed.

(Philipp Strauch.)

Bibliography: P. Strauch, *Margareta Ebner und Heinrich von Nördlingen*, Freiburg, 1882; W. Preger, *Geschichte der deutschen Mystik*, ii. 277 sqq., 289 sqq., Leipsic, 1881; R. A. Vaughan, *Hours with the Mystics*, i. 216–217, 8th ed., London, n.d.

HENRY OF ZUETPHEN. See Moller, Heinrich.

HENRY, JOHN EDGAR: Irish Presbyterian; b. at Ballyward (10 m. s.e. of Banbridge), County Down, Feb. 18, 1841. He was educated at Queen's College, Belfast (B.A., Queen's University, 1862; M.A., 1864), and was minister of his denomination at Ardstraw, in the presbytery of Strabane (1865–1879), Canterbury (1880–82), and the Second Presbyterian Church, Derry (1883–90). Since 1890 he has been professor of church history at Magee College, Londonderry. He was Smyth lecturer in the same institution in 1892 and Cavey lecturer there in 1896. In doctrine he is a sublapsarian Calvinist, in church government a Presbyterian, and in worship Puritanical, but moderately liberal, while in regard to the results of the newer critical school he is conservative. Besides his commentaries on Amos and Jonah in *The Pulpit Commentary* (2 vols., London, 1893), he has written *The Plan of the House*, a catechism of church government and worship (Belfast, 1874).

HENRY, PAUL EMIL: German clergyman of the French Reformed Church; b. at Potsdam Mar. 22, 1792; d. in Berlin Nov. 24, 1853. He was of French descent, and studied at the French College in Berlin. He was for many years pastor of the French Church in Berlin, and director of the French Seminary there. He published *Das Leben Johann Calvin's* (3 vols., Hamburg, 1835–44; Eng. transl., 2 vols., London, 1849); and also a German translation of the Confession of Faith of the French Reformed Church (Berlin, 1845).

HENRY, MATTHEW: Non-conformist minister and commentator; b. at Broad Oak, near Bangor-Iscoed, Flintshire, Wales, Oct. 18, 1662; d. at Nantwich (17 m. s.e. of Chester), Cheshire, June 22, 1714. He was educated privately at the home of his father, the Rev. Philip Henry (q.v.), and at the academy of Thomas Doolittle, Islington, which he attended 1680–82. In May, 1685, he began the study of law at Gray's Inn; but he already desired to enter the ministry, and devoted much time to theological studies. In June, 1686, he began to preach in the neighborhood of Broad Oak, and in the following January he preached privately in Chester. He was asked to settle there, and consented conditionally, but returned to Gray's Inn. After the declaration of liberty of conscience by James II. in 1687, he was privately ordained in London, and on June 2, 1687, he began his regular ministry as pastor of a Presbyterian congregation at Chester. He remained in this charge for twenty-five years. After having several times declined overtures from London congregations, he finally accepted a call to Hackney, London, and entered upon his ministry there May 18, 1712. He visited Chester for the last time in May, 1714. On his return journey he was seized with apoplexy, and died at Nantwich.

Henry's reputation rests upon his celebrated commentary, *An Exposition of the Old and New Testaments* (5 vols., London, 1708–10; afterward enlarged and often reprinted; new ed., 5 vols., New York, 1896). He lived to complete it only as far as to the end of the Acts; but after his death certain non-conformists prepared the Epistles and Revelation from Henry's manuscripts. This work was long celebrated as the best of English commentaries for devotional purposes. The author betrays a remarkable fertility of practical suggestion; and, although the work is diffuse, it contains rich stores of truths, which hold the attention by their quaint freshness and aptness, and feed the spiritual life by their Scriptural unction. It has no critical value; and Henry in the preface expressly says that, in this department, he leaves the reader to Poole's *Synopsis*. Robert Hall, Whitefield, and Spurgeon used the work, and commended it heartily. Whitefield read it through four times, the last time on his knees; and Spurgeon says (*Commenting and Commentaries*, p. 3): "Every minister ought to read it entirely and carefully through once at least."

Other works by Henry are *Memoirs of . . . Philip Henry* (1696); *A Scripture Catechism* (1702); *A Plain Catechism* (1702); *The Communicant's Companion* (1704); *A Method for Prayer* (1710); and numerous sermons, which are included in his *Miscellaneous Works* (1809; ed. Sir J. B. Williams, 1830; also 2 vols., New York, 1855, containing funeral sermons by Daniel Williams, John Reynolds, and William Tong).

Bibliography: W. Tong, *An Account of the Life and Death of Matthew Henry*, London, 1716; J. B. Williams, *Memoirs of Matthew Henry*, ib. 1850 (uses Henry's diaries); C. Chapman, *Matthew Henry, his Life and Times*, ib. 1859; A. B. Grosart, *Representative Nonconformists*, ib. 1879; *DNB*, xxvi. 123–124.

HENRY, PHILIP: English non-conformist; b. at Whitehall, London, Aug. 24, 1631; d. at Broad Oak, near Bangor-Iscoed, Wales, June 24, 1696. He studied at Westminster School, and at Christ Church, Oxford (B.A., 1649; M.A., 1652). In 1653 he went to Flintshire, North Wales, as tutor to the sons

of John Puleston at Emral and preacher at Worthenbury Chapel, in the parish of Bangor-Iscoed. He was ordained in 1657 and presented with the donative of Worthenbury in 1658. For refusing to subscribe to the Act of Uniformity (see UNIFORMITY, ACTS OF) he was ejected from his living in 1662; and in 1665 he was driven from his home by the Five Mile Act (q.v.) and forced to seek safety in concealment. He did not resume his regular ministry till the indulgence of 1672. For keeping conventicles he was fined in 1681; and during the Monmouth rebellion he was imprisoned in Chester Castle for three weeks. After the proclamation of liberty of conscience by James II. in 1687, he preached daily at Broad Oak, Flintshire, the country estate of his wife, and at various places in the neighborhood. Nothing was published by Henry himself, but from his manuscripts several volumes have been edited which throw light on the inner life of early non-conformity. These are: *Eighteen Sermons* (London, 1816); *Skeletons of Sermons* (1834); *Exposition . . . upon . . . Genesis* (1839); *Remains* (1848); and *Diaries and Letters*, ed. M. H. Lee (1882). He was the father of Matthew Henry (q.v.), the commentator.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The best source apart from the *Diaries and Letters*, ut sup., is the *Memoirs*, by his son Matthew Henry, London, 1696, corrected and enlarged by J. B. Williams, ib. 1825; *DNB*, xxvi. 124–126.

HENSCHEN, GOTTFRIED: The first pupil and collaborator of Bolland in the great work of his *Acta Sanctorum* (see BOLLAND, JAN, BOLLANDISTS); b. at Venray (22 m. n. of Roermond), Holland, Jan. 21, 1600; d. at Antwerp Sept. 11, 1681. He entered the Jesuit order at Mechlin in 1619, taught Latin and Greek in various Flemish schools, and was preparing to go as a missionary to the North when, in 1635, Bolland asked for help in his task. Henschen was chosen as the most suitable man, and so far justified the choice that he may almost be called the creator of the *Acta Sanctorum Bollandistarum* in its present shape; Bolland's plan contemplated little more than an expansion of the collection of Surius, but Henschen's scholarly influence induced him to add the learned critical dissertations which constitute the special value of the work.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: See the literature under ACTA MARTYRUM, ACTA SANCTORUM, and consult *KL*, v. 1780–81.

HENSON, HERBERT HENSLEY: Church of England; b. at London Nov. 8, 1863. He studied at Oxford (B.A., 1884; fellow of All Souls, 1884–91; reelected in 1896). He was ordained priest in 1888, and was head of the Oxford House, Bethnal Green (1887–88), vicar of Barking, Essex (1888–95), and incumbent of St. Mary's Hospital, Ilford (1895–1900). Since 1900 he has been canon of Westminster and rector of St. Margaret's. He was also select preacher at Oxford in 1895–96 and Cambridge in 1901, as well as chaplain to the bishop of St. Alban's from 1897 to 1900. Since 1903 he has been proctor in convocation and almoner of Christ's Hospital. In addition to editing *Church Problems* (London, 1900), he has written *Light and Leaven* (London, 1897); *Apostolic Christianity* (1898); *Discipline, Law* (1898); *Cui Bono? An Open Letter to Lord Halifax* (1899); *Ad Rem: Thoughts on the Crisis in the Church* (1900); *Godly Unity and Concord* (1902); *Cross Bench Views of Current Church Questions* (1902); *Preaching to the Times* (1903); *English Religion in the Seventeenth Century* (1903); *The Value of the Bible and Other Sermons* (1904); *Thoughts on Popular Rationalism* (1904); *Moral Discipline in the Christian Church* (1905); *Religion in Schools* (1906); *Christian Marriage* (1907); and *The National Church: Essays on its Hist. and Constitution* (1908).

HENSON, POINDEXTER SMITH: Baptist; b. at Fork Union, Va., Dec. 7, 1831. He was graduated from Richmond College, Richmond, Va., in 1849, and from the University of Virginia two years later. He was principal of the Classical Institute at Milton, N. C. (1851–53), and professor of natural science at Chowan Female College, Murfreesborough, N. C. (1853–55). After being pastor of the Baptist Church at Fluvanna, Va. (1855–60), he was pastor of Broad Street Baptist Church, Philadelphia (1860–67), of Memorial Church in the same city (1867–82), of the First Baptist Church, Chicago (1882–1901), of the Hanson Place Baptist Church, Brooklyn (1901–03), and of Tremont Temple, Boston, since 1903. Since 1870 he has been editor of *The Baptist Teacher*.

HEPBURN, JAMES CURTIS: Presbyterian; b. at Milton, Pa., Mar. 13, 1815. He was educated at Princeton (B.A., 1832) and the University of Pennsylvania (M.D., 1836), and in 1840 went to China as a medical missionary, being at Singapore from 1841 to 1843, and at Amoy from 1843 to 1846. He then resided in New York until 1859, when he went to Japan, residing at Yokohama until 1892. In 1893 he returned to the United States, and retired from active life. He became a member of the American Geographical Society in 1859, and of the American Bible Society in 1881, and in 1905 received the decoration of the Order of the Rising Sun, third class, from the Emperor of Japan. He has written *Japanese and English Dictionary* (Shanghai, 1867; abridged ed., 1873), and a Bible dictionary in Japanese (Yokohama, 1889), besides preparing Japanese translations of the Westminster Confession, the Shorter Catechism, the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed. He also contributed to the translation of the Bible into Japanese, having taken up the study of Hebrew in order to qualify himself for the work.

HEPPE, HEINRICH LUDWIG JULIUS: German Reformed; b. in Cassel Mar. 30, 1820; d. at Marburg July 25, 1879. He studied at Marburg 1839–1843, became privat-docent there 1844, extraordinary professor of theology 1850, and ordinary professor 1864. He is known chiefly as a church historian, and his productive activity in this field began with studies in local history. While serving as pastor at Cassel (1845–48), he was moved by the wealth of electoral Hesse's private and public archives to work over the ecclesiastical past of his more immediate neighborhood, and published *Die Geschichte der hessischen Generalsynoden von 1568–1582* (2 vols., Cassel, 1847). In 1849 appeared *Die Einführung der Verbesserungspunkte in Hessen von 1604–1610.*

As characteristic of the German Reformed Church, he notes (1) the absolute authority of the divine word of Scripture over every ecclesiastical institution; and (2) the Melanchthonian-Calvinistic doctrine of the Lord's Supper. The Lutheranism of the Formula of Concord is thus decidedly rejected.

Heppe treated the same theme in a series of greater and lesser writings, particularly in his *Geschichte des deutschen Protestantismus in den Jahren 1555–1581* (4 vols., Marburg, 1853–59), and his *Dogmatik des deutschen Protestantismus im 16. Jahrhundert* (3 vols., Gotha, 1857). In this connection occurred, in the years after 1850, the vehement controversy between Heppe and A. F. C. Vilmar (q.v.), consistorial councilor at Cassel, over the confessional character of the Church of Electoral Hesse. Vilmar asserted that the Church of Hesse was originally Lutheran, and was so still, even though it regarded itself as Reformed, and was thus regarded. The two disputants came to an open feud when Vilmar sought to introduce his theory into the practical life of the Church. Some twenty tracts in rapid succession bear witness to the bitterness of the dispute.

Heppe also published an important *Geschichte des deutschen Volksschulwesens* (5 vols., Gotha, 1857–59). Church history, however, was the proper field of his scholastic labor. His *Kirchengeschichte beider Hessen* (2 vols., Marburg, 1876–78) was the most favorably received of his works, and is not only an excellent historical study, but also a work of piety toward his much-loved Hessian country. Lastly, he gave attention to two peculiar manifestations of devotion —Quietistic mysticism in the Roman Church, and Pietism in the Reformed Church, especially of the Netherlands. The central figure of his *Geschichte der quietistischen Mystik in der katholischen Kirche* (Berlin, 1875) is Madame Guyon, whom he had originally intended to treat in a monograph. By this work Heppe brought to light a domain of church history which till then had lain wholly in the dark. At the close he speaks of similar manifestations in the Evangelical Church, of Labadism and Pietism in the Netherlandish Church, and thus prepares the way for his *Geschichte des Pietismus und der Mystik in der reformierten Kirche, namentlich der Niederlande* (Leyden, 1879). Heppe's literary activity is the more praiseworthy in that, as university instructor, he occupied the field of systematic theology and delivered carefully elaborated lectures. His lectures on ethics were issued by the writer of this article after Heppe's death (Elberfeld, 1882), and were also translated into Dutch. Heppe likewise took an active part in the practical tasks of the Church, and promoted the founding of a Hessian deaconesses' house, which now exists in Cassel in great prosperity. A. Kuhnert.

Bibliography: Wolff and Ranke, *Zur Erinnerung an H. Heppe*, Marburg, 1879; Supplement to *Augsburg. Allgemeine Zeitung*, no. 226, 1879; *Annalen der Universität Marburg*, Marburg, 1879.

HERACLAS: Bishop of Alexandria from 231 or 232 to 247 or 248. There is no reason to suppose that he was an author, but his successor, Dionysius, cites a canon of "our blessed father Heraclas." The Copto-Arabic *Synaxarium* (ed. F. Wüstenfeld, ii., Gotha, 1879, p. 160) says that he was the son of pagan parents, who had him taught the ancient philosophy, and after their conversion, the Christian also; that he was ordained priest by the holy Demetrius, whose successor he became; that he converted many pagans, and chose Dionysius to assist him in administration, keeping the teaching office to himself. Origen (in Eusebius, *Hist eccl.*, VI., xix. 13) justifies his own interest in profane learning by the example of Pantænus and Heraclas, "who is now a member of the presbyterium at Alexandria. I found him with the teacher of philosophical learning [Ammonius], with whom he had already continued five years before I began to hear lectures on those subjects"—so that Heraclas must have been born not long after 170. Origen himself made such an impression upon Heraclas that he and his brother were among the first auditors of the youthful teacher. At this time he became a Christian, and soon distinguished himself as a theologian. Origen entrusted to him the direction of the preparatory department of the catechetical shool. He refused to support Origen in his contest with Demetrius, and after he went to Cæsarea succeeded him as head of the school, and about a year later became bishop of Alexandria. When Origen returned to Egypt, Heraclas excommunicated him once more, and deposed Bishop Ammonius of Themuis because he allowed him to preach in his church. Probably until the beginning of the third century the bishop of Alexandria was the only bishop in Egypt. Eutychius of Alexandria (q.v.) says (i. 332) that Demetrius consecrated three others and Heraclas twenty, and that he was the first to be called patriarch.

(Adolf Harnack.)

Bibliography: *ASB*, July, iii. 645–647; M. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, ii. 392, Paris, 1740; Harnack, *Geschichte*, i. 332, ii. 2, pp. 24–25 et passim; Neander, *Christian Church*, i. 698, 700, 712; *DNB*, ii. 897.

HERACLEON. See Valentinus and His School.

HERACLITUS, her″ą-clai′tus: According to Eusebius (*Hist eccl.*, v. 27), the author of a lost work "On the Apostle" (probably a commentary on Paul's epistles), and a contemporary of Commodus.

Bibliography: Harnack, *Litteratur*, i. 758–759, ii. 1, p. 701; Krüger, *History*, p. 224.

HERBELOT, ār″blō′, DE MOLAINVILLE, BARTHÉLEMY D': French Orientalist; b. in Paris Dec. 4, 1625; d. there Dec. 8, 1695. He studied at the University of Paris, where he devoted himself particularly to Oriental languages. Subsequently he spent a year and a half in Italy, going there to establish relations with people from the Orient. On his return to France he received the patronage of Fouquet and a pension of 1,500 livres. Of this last, however, he was deprived on the fall of his patron in 1661, but was then appointed secretary and interpreter of Oriental languages to the king. On a second visit to Italy in 1666, Ferdinand II. of Tuscany presented him with many valuable Eastern manuscripts, and sought to retain him at his court. Recalled to Paris by Colbert, he was granted a pension by Louis XIV.; and in 1692 he was appointed the successor of J. d'Auvergne in the chair

of Syriac at the Collège Royal. His life was spent chiefly in the preparation of his well-known *Bibliothèque orientale, ou dictionnaire universel contenant généralement tout ce qui regarde la connoissance des peuples de l'Orient* (ed. A. Galland, Paris, 1697; reprinted, Maestricht, 1776 [supplement, 1780]; Germ. transl., 4 vols., Halle, 1785–90; best ed., 4 vols., The Hague, 1777–79). The work is mainly an abridged translation of the immense Arabic encyclopedia of Hajji Khalfa, but it also contains the substance of other compilations and manuscripts. Despite occasional inaccuracies and inconsistencies, it has proved an invaluable storehouse of Oriental learning, and remains till to-day the only work of the kind in this field. The Hague edition contains a supplement by A. Galland and C. de Visdelou, together with additional notes by H. A. Schultens and J. J. Reiske. A less desirable edition is the abridgment of M. Desessarts (6 vols., Paris, 1781–1783).

Bibliography: C. Perrault, *Les Hommes illustres*, vol. ii., Paris, 1700; C. Arcillon, *Mémoires concernant les vies . . . de . . . modernes célèbres*, p. 134, Amsterdam, 1709; Nicéron, *Mémoires*, vol. iv.; Lichtenberger, *ESR*, vi. 186–187.

HERBEN, STEPHEN JOSEPH: Methodist Episcopalian; b. at London May 11, 1861. He emigrated to the United States in childhood, and was graduated at Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill., in 1889, and Garrett Biblical Institute, Chicago, in 1891. In the latter year he was ordained to the Methodist Episcopal ministry, and was assistant editor of the *Epworth Herald* from 1890 to 1895, and of the *Christian Advocate* from 1895 to 1904. Since the latter year he has been editor of the *Epworth Herald*.

HERBERGEN ZUR HEIMAT: The name given in Germany to certain inns or lodging-houses (*Herbergen*) intended primarily for wandering artisans, and combining the comforts of the ordinary hostelry with the advantages of a refined and religious atmosphere. The founder of the system was Clemens Theodor Perthes (1809–67), professor of jurisprudence at the University of Bonn, and son of F. C. Perthes, the celebrated publisher of Hamburg and Gotha. The need of amelioration in the condition of the wandering youth among the German working classes had long been recognized, and as early as the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century some attempts in that direction were made, chiefly through the publication of new guide-books for the use of traveling journeymen. Johann Heinrich Wichern (q.v.) had discerned in the class of itinerant workingmen a dangerous means for the dissemination of communistic ideas. There existed in 1854, when Perthes first began his work, so-called "Pilgrims' Houses" in a few of the larger cities, but these failed to reach the great mass of young men. The first *Herberge zur Heimat* was opened at Bonn in May, 1854, and such wise foresight did Perthes display in formulating his scheme that at the present day, when the number of workingmen's inns has risen to about 500, the same principles control that he advanced in his classic work on the subject (*Das Herbergswesen der Handwerksgesellen*, Gotha, 1856; 2d ed., 1883).

The *Herbergen* are primarily public inns in that they are supplied with all the comforts to be found in such institutions, and are quite free from the suggestion of charity; expenses must be met by income, and only the funds necessary for the establishment of new houses are derived from free gifts. The *Herbergen* are conducted in a spirit of strict Christian decency; the use of intoxicating liquors, gaming, and excess of all kinds are prohibited. Each house is under the management of a *Hausvater*, who receives a fixed salary, and thus is free from temptation to advance his personal welfare at the expense of his guests. Morning and evening prayers are held by the *Hausvater*, at which the guests are invited to be present, but attendance is voluntary. A broader spirit than that which prevailed during the first period of the system animated the management of the *Herbergen* during the last twenty years of the nineteenth century, the inevitable result of the great process of transformation from agriculture and home production to highly developed industry and commercialism that began in Germany after the war with France. With the influx of hordes of workingmen into the cities the old familiar relationship between *Hausvater* and guests became impossible; yet the old spiritual influence has not been abandoned. For the harmonious coordination of effort, provincial *Herbergen* associations as well as a national society have been organized.

(Theodor Schäfer.)

Bibliography: Besides the work of Perthes named in the text, consult: G. Augener, *Die Herbergen zur Heimat und die Vereinshäuser in ihrer socialen Bedeutung für die Gegenwart*, Bielefeld, 1869; H. Rathmann, *Die Herberge zur Heimat nach ihrer bisherigen Entwickelung*, Hamburg, 1876; H. Häpe, *Die Herberge zur Heimat*, in *Kleine Bibliothek für innere Mission*, parts ix.–x., Leipsic, 1879; H. Cuno, *Die Herberge zur Heimat, Bau und Einrichtung*, Leipsic, 1883; *Die Herbergen zur Heimat, Denkschrift des Central-Ausschusses für innere Mission*, Berlin, 1888. Much material on the subject may be found in the periodical *Die Arbeiterkolonie*, 1884–96, succeeded by *Der Wanderer*, 1897 sqq.

HERBERGER, VALERIUS: Lutheran preacher; b. at Fraustadt (50 m. s.s.w. of Posen) Apr. 21, 1562; d. there May 18, 1627. He studied for three years at Freistadt in Silesia, and then entered the University of Frankfort-on-the-Oder, and in 1582 that of Leipsic. In 1584 he became a teacher in his native city, in 1590 deacon, and in 1599 pastor, in which office he was very successful under great difficulties. When Sigismund III., a pupil of the Jesuits, ordered his congregation to cede their house of worship to the Roman Catholics, Herberger acquired two private residences, which he gradually transformed into a church. In 1613 a pestilence broke out at Fraustadt. Herberger performed his pastoral duties with undaunted faithfulness, and in these anxious days composed his only song, which has found a place in all Evangelical hymn-books, "*Valet will ich dir geben, du arge falsche Welt*" ("O world, so vain, I leave thee"). He was a fertile writer. His most comprehensive work is *Magnalia Dei de Jesu scripturæ nucleo et medulla* (12 parts, 1601–18), meditations on the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, and Ruth, intended to emphasize the revela-

tion of Christ in the Old Testament. Herberger also wrote commentaries on Rev. xxi.–xxii. and published them as *Himmlisches Jerusalem* (1609). Of his collections of sermons may be mentioned *Passionszeiger* (1611), *Trauerbinden* or funeral sermons (7 vols., 1611–21), *Evangelische Herzpostille* (1613). After his death appeared *Epistolische Herzpostille, 97 Predigten über Jesus Sirach,* and *Stoppelpostille* (sermons on various texts). Several of his works were reprinted in the nineteenth century. (FERDINAND COHRS.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. F. Lauterbach, *Vita, fama et fata Valerii Herbergerii,* Leipsic, 1708 (the basis of numerous popular accounts); A. Henschel, *Val. Herberger,* Halle, 1889; *ADB,* vol. xii. The volume of selected sermons, ed. Orphal, Leipsic, 1892, contains a biographical introduction.

HERBERT, EDWARD (Lord Herbert of Cherbury). See DEISM, I., § 1.

HERBERT, GEORGE: English poet; b. at Montgomery, Wales, Apr. 3, 1593; d. at Bemerton (2 m. w. of Salisbury), Wiltshire, Feb., 1633 (buried Mar. 3). He was a brother of Lord Herbert of Cherbury. At the age of twelve he was sent to Westminster School, and subsequently to Trinity College, Cambridge (B.A., 1613; M.A., 1616). Here his accomplishments secured him a fellowship in 1616, and the public oratorship of the university in 1619, a position which he resigned in 1627. As university orator he came into close contact with the king, and spent much time at court, hoping to obtain preferment in the service of the State. Among his friends were Francis Bacon, Sir Henry Wotton, Izaak Walton, John Donne, and Bishop Andrewes. On the death of James I. in 1625, he withdrew from court life and retired to the home of a friend in Kent to study theology. The following year he was ordained deacon and presented to the prebend of Layton Ecclesia, Huntingdonshire, to which was attached an estate, with a dilapidated church, at Leighton, two miles from Little Gidding, the home of Nicholas Ferrar (q.v.). Under Ferrar's guidance Herbert restored the church; and, indeed, it was largely through Ferrar's influence that he ultimately gave himself completely to a religious life. In Apr., 1630, he was presented by Charles I. to the rectory of Fugglestone with Bemerton, Wiltshire. His short ministry of three years at Bemerton was characterized by such a saint-like devotion to his duties that he was called "Holy George Herbert." Next to Christianity he loved the Established Church. His fame now rests upon the posthumous volume, *The Temple: Sacred Poems and Private Ejaculations* (ed. N. Ferrar, Cambridge, 1633, and often; facsimile reprint, with preface by J. H. Shorthouse, London, 1882). Though his poems are often marred by verbal conceits, their genuine piety and devotional fervor have made them religious classics, and given Herbert a position, shared only by John Keble, as the poet of Anglican theology. Herbert's prose-work, *A Priest to the Temple: or, the Country Parson* (ed. H. C. Beeching, Oxford, 1898), first published in his *Remains* (London, 1652), is an excellent treatise on pastoral theology. Of the many editions of Herbert, the best is that by A. B. Grosart, *The Complete Works in Prose and Verse of George Herbert,* with valuable introduction (3 vols., London, 1874).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A biographical notice by B. Oley was prefixed to the *Country Parson,* ed. of 1652 and often in late editions of his poems; the *Memoir* by Izaak Walton first appeared in 1670, then in the collected lives of Donne, Hooker, ed. of 1674, and often in editions of Herbert's poems. Consult: *Life of George Herbert of Bemerton,* London, 1893; A. G. Hyde, *George Herbert and his Times,* ib. 1906.

HERDER, hār'der, **JOHANN GOTTFRIED:** Superintendent at Weimar, contemporary of Goethe, and influential both in German church affairs and German literature; b. at Mohrungen (62 m. s.s.w. of Königsberg), East Prussia, Aug. 26, 1744; d. at Weimar Dec. 18, 1803. He studied theology, philosophy, and ancient science at Königsberg, 1762–64, and had Kant as his teacher and fatherly friend. While still a young clergyman and teacher at the Riga cathedral school, he established his literary reputation by the *Fragmente über die neueste deutsche Litteratur* (Riga, 1767) and the *Kritischen Bilder* (1769). From 1771 to 1776 he had the position of court preacher and councilor of the consistory at Bückeburg; then he was called to Weimar as superintendent to undertake the management of ecclesiastical and school affairs. Here he spent the rest of his life, and here a bronze statue tells of his glory.

Life.

Herder, the theologian among the classics and the classic author among the German theologians, is equally great in poetry, criticism, in the history of civilization, literature and art, in philosophy and pedagogics, in religion, religious inquiry, and theology. Everywhere he sought new paths, found new openings, and inspired minds. The best thinkers of the nation, Lessing, Wieland, Goethe, Lavater, Jacobi, valued him highly. The extent of his knowledge is remarkably wide. He had an open eye for all that is true, good, and beautiful, which always and everywhere has proved the godly instinct of humanity. He united critical sharpness with intuitive geniality, deep learning with inexhaustible productivity. With most ardent diligence he collected the products of human civilization and godly revelation from the Bible, in the mythologies, popular traditions and songs, in the founders of religions and the lawgivers, poets, and thinkers of all nations, and all that he found here and in the philosophers from Zoroaster to Spinoza, Leibnitz, Rousseau, and Shaftesbury, he worked into his philosophy of mankind.

His Greatness and Ability.

The dry veins of theology, too, were filled with fresh blood by Herder. His sense of truth and love of freedom, his refined taste and wide-minded toleration, have had a very favorable influence upon religious life and ideas. Liturgics, homiletics, hymnology owe him as much as the Christian catechism, the study of theology, and the practical training of the clergy. He revived church history, he freed dogmatics from the bonds of scholasticism; he was a great promoter of the esthetic and practical religious estimation of the Bible as well as of its historical and critical value; he discovered the law of a progressing reformation and

His Service to Theology and Religion.

wonderfully prepared the renovation of the Christian faith, the deliverance of the spirit of religion from the law of a dead form. Herder fought against the insipid and weak neology as well as against rigid orthodoxy. The Bible was all and everything to him. In the different epochs of his development he always was its defender, the cultivator of truly Protestant principles, an honest judge of the disputing parties, a prophet of the regeneration of Christianity, a speaker for Christian humanity. He does not dispute, like a scholastic theologian, for words, forms, theological formulas, but for the eternal truth of the gospel of love. He is not afraid to acknowledge the mythical, traditional, poetical elements in Bible history, but he always tries to set forth the highest ideas of God in their glory. He is neither a dry materialist nor a bombastic metaphysician. He wants to be a Bible-theologian in the spirit of Luther, and has become the "John the Baptist of modern theology."

Of his theological works the following may be mentioned here: *Die älteste Urkunde des Menschengeschlechts* (2 vols., Riga, 1774–76), inquiries into the first two chapters of Genesis; two contributions to New Testament theology entitled *Erläuterungen aus einer neugeöffneten morgenländischen Quelle* (the Zend-Avesta; 1775) and *Briefe von zwei Brüdern Jesu in unserem Kanon* (the Epistles of James and Jude; 1775); also *Provinzialblätter an Prediger* (1774), an apology against the theology of the *Aufklärung*. These works Herder published while at Bückeburg. At Weimar he published *Lieder der Liebe* (the Song of Solomon, "the purest and sweetest love-poetry of old times"; 1778); *Maran Atha oder das Buch von der Zukunft des Herrn* (the Apocalypse; 1779); *Briefe über das Studium der Theologie* (1780–81), a kind of theological encyclopedia, including a whole series of essays and inquiries of exegetic and dogmatic contents about the "Redeemer according to the First Three Gospels"; the "Son of God according to St. John the Evangelist, the Facts of Whitsuntide, and of the Resurrection"; about the "Spirit of Christianity"; "Religion in Comparison with Dogmatic Opinions and Customs"; "Christianity and anti-Christianity"; *Vom Geist der ebräischen Poesie* (2 vols., 1782–1783; Eng. transl., *Spirit of Hebrew Poetry*, 2 vols., Burlington, 1833), a book that broke a path for the study of Hebrew Poetry (see Hebrew Language and Literature, III.). Much that is of value has also been preserved in Herder's occasional addresses and sermons. His deepest views are revealed in his philosophical works concerning God, "Perception and Feeling," and in the *Ideen zur Geschichte der Philosophie der Menschheit* (4 vols., 1784–91).

Theological Works.

Herder's final and ripest ideal was the regeneration of Christianity through the Bible, the extension of the Reformation to church dogmas corrupted by Oriental and Alexandrian ideas, the restoration of the religion *of* Christ in contrast to the religion addressed *to* Christ, the revival of the ecclesiastical theory according to the Gospel of Christ, the renovation of religious language. He never tires of repeating that religion has its place in the mind and feeling, and that the way of thinking, confidence, kindness, charity, and truth are its quintessence and deepest meaning.

A. Werner.

Bibliography: A very rich literature is indicated in the *British Museum Catalogue* and *Supplement*. A complete edition of the *Werke*, ed. W. Suphan, appeared in 33 vols., Berlin, 1877–99; his *Erinnerungen* in 2 vols. appeared Stuttgart, 1820; a *Lebensbild* in 3 vols., Erlangen, 1846–1848; *Ungedruckte Briefe*, 3 vols., Frankfort, 1856–57; *Briefe von und an Herder*, 3 vols., Leipsic, 1861–62; *Briefe an Hamann*, Berlin, 1889. Consult: A. Werner, *Herder als Theologe*, Berlin, 1871; R. Haym, *Herder nach seinem Leben und Wirken*, 2 vols., ib. 1877–85; E. Kühnemann, *Herder*, Leipsic, 1904; H. Dechent, *Herder und die ästhetische Betrachtung der heiligen Schrift*, Giessen, 1904; K. Muthesius, *Herder's Familienleben*, Berlin, 1904; O. Baumgarten, *Herder's Lebenswerk und die religiöse Frage der Gegenwart*, Tübingen, 1905; R. Weilandt, *Herders Theorie von der Religion*, Berlin, 1905; R. Stephan, *Herder in Bückeburg*, Tübingen, 1905.

HERDING. See Pastoral Life, Hebrew.

HERESY: A view or opinion not in accord with the prevalent standards. The Greek word *hairesis*, meaning originally a choice, then a self-chosen belief, is applied by the Fathers as early as the third century to a deviation from the fundamental Christian faith, which was punished by exclusion from the Church. From the end of the fourth century the emperors accepted the view that they were bound to use their temporal power against heretics for the maintenance of purity of doctrine; Theodosius the Great attempted to exterminate heretics by a system of penalties, which was extended by his successors and maintained by Justinian. Any deviation from the orthodox belief might be punished by infamy, incapacity to hold office or give testimony, banishment, and confiscation of property; the death penalty was only prescribed for certain sects, such as the Manichean. The severer punishments were imposed on the leaders of heretical sects, or for the conferring and receiving of orders within them and for public gatherings. This legislation was not accepted in the Merovingian kingdom, which left it to the Church to combat heresy with spiritual weapons; the Visigothic law, on the other hand, took the same standpoint as the Roman. The Carolingian period provided penalties for the practise of paganism; but in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the rise and spread of heretical sects, especially the Cathari, led to active ecclesiastical legislation against heresy. As early as the eleventh century, the secular authorities in France and Germany had punished individual heretics with death, and the councils of the twelfth declared them bound to use their power in this way. While Frederick I. and II., and Louis VIII., IX., and X. of France were enacting laws of this kind, the ecclesiastical view that heresy came by right before the Church's tribunal led to the erection of special church courts with a procedure of their own (see Inquisition; Jurisdiction, Ecclesiastical). In the present Roman Catholic practise, heresy is the wilful holding by a baptized person of doctrines which contradict any article of faith defined by the catholic Church, or which have been condemned by a pope or a general council as heretical, provided that the holder knows the right faith and makes open profession of his departure from it. The penalty is *excommunicatio major latæ sententiæ*, which

by the constitution *Apostolicæ curæ* of 1869 is specially reserved to the pope; forfeiture of Christian burial; for clerics, deposition and degradation; for impenitent heretics, delivery to the secular arm for a variety of secular penalties. Theoretically, the Roman Catholic Church still holds to the old severe legislation, and as late as 1878 Leo XIII. confirmed a ruling of the cardinal vicar based on these principles in relation to those who attended Protestant services in Rome. But the altered position of the Church in modern times permits only the imposition of ecclesiastical penalties. A number of decisions of the Congregation of the Holy Office and of local councils, it is true, still forbid absolutely any *communicatio in divinis* with heretics, such as attendance at Protestant services (for the purpose of worship), and extend as far as possible even to the avoidance of sending children to Protestant schools.

In the Evangelical Churches not a few relics of the older attitude have continued, although Luther at first was unwilling to recognize heresy as an offense; to say nothing of the burning of Servetus (q.v.), a number of the older Protestant constitutions regard heresy as a crime, with special reference to the Anabaptists, whose punishment by the severe measures of the secular government was applauded by the Reformers. But logically the Evangelical Church, which declines to force the consciences of its members, and appeals solely to Scripture for the confirmation of its doctrines, can only rebuke erroneous doctrines as erroneous, and commend to pastoral exhortation those who hold them. This does not prevent the disciplinary dismissal of a minister who in his teaching transgresses the bounds of Evangelical freedom; and on the part of a layman, a public attitude of hostility toward the Evangelical faith would properly subject him also to discipline, extending, in case of obstinate persistence, to formal exclusion from church fellowship, although in modern practise this is seldom employed. See Orthodoxy. (P. Hinschius†.)

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HERETIC BAPTISM.

Its Validity Denied. Controversy between Cyprian and Stephen (§ 1).
The Donatist Controversy. Augustine (§ 2).
Attitude of the Eastern Church (§ 3).
The Roman Catholic Position (§ 4).
The Protestant Position (§ 5).

The initiation into the Church was accomplished from the beginning by Baptism (q.v.), and the question naturally arose, how is the rite to be regarded if the administrant did not belong to the true communion? If the working of the Spirit was effective exclusively in the Church, a new baptism of those baptized into a heretical body seemed inevitable. Even Clement of Alexandria regarded the baptism of heretics as not genuine (*Strom.*, i. 19). Tertullian declares with great vigor against heretic baptism (*De baptismo*, xv.), and in a Greek work now lost treated especially of the subject. A Carthaginian synod held under Agrippinus, between 200 and 220, declared baptism performed outside of the Church invalid (Cyprian, *Epist.*, lxx. [lxxi.] 4). In Asia Minor, at the synods of Iconium and Synnada, the baptism of the Montanists was not recognized (Eusebius, *Hist eccl.*, VII., vii. 5; Firmilian, in *Epist. Cypriani*, lxxiv. [lxxv.] 5). As for Rome, Hippolytus charges Calixtus (pope 217–222) with having first (hardly "especially") introduced the repetition of baptism (*Philosophoumena*, ix. 12). Nevertheless, Stephen (253–257) could assert as Roman tradition the reception of heretics and schismatics by mere imposition of hands. Stephen's position is not altogether clear. According to Cyprian (*Epist.*, lxxiv. [lxxv.]) and Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.*, vii. 2), Stephen regarded the imposition of hands at the reception of all heretics as sufficient, but some Christian form of baptism is evidently presupposed (Cyprian, *Epist.*, lxxiv. [lxxv.] 9, 18; lxxii. [lxxiii.] 18; lxxiii. [lxxiv.] 5). Also the beginning of the controversy with Cyprian is not clear. But Cyprian's letters lxvi. and lxvii. [lxviii. and lxvii.] show that the relation between Cyprian and Stephen, who held communion with bishops who had lapsed, was not at all friendly. According to the extant sources, Cyprian opened the controversy, probably provoked by Stephen. At first Cyprian carried on the contest with the help of African councils. The synod at Carthage, in 255, declared that "no one could be baptized out of the Church" (Cyprian, *Epist.*, lxix. [lxx.] 1), without mentioning Stephen. At the synod of 256, seventy-one bishops decided in like manner (Cyprian, *Epist.*, lxxii. [lxxiii.]), and so did the eighty-seven bishops assembled on Sept. 1 of the same year; but their

1. Its Validity Denied. Controversy between Cyprian and Stephen.

decision was not to be binding upon bishops who represented another tradition. Nevertheless, the rupture with Rome could not be avoided (Cyprian, *Epist.*, lxxiii. [lxxiv.]), and this because Stephen refused all concessions. Cyprian now tried to place against the authority of Rome the "unanimity" of the other bishops. Firmilian of Cæsarea in Cappadocia joined him (Cyprian, *Epist.*, lxxiv. [lxxv.]), whereas Dionysius of Alexandria tried to mediate. Death probably prevented Stephen from excommunicating the churches of Cappadocia and Cilicia. His successor, Sixtus II., seems to have been on friendly terms with Cyprian. See Cyprian, § 3; Stephen I., Pope.

2. The Donatist Controversy. Augustine.

The question of heretic baptism came up again in the Donatistic controversy, since the characteristic of Donatism (q.v.) was the rebaptism of heretics and schismatics. At the Synod of Arles in 314 it was decided (canon viii.) that schismatics are to be received by mere imposition of hands. Cæcilian gave up the previously existing African practise; but the Donatists in rejecting their opponents rejected also their baptism, though they do not seem at first to have consistently carried out their principle (cf. T. Hahn, *Tyconiusstudien*, Leipsic, 1900, pp. 102 sqq.; Augustine, *Epist.*, xciii. 43–44). The persecution of the Donatists by Macarius intensified their opposition, but still they did not always rebaptize (Augustine, *De baptismo*, i. 2, 7, ii. 16–17, v. 6, *Contra epist. Parmeniani*, iii. 21, ii. 34). The Donatist Tyconius opposed a rebaptism from principle. He held that the sacraments of the Church catholic were real; but in Africa, where the Church was opposing Donatism, they were not the media of salvation. Tyconius's ideas were taken up by Augustine and carried further. According to his notion of the Church as the *externa communio sacramentorum*, i.e., a "communion of saints," he distinguishes between the having baptism and the having salvation through baptism. Though not correctly, yet actually, baptism is administered outside of the Church catholic (*De baptismo*, i. 2, 22–23). The sacredness of the baptism can not be destroyed by the unholy administrant, because it has in itself the divine power for salvation or evil (*De baptismo*, ii. 15). Even among heretics there can be "a real Christian baptism" (*De baptismo*, v. 2, 5). The baptismal formula according to the Gospel guarantees the sacrament, hence the schismatics also have a "legitimate" sacrament, though not "legitimately" (*De baptismo*, v. 8). Independent of administrant and recipient a *character dominicus* belongs to baptism (*De baptismo*, vi. 1; cf. *Contra epist. Parmeniani*, ii. 29); for not the administrant, as Petilian says, but Christ, is the "origin and root and head of the baptized" (*Contra epist. Petiliani*, iii. 64). But of course only in the Church catholic is baptism received for salvation (*De baptismo*, vi. 78, vii. 75, *Contra Cresconium*, i. 27–28); for the forgiveness of sins is entirely connected with the Church (*De baptismo*, iii. 22, v. 29). An unbeliever who has been baptized does not receive forgiveness or loses it at once, yet if he be converted he needs no rebaptism (*De baptismo*, i. 18–19, iii. 18; and elsewhere). But what prevents the schismatic from receiving salvation is his lack of love. True, the Holy Spirit dwells even in a schismatic communion, but not as the spirit of love. Hence a schismatic, be he ever so praiseworthy, has not the true love, but only he who has become a "partaker in the holy unity" (*Contra Cresconium*, ii. 16 sqq.). Without love all sacraments avail nothing, and love is wanting in the schismatic (*De baptismo*, i. 12, 22, ii. 22, iii. 20 sqq., iv. 24 sqq.).

3. Attitude of the Eastern Church.

In the East, the attitude toward heretic baptism was uncertain and depended on the estimate of the various sects. The eighth canon of the Council of Nicæa recognizes the baptism of the Novatians; canon xix. rejects that of the adherents of Paul of Samosata. The Synod of Laodicea (c. 360) also makes distinctions (canons vii. and viii.). The Apostolic Constitutions refuse to acknowledge baptism by heretics, but forbid a repetition of the rite (vi. 15). The Second Trullan Council (692) distinguishes again between heretics.

4. The Roman Catholic Position.

In the West, Augustine laid a lasting foundation for the estimate of heretic baptism. Following him, Peter Lombard ("Sentences," IV., dist. 6 A) says that persons baptized by heretics with the Christian baptismal formula are to be received by imposition of hands. Bonaventura (on Peter Lombard, ut sup.) sees a reason for not repeating baptism in the "impression of a character." Thomas Aquinas (*Summa*, iii., *quæst.* 66, art. 9) emphasizes the indelible character which baptism impresses, but holds that the *res sacramenti*, the blessed efficacy, is lacking to heretics. The decree of the Council of Florence for the Armenians (§ 10; cf. H. Denzinger, *Encheiridion*, Würzburg, 1888, p. 161) declared that even a heathen and heretic can baptize "provided he keeps to the form of the Church and intends to do what the Church does," but the decree for the Jacobites (Denzinger, ut sup., p. 170) says that only in the Church are the sacraments sufficient for salvation. The Council of Trent acknowledged as valid baptism performed by heretics in the name of the Trinity "with the intention of doing what the Church does" (Session vii., *de baptismo*, canon iv.), and in view of this demanded the obedience of all baptized (canon viii.; cf. the letter of Pius IX. to the emperor of Germany in 1873, in Mirbt, *Quellen*, p. 386). At the Synod of Evreux in 1576 it was decided (and often repeated afterward) that the Protestants were not to be denied the general intention. In practise the disposition prevails to rebaptize Protestant converts, but with exceptions.

5. The Protestant Position.

Protestantism has from the beginning preserved its ecumenical character in the estimate of baptism. Hence in the Lutheran Church, in case of necessity, the administration of baptism even by a Roman Catholic priest has been conceded. Calvin, in 1565, allowed the non-Lutherans at Frankfort to have their children baptized by Lutheran ministers. Only against the validity of baptisms by anti-Trinitarian communions are

doubts entertained by Protestants, some maintaining that a communion which does not baptize in the name of Christ has no Christian baptism at all. But where baptism receives into the congregation of believers in Christ, it can not be repeated, because it is the inviolable gift of adoption through Christ.

N. Bonwetsch.

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HERGENROETHER, her'gen-rō''ter, **JOSEPH:** Roman Catholic scholar; b. at Würzburg Sept. 15, 1824; d. in the Cistercian monastery of Mehrerau (1½ m. w. of Bregenz) Oct. 3, 1890. He studied at Würzburg and in Rome, and was ordained priest there in 1848; became professor extraordinary (1852), and ordinary professor of ecclesiastical law and history (1855) at Würzburg. In 1868–69 he was one of the committee to prepare for the Vatican Council, and took a consistent stand in favor of the infallibility dogma. Pius IX. made him one of his domestic prelates; and Leo XIII., on May 12, 1879, cardinal deacon and the first prefect of the apostolic archives. His publications are numerous; of especial interest are *Der Kirchenstaat seit der französischen Revolution*, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1860; *Photius, Patriarch von Constantinopel*, 3 vols., Regensburg, 1867–69 (one of the great monographs of modern times; in vol. 3 is *Monumenta Græca ad Photium ejusque historiam spectantia*, also separately issued, 1869); *Anti-Janus*, Freiburg, 1870 (English transl., Dublin, 1870; a reply to Döllinger's *Janus*); *Katholische Kirche und christlicher Staat in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung und in Beziehung auf die Fragen der Gegenwart*, 1872, abridged ed., 1873 (Eng. transl., *Catholic Church and Christian State*, 2 vols., London, 1876, with a supplementary volume of documents and appendixes, 1876); *Handbuch der allgemeinen Kirchengeschichte*, 3 vols., Freiburg, 1876–80. He also continued Hefele's *Conciliengeschichte* by publishing vols. viii. and ix. (1887–1890), published the *Regesta Leonis X.*, sections 1–8, 1884–91, and was the editor of the great *Kirchenlexikon* of Wetzer and Welte, 2d ed., 1880–1901.

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HERIGER, hār''ī''zhē': Abbot of Lobbes (Laubach, in Belgium, 10 m. s.w. of Charleroi on the Sambre); d. at Lobbes Oct. 31, 1007. As a monk he taught with much success at Lobbes, the seat of a famous school, between 970 and 980. In all ecclesiastical and political affairs he was the right hand of the great Bishop Notker of Liége (q.v.) and accompanied him on his journey to Rome in 989. In 990 he became abbot of the monastery. Next to Gerbert of Aurillac (see Sylvester II., Pope) Heriger was perhaps the most important and versatile writer of his time. The following of his works have been preserved: (1) *Gesta episcoporum Tungrensium et Leodicensium*, written before 980; it extends only to the death of Bishop Remaclus (667 or 671) and is of little value. (2) *S. Landvaldi et sociorum translatio*, written after June, 980, at the order of Notker for the monks of St. Bavo in Ghent; the saint and his associates are not known and seem to be fictitious. (3) *Vita S. Ursmari*, a fragment in hexameter. (4) *Epistola ad quendam Hugonem monachum*, concerning the calculation of the Easter term, the extent of the time of Advent, and some chronological problems. (5) *Regulæ nummorum super abacum Gerberti*, a mathematical work. (6) *Libellus de corpore et sanguine Domini.*

(H. Böhmer.)

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HERIMANN CONTRACTUS. See Herman Contractus.

HERING, HERMANN JULIUS: German Lutheran; b. at Dallmin (a village of Brandenburg) Feb. 26, 1838. He was educated at the University of Halle (1858–62), and was then deacon at Weissensee, Thuringia (1863–69), archdeacon at Weissenfels-on-the-Saale (1869–74), chief pastor at Lützen (1874–75), and superintendent there (1875–78). From 1878 until his retirement in 1908 he was professor of practical theology at Halle, being also consistorial councilor after 1894 and university preacher after 1902. He has likewise been president of the society for the care of released convicts in the Prussian province of Saxony and the duchy of Anhalt since 1893, and in theology adheres to the orthodox school. He has written: *Die Mystik Luthers im Zusammenhang seiner Theologie und in ihrem Verhältnis zur älteren Mystik* (Leipsic, 1879); *Doctor Pomeranus, Johannes Bugenhagen* (Halle, 1888); *Hilfsbuch zur Einführung in das liturgische Studium* (Wittenberg, 1888); *Heinrich Hoffmann, sein Leben, sein Wirken und seine Predigt* (in collaboration with M. Kähler, Halle, 1900); and *Der akademische Gottesdienst in Halle von seiner Gründung bis zu seiner Erneuerung und der Kampf um die Schulkirche* (Halle, 1908). He has also edited selected sermons of Berthold of Regensburg and A. Tholuck for *Die Predigt der Kirche* (xxi., xxviii., Leipsic, 1893–95), and since 1894 has been the editor of the *Sammlung von Lehrbüchern der praktischen Theologie*, to which he himself contributed *Lehre von der Predigt* (2 vols., Berlin, 1905).

HERKENNE, HEINRICH: German Roman Catholic; b. at Cologne July 5, 1871. He studied at Bonn and Münster 1890–95, and since 1898 has been lecturer at the Collegium Albertinum, Bonn, also privat-docent for Old Testament exegesis at the university in the same city since 1903. He has

written *De veteris Latinæ Ecclesiastici capitibus i.–xliii., una cum notis ex ejusdem libri translationibus Æthiopica, Armeniaca, Copticis, Latina altera, Syro-Hexaplari depromptis* (Leipsic, 1897); and *Die Briefe zu Beginn des zweiten Maccabäerbuches* (Freiburg, 1903).

HERKLESS, JOHN: Scotch Presbyterian; b. at Glasgow Aug. 9, 1855. He was educated at the universities of Glasgow (1872–81) and Jena (1880); was tutor in English literature in Queen Margaret College, Glasgow (1880–83); assistant minister in St. Matthew's Parish Church, Glasgow (1881–83), and minister of the parish of Tannadice (1883–94). Since 1894 he has been regius professor of ecclesiastical history in St. Andrew's University. He has written *Cardinal Beaton, Priest and Politician* (Edinburgh, 1891); *Richard Cameron* (1896); *The Church of Scotland* (London, 1897); *Francis and Dominic* (Edinburgh, 1901); *The Early Christian Martyrs* (London, 1904); *The College of St. Leonard* (Edinburgh, 1905); and *The Archbishops of St. Andrews*, i. (1907), in addition to editing *Hebrews* in *The Temple Bible* (London, 1902).

HERLE, CHARLES: English Puritan; b. at Prideaux Herle, Cornwall, 1598; d. at Winwick, Lancashire, Sept., 1659. He entered Exeter College, Oxford, in 1612, and took his master's degree in 1618. He settled as a minister, at first in Devonshire, but soon after became rector of Winwick in Lancashire, where he remained until his death. He was appointed one of the Westminster Assembly of Divines in 1643, and, after the death of Dr. Twisse, as prolocutor of the same; in which position he continued to the close. He was a generous-minded Puritan and Presbyterian, with an irenic spirit, and took an active part in the organization of the Provincial Assembly of Lancashire, in providing a learned and faithful ministry for the churches, and in excluding the scandalous and ignorant, for which he received much ill-deserved reproach. His principal works are of a practical character: *Contemplations and Devotions* (pp. 546, London, 1631); *Independency on Scriptures of the Independency of the Churches* (4to, pp. 44, London, 1643), irenic toward the Independents; and *Wisdom's Tripos* (London, 1655), in which he shows the excellency of Christian wisdom above that of worldly policy and moral prudence. He also delivered several sermons before Parliament, of which may be mentioned *A Pair of Compasses for Church and State* (Nov., 1642) and *David's Song* (June, 1643). For further information see Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, iii. 477; and Reid, *Memoirs of Westminster Divines* (Paisley, 1811). C. A. Briggs.

HERMAN (HERIMAN) CONTRACTUS ("the Lame"): One of the most learned men of the eleventh century and one of the best German chroniclers; b. July 18, 1013; d. in the monastery of Reichenau (on an island of the Untersee of the Lake of Constance, 4 m. n.w. of Constance) Sept. 21, 1054. When Herman was only seven years old he entered the monastery of Reichenau which, under Abbot Berno (q.v.), was renowned for its scientific achievements. In his thirtieth year he took the vows. Though early lamed by gout, he was very gifted, and distinguished himself especially in mathematics, astronomy, and music. His scholarship attracted numerous pupils. He composed poems, but his principal work is a chronicle from the birth of Christ, and is the first world-chronicle of the Middle Ages. Its chief merit lies in its strict chronological arrangement. From 1040 to 1054, the year of Herman's death, he relates from his own recollections and the reports of contemporaries, and his chronicle is a valuable source for the time of Henry III. (Wilhelm Altmann.)

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HERMAN OF FRITZLAR: The putative author or collector of a life of the saints which, according to its own statement, was written in the years 1343–49. It consists of a preface followed by a number of sermons on the lives of the saints, written in the dialect of central Germany and valuable for the descriptions they contain of contemporary life in Germany and the Romance countries. Mingled with the legendary material are speculations of a mystic character bearing the imprint of the later Eckhartian thought. The author must have traveled extensively in southern Europe, but it is now known that it is incorrect to attribute to Herman an important part in the compilation, which was largely the work of the writer of the manuscript. The collection goes back to an earlier aggregation of sermons collected by the Dominican Gisiler of Slatheim (Schlotheim, n.w. of Erfurt), in which, with still earlier sermons, the compiler included some of his own delivered at Erfurt before 1337. Probably Gisiler was the composer of both collections, the latter being made at the suggestion of Herman, some of whose experiences were added to the contents of the first work.

(A. Hegler†) K. Holl.

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HERMAN OF LEHNIN. See Lehnin Prophecy.

HERMAN OF RYSWICK: Heretic; burned at the stake in The Hague Dec. 14, 1512. His name and the place of his condemnation indicate that he was a Netherlander. In 1502 he was condemned to life imprisonment on charges of heresy by the inquisitor Johannes van Ommaten, and perhaps would have come to the stake at that time, had he not expressed repentance for his views. It is not known how long or where he was imprisoned. But he escaped, and began again to teach his heresies and promulgate them in writing. In 1512 he was tried, and after his admission that he had written the numerous heretical books laid before him, he was

condemned and burned. It is said that his books were burned with him.

Among the heresies of Herman were the assertions that the world exists from eternity; there are neither good nor bad angels; there is no hell and no personal continuance after this life; Aristotle and his commentator, Averroes, approached truth most closely; Jesus was a fool and miserable dreamer, a seducer of simple men; he spoiled the whole world and saved nobody, and it is lamentable that so many have been murdered for his sake and for the sake of his foolish Gospel; everything he did is in contradiction with human nature and pure reason; he is not the son of almighty God.

(S. D. Van Veen.)

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HERMAN OF SCHEDA: Jewish proselyte; b. at Cologne 1108; d. about 1198. He came of a well-to-do Jewish family and received the name Judah. In 1127 he lent Bishop Ekbert of Münster a considerable sum of money, and shortly afterward, incited by his father, went to Münster to collect the same. During a stay of twenty weeks there he heard sermons, and became well disposed toward Christians. On his return to Cologne in 1128 he married, and owing to the opposition of his people to his association with Christians, determined to change his religion and fled to Mainz and Worms. He found refuge in the cloister of Rabengresburg and received Christian baptism at Cologne near the end of 1128. Herman then entered the Premonstratensian cloister of Kappenberg, and shortly before 1150 became abbot of the neighboring cloister of Scheda. He gave an account of his conversion in an autobiography written about 1136. It was first edited by J. B. Carpzov as an appendix to his edition of R. Martini's *Pugio fidei* (Leipsic, 1687; reprinted in *MPL*, clxx. 803 sqq.). This text was edited by J. D. von Steinen, on the basis of another manuscript, in *Kurze Beschreibung der hochadeligen Gotteshäuser Kappenberg und Scheda* (Dortmund, 1741). (R. Seeberg.)

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HERMAN OF SCHILDESCHE (also called Herman of Westphalia): Augustinian; b. at Schildesche, near Bielefeld, Westphalia, toward the close of the thirteenth century; d. at Würzburg July 8, 1357. He entered the order of the Augustinian Eremites and visited the University of Paris about 1320. In 1337 he was provincial of the Augustinian province of Thuringia and Saxony. In 1338, by appointment of the German episcopate, he negotiated with Pope Benedict XII. in the cause of the reconciliation of the curia with Louis the Bavarian. From 1342 he made his residence at Würzburg, where he officiated temporarily as vicar-general and first penitentiary of the resident bishop. Of his numerous writings, only the *Speculum manuale sacerdotum*, a brief introduction to the conduct of the spiritual office, is extant in print. Among his theological writings may be mentioned the polemical tract *Contra hereticos negantes immunitatem et jurisdictionem ecclesiæ*, which was inspired by John XXII., about 1330, against the doctrines of Marsilius of Padua; and his controversial tracts *Contra flagellatores*, and *Contra hereticos (Leonistas sive Pauperes de Lugduno) dicentes missæ comparationem esse speciem symoniæ*. Besides philosophical writings, Herman also wrote an *Introductorium pro studio sacrorum canonum*, which became the basis of a series of similar popular canonical works of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Herman Haupt.

Bibliography: The latest and authoritative description of Herman's life and writings is in E. Seckel, *Beiträge zur Geschichte beider Rechte im Mittelalter*, i. 129 sqq., Tübingen, 1898. Consult: H. Fincke, in *Zeitschrift für vaterländische* (westfälische) *Geschichte*, xlv. 1 (1889), 124, xlvi. 1 (1888), 201 sqq., xlvii. 1 (1889), 220 sqq., and in *Historisches Jahrbuch*, x (1889), 568 sqq.

HERMAN OF WESTPHALIA. See Herman of Schildesche.

HERMAN OF WIED: Archbishop (Herman V.) of Cologne; b. Jan. 14, 1477, fourth son of Count Frederick of Wied (32 m. s.e. of Cologne); d. at Wied Aug. 15, 1552. At the age of six he was given a benefice in the cathedral chapter of Cologne. In 1493 he was immatriculated under the law faculty in Cologne. In 1515 he was elected archbishop of Cologne. His intellectual attainments were not high, and, upon his own admission, he was more interested in his position as prince than as bishop. Originally he opposed Luther, but through the influence of Erasmus, Butzer, and Melanchthon, he became favorable to the Reformation and undertook certain ecclesiastical reforms in his archdiocese, thereby coming into conflict with the Curia and Popes Clement VII. and Paul III. After the recess of the Diet of Regensburg he called Butzer to his court and had him prepare a scheme for a reformation. This was accepted by the civil authorities, and by a part of the clergy; and the following Easter the communion was administered according to an Evangelical rite. Subsequently Herman summoned to his aid other Protestant theologians, including even Melanchthon. However, on the petition of the majority of the clergy, Charles V. interfered. The archbishop was cited to appear in Brussels and Rome, and a suit was brought against his adherents in the cathedral chapter. Herman turned to the Schmalkald League for support, but in vain. In April, 1546, he was excommunicated by the pope; and in Jan., 1547, the secular estates of Cologne were compelled by imperial commissioners to pay homage to Count Adolf of Schaumburg, hitherto the coadjutor, as their new master. By his unwillingness to agree to the Interim, Herman came into many a difficult position; but all threats and dangers were unable to shake his faith.

K. Varrentrapp.

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xxiv. of E. Hübering's *Historische Studien*, Berlin, 1901; idem, in *Zeitschrift des Berg. Geschichtsvereins*, vol. xxv.; G. Wolf, *Aus Kurköln im 16. Jahrhundert*, pp. 28 sqq., Berlin, 1905.

HERMANN, NIKOLAUS: German Evangelical hymn-writer and composer; b. at Altdorf (13 m. e.s.e. of Nuremberg) near the end of the fifteenth century; d. at Joachimsthal (14 m. n.n.e. of Elbogen in Bohemia) May 3, 1561. Shortly after 1516 he became a teacher in the Latin school of the mining town of Joachimsthal. Upon his inquiring whether he should leave his place on account of religious differences, Luther encouraged him to stay. He soon found a strong supporter and friend in the rector of the school, later pastor of the town, Johann Mathesius. Troubled with gout, he was compelled to resign his office, and enjoyed his freedom, which he spent in composing hymns. These, his main work, are found in two probably incomplete collections: *Sonntags-Evangelien* (Wittenberg, 1560) and *Historien von der Sindfludt*, etc. (1562). For the matter of his hymns he is dependent on Mathesius, but surpasses him in the form. Judged not by a general standard but with due regard to his uncultivated sense of beauty and the imperfect poetical development of the period, Hermann deserves a place of honor among religious singers. Many of his hymns seem dry rimed prose, as mere mechanical counting of syllables, unpleasantly rude. But his thorough devotion to God, in the spirit of the Bible and the Reformers, his touching simplicity and fervor, his simple sweetness, his deep feeling, his rustic naturalness, not without a touch of humor—all these things compensate in large measure for his defects. He closes the first period of Evangelical religious poetry, whose characteristic expression is the hymn of faith and confession; he paves the way for the didactic and personal, in which he found many followers inferior to himself. His Christmas hymn, "Lobt Gott, ihr Christen, alle gleich" ("Let all together praise our God"), strikes so happily the true note that it remains the purest and heartiest expression of the Christmas joy. Very popular is also his funeral hymn "Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist" ("When my last hour is close at hand"). The bridal song, "Hiefür, hiefür, vor eines frommen Breutgams Thür" ("Come forth, come forth, unto a happy bridegroom's door"), is not yet forgotten in the Erzgebirge. He is most happy in his rimes for children. Intimately connected with his duty of precentor is his Latin metrical work for liturgical use. In the Joachimsthal, Latin had been retained as the language of public worship, together with the *accentus ecclesiastici*, the musical arrangement for the recital of the lessons. The most remarkable thing in the Joachimsthal liturgy, though not unprecedented, is the retention of the very ancient form of the "prose" in harmony with the contents of the liturgical gospels. These "proses" alone afford an opportunity to know Hermann as Latin rimer, and give evidence also of his skill in calligraphy. Like many people in those days, Hermann was at once a poet and composer. He also gave a new importance to the chorale, based on the Gregorian plain-chant sung in unison, and composed in this line himself. It is true that he had no training in technique—he tries nothing more than unpretending two-part songs—and was only a simple leader of popular melody. But his tunes have a childlike, joyous, lovely, always elegant expression, and are easily intelligible. Some may be reckoned among the best of their class, and are still in use, such as "Erschienen ist der herrliche Tag" ("The day hath dawned—the day of days"). Five of his other hymns have been translated and sung in English; and the melody known as "St. George's, old" is by him.

GEORG LOESCHE.

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HERMANN VON DER HARDT. See HARDT, HERMANN VON DER.

HERMANNSBURG MISSION. See HARMS, GEORG LUDWIG DETLEV THEODOR.

HERMAS: The name assigned by tradition to the author of a book highly regarded in the early Church and frequently included in the New Testament, commonly known as "The Shepherd," no doubt from the appearance and title assumed by the angel who communicates a part of the revelations contained in it. According to the received division, the work includes five "Visions," twelve "Mandates," and ten "Similitudes." The complete work is not now extant in the original Greek, but the manuscript material has been notably increased in recent years. There are three defective manuscripts of the Greek: the "Shepherd" stood originally at the end of the *Codex Sinaïticus* (see BIBLE TEXT, II., 1, § 2), where all beyond Mand. IV., iii. 6 has been lost; of the *Codex Athous-Lipsiensis* a Greek, Constantine Simonides, stole three leaves (5, 6, 9) from Mount Athos and sold them in Leipsic with a forged copy of the rest in 1855, and leaves 1–4, 7, 9 were afterward found at Athos extending only to Sim. ix. 30; a papyrus from the Fayyûm, now in Berlin, contains two small and much mutilated sections, Sim. ii. 7–9 and iv. 2–5. Of translations, the Latin *Vulgata* exists in numerous manuscripts (first published by Faber Stapulensis, Paris, 1513). Another Latin one, the *Palatina*, is found in one manuscript. There is also an Ethiopic version discovered by D'Abbadie and published in 1860, based on a text akin to the *Sinaïticus*. The older editions, relying wholly on the *Vulgata*, are worthless. Hilgenfeld was the first to publish a really critical edition.

"The Shepherd." Manuscripts and Versions.

The book is a series of visions, with their interpretation, all intended to call Hermas, and through him the Church, to repentance. The time for this is limited, and will end with the completion of the building of "the Tower" (the Church). God has caused the work to cease for a time, that men may come to repentance; but the pause will not last

long—new severe persecutions and the end of the world are near. Logically the book falls into two parts, the first including Vis. i.–iv., two visions calling to repentance and two giving reasons for its necessity. Vis. v. is an introduction to the second part, which contains the twelve "Mandates" or commandments revealed to Hermas. They cover (1) faith in the one God; (2) simplicity and love of one's neighbor; (3) truth; (4) chastity; (5) patience and mercy; (6) good and evil angels; (7) the fear of God; (8) self-restraint; (9) trust in God; (10) sadness and joy; (11) false prophets; (12) combat with evil desires. The first eight "Similitudes" are also visions, proclaiming the approaching completion of the Church and the call to repentance. Sim. ix. is a sort of recapitulation, with some modifications, and Sim. x. is an epilogue to the whole work.

Contents of the Book.

There is no agreement as to the identity of the author or the date of composition. On the one hand, the Muratorian fragment asserts explicitly that the work was written in the time of Pius I. (i.e., about 140) by his brother; on the other, the book contains indications of an earlier date, such as the mention of Clement in Vis., II., iv. 3, which would throw it back into the first century. There are difficulties in the acceptance of either of these theories. There is much in the book which does not fit the end of the first century. The Church has already lost its first fervor; traitors, hypocrites, and seekers of pleasure have crept in; and the beginnings of Gnosticism are already visible.

Author and Date.

If, however, the view of the majority (Ewald, Ritschl, Dorner, Heyne, Hilgenfeld, Harnack, etc.) be adopted and a date near the middle of the second century be assigned, other difficulties arise. The author knows nothing of a monarchical episcopate in Rome; the heads of the Gnostic party do not come in; there is no trace even of Marcion, who came to Rome in 138 or 139. The mention of Clement has not been satisfactorily explained away. And it is difficult to see how the book could have attained such universal prominence in the Church if it was so late a product. Irenæus cites it as Scripture, and so does the Pseudo-Cyprian (*Adv. aleatores*). Clement of Alexandria makes considerable use of it, and Origen holds it to be inspired.

Under these circumstances increasing regard has naturally been paid to the theory that it was not all composed at one time. The first attempts to divide the authorship—those of Thiersch (1858), De Champagny, (1863) and Guéranger (1874)—were not very successful. A more adequate hypothesis was offered by Hilgenfeld in 1881, assuming three authors, the *Hermes pastoralis* who produced the nucleus (Vis. v.–Sim. vii.); the *Hermes apocalypticus* who wrote Vis. i.–iv.; and the *Hermes secundarius*, who recast the whole into its present form. This view did not find many followers. Link (1888) and Baumgärtner (1889) firmly opposed any division of authorship, and may be considered to have proved their point. The latest view of Harnack assigns the whole work to the same author, but regards it as having been a gradual growth, through successive revisions and additions, from a small beginning not later than 110 to about 140. External evidence is wholly lacking for such a purpose; but it solves some of the most difficult internal troubles.

Theories of Composite Authorship.

The doctrinal standpoint of the book is not Judeo-Christian; to the author, Christianity is the one absolute and universal religion. Nor is he Pauline in his views. He is much more representative of the popular Roman Christianity of his epoch, still lacking sharp dogmatic precision. The conception of pardoning grace as a thing which dominates the whole life has retired into the background; sin is forgiven at baptism, but the baptized are bound to sin no more, and, if they do sin, forgiveness is to be hoped for only under exceptional circumstances. It is hard to define the christology of the book; Harnack considers it adoptionist, but his view that it identifies the Son with the Holy Ghost (hardly possible in view of the baptismal formula) is probably based on a misinterpretation of the phrase "Spirit of God" applied to Christ, in the sense of a holy spiritual being. The whole teaching on this point is vague, but not really different from that of the New Testament. It is noticeable that the religious element is already secondary to the ethical, and that the doctrine of works of supererogation makes its appearance.

Doctrinal Standpoint.

(G. Uhlhorn†.)

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HERMENEUTICS. See Exegesis or Hermeneutics.

HERMES, her'mes, **GEORG:** German Roman Catholic theologian; b. at Dreierwalde, near Tecklenburg (20 m. n.n.e. of Münster), Westphalia, Apr. 22, 1775; d. at Bonn May 26, 1831. He graduated in philosophy and theology at Münster, was appointed teacher in the gymnasium there in 1798, and advanced to the priesthood the following year, although he continued teaching. In 1807 he began lecturing on theology at the academy of Münster, particularly on the introduction to theology, which he considered of great importance, because its object was to show the reasonableness and necessity of Christianity. In 1819 he was called to the University of Bonn as professor of dogmatic theology. His activity and success reached their climax here, and he formed a school of his own. Toward 1830 his influence was dominant in the theological faculty at Bonn, in the seminaries at Culm, Treves, and Ermeland, and extended even to Breslau and Braunsberg. He had followers in the other faculties, too, e.g., P. J. Elvenich (1796–1886), in philosophy, who became professor in Breslau in 1829, and became an Old Catholic in 1870. Some of his followers among theologians were J. W. J. Braun (q.v.); Johann Heinrich Achterfeld (1788–1877), who became professor of theology at Braunsberg in 1818 and professor at Bonn in 1826; and Johann Baptista Baltzer (1803–71), who became professor of theology at Breslau in 1830. When Count Spiegel was made archbishop of Cologne the influence of Hermes became more powerful, since the archbishop appointed him honorary canon and examining chaplain. The latter position furnished him the opportunity to raise the educational level among the clergy, and to keep out of influential positions men who did not share his views. Döllinger's appointment as professor of church history is said to have been prevented by him. The bishops of the Rhine provinces favored his pupils, since they made studious, earnest, and diligent priests.

Life.

Hermes developed his theological views in his *Untersuchungen über die innere Wahrheit des Christentums* (Münster, 1805), *Philosophische Einleitung in die christkatholische Theologie* (1819; 2d ed., 2 vols., 1831–1834), and *Christkatholische Dogmatik* (ed. Achterfeld, 3 vols., 1834–36). He accepts, without any question, every doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church. "A man can believe, however, only that which he has recognized as true from evidence furnished by his reason." This evidence compels us to acknowledge the existence of God, and of his attributes. From God man receives the supernatural truths which make up the content of Christianity; they are contained in the Bible and in tradition; the Church, as teacher, explains both correctly and infallibly.

His Theology.

This system seems to imply a full acknowledgment of revelation and of tradition. But reason plays, nevertheless, an important part, not by becoming the judge of the truths of revelation, but by proving that they are true *per se* and historically; as soon as this evidence is furnished, reason must, of course, submit to their authority in matters pertaining to salvation. Suppose, however, that reason doubts the truths of revelation and does not feel compelled to consider them as a higher authority. In that case the avenue to revelation is blocked, and the organ by which it is understood is lost. The system of Hermes is, thus, prejudicial to the principle of authority in the Catholic Church. It is, moreover, objectionable from another point of view. If a clearly thinking man must necessarily arrive at Christian faith, he can prove its truth to any one who is able to think logically. The process of reasoning would, consequently, suffice to make a Christian.

After his death the teaching of Hermes was attacked by a number of men, and stanchly defended by his pupils, who were known as Hermesians. In 1835 a papal brief appeared condemning as unorthodox the teaching of Hermes concerning the nature of faith, the Bible, tradition, revelation, the proofs for the existence of God, the necessity of grace, and original sin. His followers did not deny that the sentences, mentioned by the brief, if taken singly, were to be condemned, as indeed the scientific attitude as a whole. Their contention was, however, that Hermes, if alive, would disown them completely. They maintained in an article published in the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung* (1835) that the teaching of their master had been misrepresented at Rome, and that its condemnation would be prejudicial to the best interests of the Roman Catholic Church. In Apr., 1837, Braun and Elvenich went to Rome to convince the pope that the papal brief did not present the doctrines of Hermes; but the attempt failed, since most of the German theologians were now against Hermes' teaching. They remained in Rome till Apr., 1838, and wrote in defense of their position *Meletemata theologica* (Hanover, 1838), which the pope refused to permit them to publish at Rome. All attempts to show that the doctrine of Hermes differed from those condemned in the papal brief failed. The system of Hermes stood condemned, and his followers were debarred from ecclesiastical offices; Braun and Elvenich were retired from their professorships, although honorably and with full stipends. The Prussian government, too, yielded in a number of ways for the sake of peace; for instance, in the matter of granting the bishops the right to take the initiative in removing a theological professor with the consent of the government. The archbishop of Breslau, Förster, was the first to use this right against Boltzer in 1860.

Hermesianism Condemned.

The explanation of the favorable reception of Hermes' works and their condemnation afterward lies in the change of attitude toward philosophy—from the Wolff-Kantian rationalism to Schelling's romanticism. Windischmann, the first man to attack Hermes, had made this change, and his following was increasing constantly in the Roman Catholic Church. Closely connected with this change in philosophy is the reactionary tendency which set in about that time against the liberal ecclesiastical policy of the bishops along the Rhine, particularly of the archbishop of Cologne, Spiegel, who had endeavored to give his clergy a better education. His successor, Droste-Vischering (q.v.),

had disliked Hermes already while bishop at Münster, and had forbidden his theological students to pursue their studies anywhere but at Münster. The Prussian government tried in vain to have him rescind this order, and had to suspend the seminary in 1820. The papal brief gave Droste-Vischering an opportunity to combat the system of Hermes and liberalism at the same time; and the defeat which both suffered is an indication of the fact that reactionary tendencies had set in.

(Paul Tschackert.)

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HERMIAS, her'mi-as: The unknown author of a Christian tract of the second or third century. In thirteen partly worthless manuscripts there is preserved the apologetic and polemic treatise called "A Satire on the heathen philosophers by the philosopher Hermias," the real author and the date of which is disputed. According to most authorities, the tract belongs to the age of the great apologists (180–250); although Diels, Harnack, and others believe it to be a forgery, belonging to the fifth or sixth century. But the former view is sustained by a detailed comparison with the pseudo-Justin Martyr's *Cohortatio ad Græcos* (*ANF*, i. 273–289), which used the "Satire" and perverted it. The document castigates, not without a certain cleverness, yet with cheap wit and an absence of deeper understanding, the conflicting assertions of the philosophers on the subject of the human soul, of God and the world; and especially with reference to the elements of matter.

G. Krüger.

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HERMINJARD, ār''man''zhār', AIMÉ LOUIS: Swiss Reformed; b. at Vévey (11 m. e.s.e. of Lausanne) Nov. 7, 1817; d. at Lausanne Dec. 11, 1900. He was educated at Lausanne, and, after being a teacher in Russia, France, and Germany for several years, resided first at Geneva and later at Lausanne, dividing his time between teaching and historical and bibliographical researches. After thirty years of labor he began to publish the correspondence of the French Réformers and carried it down to 1544 under the title *Correspondance des réformateurs dans les pays de langue française recueillie et publiée avec d'autres lettres relatives à la réforme et des notes historiques et biographiques* (9 vols., Geneva, 1866–97). Many of the letters are printed for the first time, and all of them are carefully collated and furnished with copious notes, which render the edition invaluable. It is one of the monumental works of French Protestant scholarship. That it could not have been carried at least down to the death of Calvin is a calamity.

HERMIT (late Lat. *eremita*, Gk. *erēmitēs*, "an eremite, one living alone," from *erēmos*, "desolate, solitary"): One who abandons society and lives alone, especially in a desert. In religious usage the word is applied to a Christian who, fleeing from persecution or seeking what was believed to be the more perfect life, retired to a lonely place and there led a life of contemplation and asceticism. Such hermits were especially common in the early time in the desert of Egypt. See Monasticism.

HERMIT ORDERS: A name given to religious orders whose members lived more or less isolated from one another, such as the Agonizants (q.v.), the Eremites of St. Augustine or Augustinian Hermits (see Augustinians), the Camaldolites, the Carmelites, the Carthusians, the Celestines, the Hieronymites, the Servites (qq.v.), the Order of Vallombrosa (see Gualberto, Giovanni), and the Williamites (q.v.).

HERMOGENES, her-moj'e-nîz: A teacher of Gnostic tendency at the end of the second century. Tertullian wrote two treatises against him—the *Adversus Hermogenem*, which is still extant, and *De causa animæ*, which is lost. He mentions and quotes from him in several other places (*Adv. Valentinianos*, xvi.; *De præscriptione hæreticorum*, xxx., xxxiii.; *De monogamia*, xvi.). According to Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.*, IV., xxiv. 1), Theophilus of Antioch wrote against a heretical teacher named Hermogenes. He is also mentioned in Hippolytus (*Philosophuma*, VIII., iv. 17), Theodoret (*Hær. fabularum compendium*, i. 19), Philastrius (*Hær.*, xliv.), and Augustine (*Hær.*, xli). Mosheim and Walch have attempted to find in these references two heretics of the same name; but this is unlikely. It is better to suppose with Tillemont and Harnack that the earlier life of Hermogenes was spent in the East, where Theophilus wrote against him between 181 and 191, and that then he migrated to Carthage, where Tertullian wrote his treatises in 206 or 207 according to Uhlhorn (Hesselberg gives 205; Nöldechen, 202). He did not teach a thoroughgoing Gnostic system, but, probably in the belief that he was not contradicting the Church's faith, attempted to complete it by certain propositions taken from philosophy. He is thus not to be reckoned among the Gnostics proper. He asserted the eternity of matter, and denied the creation of the world out of nothing. The soul was material and thus mortal by nature, and obtained immortality only by the imparting of the divine spirit springing from the substance of God. What the Fathers tell of his christological errors is vague; Augustine and Philastrius reckon him among the Patripassians.

(G. Uhlhorn†.)

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HERMON: The Old Testament name for a mountain which bounded the Amorite kingdom of Og on the north (Deut. iii. 8; iv. 48) and also the territory of East Manasseh (Josh. xii. 1). It must therefore be sought in the neighborhood of Dan and the sources of the Jordan. The Targums on Deut. iii. 9 and Cant. iv. 8 call it *ṭur talga*, "Snow mountain," corresponding with Jabal al-Talj, the modern name of the mountain north of the Jordan sources and east of the Wadi al-Taim. According to Deut. iii. 9 the Phenician name was *Siryon* and the Amoritic name *Senir*, the latter corresponding with the Assyrian *Saniru* where Shalmaneser II. defeated Hazael of Damascus and denoting the Anti-Lebanon range, applied therefore to Hermon as connected on the north with Anti-Lebanon. The *Siyon* of Deut. iv. 48 is suspected to be a mistake for *Siryon*. The Hebrew name, *Ḥermon*, comes from a root meaning to be forbidden, implying that the mountain in early times was a celebrated sanctuary or holy place.

The main body of the mountain runs north and south, with the highest point very near the middle; to the south it slopes to the Jordan sources, the upper portion falling off to the Nahr Banias. It therefore overlooks on the south the upper Jordan valley and the table-land of the Jaulan. On the north its summit sinks to a highland 3,600–4,000 feet above sea-level. The east and southeast sides are abrupt, the western and northwestern sides slope more gradually. On the summit is a small table-land 435 yards in diameter, from which rise three peaks, two on the east and one on the west. The one on the southeast still shows traces of ruins, which from their character suggest that they are the remains of a sanctuary, in all probability belonging to the sun-god.

The formation of the mountain is limestone, with outbreaks of basalt both on the east and the west. At Mejdel al-Shems the lower Syrian Jura rocks come to the surface. The upper part is either entirely bare and decomposed into rubble by atmospheric influences, or in places clothed with low shrubs. At an elevation of about 3,750 feet there is a thick growth of trees, partly firs, partly fruit-trees, with stretches of tragacanths and shrubs. On the lower slopes vineyards are numerous, at least on the western and southern sides. The winter snow-line begins at an elevation of 3,250 feet; but the summer sun melts all away except in the deep clefts. The upper portions are hollowed out into underground reservoirs which furnish the sources of the streams of the region, particularly of the Jordan. The region is noted for its refreshing dew (Ps. cxxxiii. 3) and for its wealth of animal life (Cant. iv. 8). The western slopes support great flocks of goats.

Only the western and southern slopes have historic significance. Peoples passed by its northern sides to live at the south; so the early Amorites and Hivites (Josh. xi. 3), the Itureans in the second pre-Christian century, and in the seventeenth century the Druses, all of whom have left traces in the present religions of the region. Baal-hermon is to be sought at the eastern or southeastern foot (I Chron. v. 23), and denotes a sanctuary, perhaps the Paneion of the Greeks, the modern Banias. Baal-gad, also a holy place, lay in the Lebanon valley north or northwest of Hermon (Josh. xi. 17). Mizpah is probably to be sought on the west slope (Josh. xi. 3, 8). (H. Guthe.)

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HEROD AND HIS FAMILY.

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The Herods were an Idumean family whose prominence began under Antipas, was enhanced under his son Antipater, and reached its height under his son Herod, called the Great. This family succeeded the Hasmoneans in the temporal control of the Jews, and was in power during the life of Jesus Christ and the period of the founding of the Christian Church.

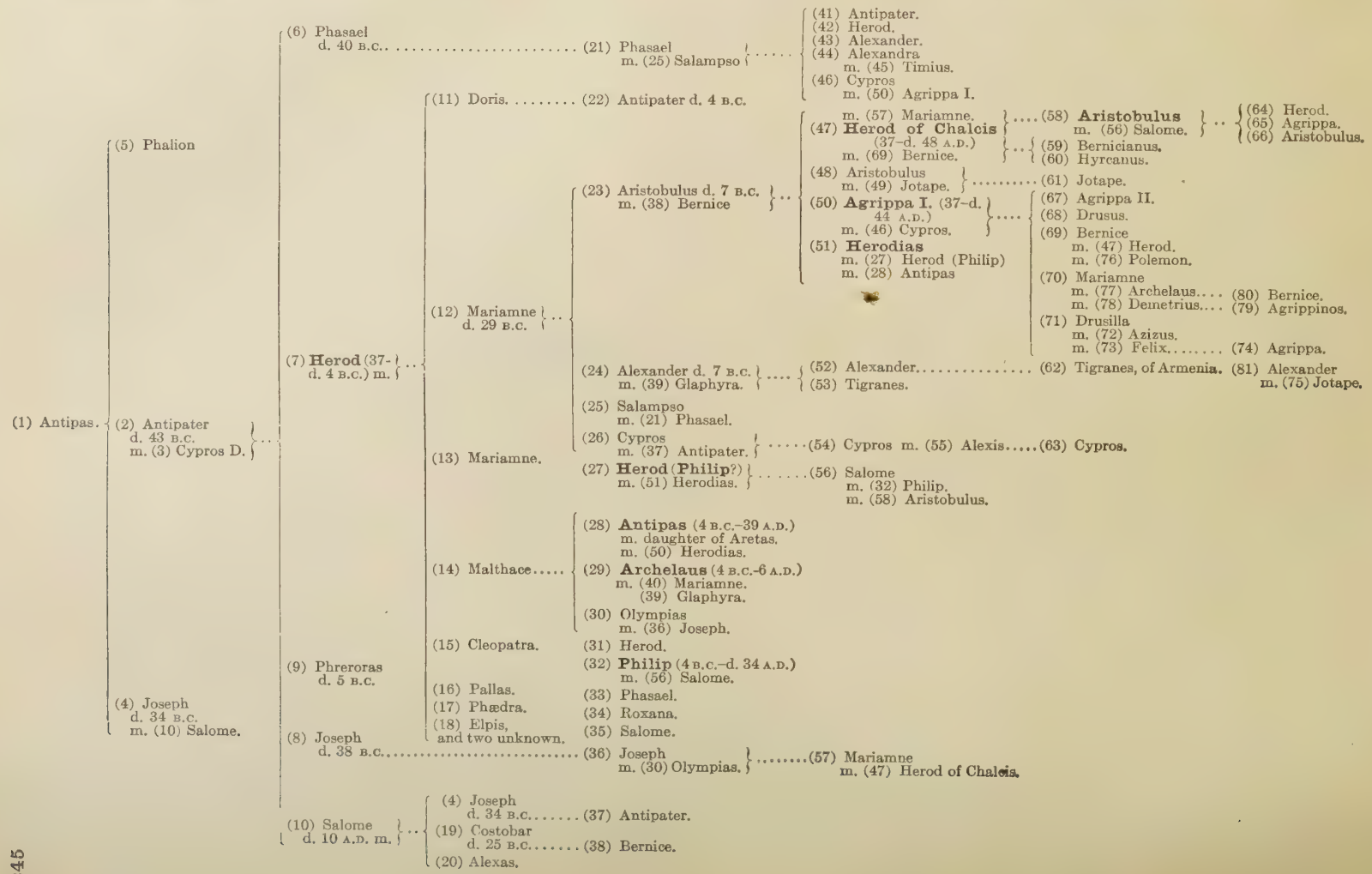
I. Herod the Great: By his historian, Nicolas of Damascus, Herod was declared to be of pure Jewish stock, while the story current in Jewish and Jewish-Christian circles was to the effect that he was the son of a temple slave of Ascalon. His real ancestry is given in the accompanying genealogical table.

1. Ancestry and Youth.

His family had note among his own people, who had been Judaized under John Hyrcanus (see Hasmoneans). His ambition and energy were legitimate heritages from his forbears. His grandfather and his father had gained influence with the government of the Jews before they had received part in that government. Antipater had become the counselor of the weak Hyrcanus II., had assisted Cæsar in the latter's campaign against Egypt,

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE HERODIAN FAMILY.

In the table the numbers in parentheses preceding the names are mere indices to facilitate reference in the intermarriages and to differentiate members bearing the same name; numbers in parentheses following the names denote the regnal period; m. is for married. The columns represent separate generations.


(1) Antipas.
(2) Antipater d. 43 B.C. m. (3) Cypros D.
(4) Joseph d. 34 B.C. m. (10) Salome.
(5) Phalion
(6) Phasael d. 40 B.C.
(7) Herod (37-d. 4 B.C.) m.
(8) Joseph d. 38 B.C.
(9) Phreroras d. 5 B.C.
(10) Salome d. 10 A.D. m.
(11) Doris.
(12) Mariamne d. 29 B.C.
(13) Mariamne.
(14) Malthace.....
(15) Cleopatra.
(16) Pallas.
(17) Phædra.
(18) Elpis, and two unknown.
(19) Costobar d. 25 B.C.
(20) Alexas.
(21) Phasael m. (25) Salampso
(22) Antipater d. 4 B.C.
(23) Aristobulus d. 7 B.C. m. (38) Bernice
(24) Alexander d. 7 B.C. m. (39) Glaphyra.
(25) Salampso m. (21) Phasael.
(26) Cypros m. (37) Antipater.
(27) Herod (Philip?) m. (51) Herodias.
(28) Antipas (4 B.C.–39 A.D.) m. daughter of Aretas. m. (50) Herodias.
(29) Archelaus (4 B.C.-6 A.D.) m. (40) Mariamne. (39) Glaphyra.
(30) Olympias m. (36) Joseph.
(31) Herod.
(32) Philip (4 B.C.–d. 34 A.D.) m. (56) Salome.
(33) Phasael.
(34) Roxana.
(35) Salome.
(36) Joseph m. (30) Olympias.
(37) Antipater.
(38) Bernice.
(41) Antipater.
(42) Herod.
(43) Alexander.
(44) Alexandra m. (45) Timius.
(46) Cypros m. (50) Agrippa I.
(47) Herod of Chalcis (37–d. 48 A.D.) m. (69) Bernice.
(48) Aristobulus m. (49) Jotape.
(50) Agrippa I. (37–d. 44 A.D.) m. (46) Cypros.
(51) Herodias m. (27) Herod (Philip) m. (28) Antipas
(52) Alexander.
(53) Tigranes.
(54) Cypros m. (55) Alexis.....(63) Cypros.
(56) Salome m. (32) Philip. m. (58) Aristobulus.
(57) Mariamne m. (47) Herod of Chalcis.
m. (57) Mariamne.
(58) Aristobulus m. (56) Salome.
(59) Bernicianus.
(60) Hyrcanus.
(61) Jotape.
(62) Tigranes, of Armenia.
(64) Herod.
(65) Agrippa.
(66) Aristobulus.
(67) Agrippa II.
(68) Drusus.
(69) Bernice m. (47) Herod. m. (76) Polemon.
(70) Mariamne m. (77) Archelaus.... (80) Bernice. m. (78) Demetrius.... (79) Agrippinos.
(71) Drusilla m. (72) Azizus. m. (73) Felix..... (74) Agrippa.
(81) Alexander m. (75) Jotape.

had been given recognition as a sort of procurator over Judea, and had been awarded Roman citizenship. From his marriage with the Arabian Cypros there were four sons, Phasael, Herod, Joseph, and Phreroras, and a daughter Salome. For Herod an Essene named Menahem prophesied the kingship. When Herod was only twenty-five years of age his father had him made governor of Galilee, where he showed his energy by capturing a brigand and executing him. During a contest with the sanhedrin over prerogatives, Sextus Cæsar appointed him governor of Cœle-Syria (q.v.), while the kingship was also promised to him.

Herod's standing with the people was very insecure, and after the withdrawal of Cassius a revolt resulted in which Antigonus Mattathias, son of Aristobulus, assisted by Marion of Tyre, attempted to assert his rights to the throne. Herod's energy was too great, however, and Marion was compelled to retreat, while Antigonus was defeated. To improve his status Herod divorced his wife Doris and sent away her son Antipater, betrothing himself to Mariamne, granddaughter of Hyrcanus, thus entering the family of the Hasmoneans. It seemed as if his plans were defeated when the Republicans, with whose party he had been affiliated, were beaten by Antony and Octavian at Philippi. But Antony was favorably inclined toward Herod on account of earlier hospitable relationship with Antipater. A crisis was precipitated through an attack of the Parthians during which Phasael, who had been made king of Jerusalem, committed suicide and another brother of Herod was taken prisoner by the Parthians, while Antigonus was placed on the throne. Herod fled to Rome, gained the help of Antony and Augustus, and was declared by the Senate king of Judea—a kingdom which had yet to be won. He landed in Ptolemais, speedily collected a considerable army of Jews and foreigners, and gradually gained the mastery. A decisive victory over Antigonus at Isana in Samaria opened the way to Jerusalem. While the preparations for the siege were under way Herod celebrated his marriage with Mariamne; this done, he returned, and with the help of the Romans took the city within three months. After the withdrawal of his allies he began his reign, which falls into three periods.

2. The Winning of His Kingdom.

The first period was one of contest with dangers without and within. He excited mistrust by getting rid of forty-five of the adherents of Antigonus. The aged Hyrcanus caused him anxiety, so he had him brought to the court where he could keep him under observation. Through the intrigues of his mother-in-law Alexandra with Antony and Cleopatra, he was compelled to set aside a Babylonian Jew whom he had made high priest in favor of Aristobulus, then seventeen years old, consequently his mistrust of them was strengthened and grew, especially after their unsuccessful attempt at flight. The favor of the people for Aristobulus openly manifested led Herod to have him drowned in a bath (35 B.C.). He was summoned to answer for this before Antony, but escaped without punishment. During this journey he left Mariamne in care of his uncle Joseph with instructions to kill Mariamne in case the trial went against him. She learned this and her love for him turned to hate. Joseph had married his sister Salome, who charged him before Herod with misconduct with Mariamne, and Joseph was executed. Cleopatra, drawn into these family difficulties, desired to have possession of Palestine; Antony, therefore, compelled Herod to cede to her the rich district around Jericho and pay her tribute for it. She also brought it about that Herod was commanded by Antony to assail a king of the Arabs who had not paid the tribute due to her. This, however, he turned to advantage. His troops, dispirited by an earthquake, he encouraged to the attack and won a notable victory. This campaign kept him from participation in the defeat of Antony and won him the favor of Augustus. After putting Hyrcanus out of the way, he went to pay court to Augustus at Rhodes, and the latter assured to him his kingdom. Services rendered to Augustus during his march to Egypt resulted in the material enlargement of that kingdom. But during his absence at Rhodes he had given Mariamne into the charge of a certain Iturean named Soemus with the same command as he had given to Joseph, with the result that Mariamne learned also of this second offense against her. Again Salome instilled into Herod's mind suspicions against his wife, Soemus was put to death, Mariamne was tried and also condemned to death. During excesses, in which he sought to drown recollection of the wife he had so passionately loved that he could not endure the thought of another's possessing her, reports came of intrigues of Alexandra to supplant him, and he had her put to death as well as Costobar, the second husband of Salome. Thus his dangerous foes were removed, and political as well as domestic difficulties vanished from his path (27 B.C.).

3. First Period of His Reign, 37–27 B.C.

The second period was marked by great building operations and by displays of wealth and magnificence. He erected a theater in Jerusalem in which, and in the amphitheater constructed in the valley, were celebrated every fourth year the deeds of Cæsar. All this so offended the Jews that ten Arameans conspired to kill the king in the amphitheater, but the plot was discovered and the plotters executed. His policy then was to prevent rebellion. His palace overawed the upper city, and the fortress of Antonia menaced the temple and its district. Samaria he named Sebaste, intending to fortify it, and built Cæsarea on the site of Straton's Tower. After he had intimidated the people with these and other fortifications, a famine gave him opportunity to attempt to win the people over by liberality and practical measures of relief with the purpose of taking up again his works of display. Before his marriage with a second Mariamne, daughter of a priest, he built a beautiful palace for himself in the upper city and also the castle named after himself the Herodium. He also extended the works at Cæsarea. Herod gave assistance to Ælius Gallus, proconsul of Egypt, in an Arabian campaign, sent his sons by

4. Second Period, 27–14 B.C.

the first Mariamne to Rome where Cæsar received them at court, and shortly after granted to Herod Trachonitis, Batanea, and Auranitis. Herod visited Agrippa in Mytilene and waited upon Augustus on the latter's visit to Syria, receiving such favor that Josephus has left it on record that, after Agrippa, Augustus regarded no one so highly as Herod, and after Augustus Agrippa regarded no one as highly as Herod. Augustus added to Herod's dominions the territory from Ulatha on the sea to Panias at the source of the Jordan, and made his brother Phreroras tetrarch, in acknowledgment of which Herod built a temple dedicated to the emperor at Panias. A system of espionage was established, meetings were forbidden, meeting for converse in the street became unlawful. Even his final attempt to gain the good-will of the Jews by the restoration of the temple was new ground for suspicion, only allayed after the progress had been well advanced. These and like deeds embittered the Jews against him, and this hatred he vainly attempted to remove by remission of taxes. Yet his favor with the Romans he used to gain advantages for the nation and when he obtained further remission of taxes he finally won the applause of the people. He then was at the summit of his fame.

5. Third Period, 14–4 B.C.

The third period of Herod's reign is marked by the decline of his good fortune. His two sons by the Maccabean Mariamne, Aristobulus and Alexander, were two descendants of the extirpated family who aroused anew his earlier distrust and enmity. He had attempted to obliterate all causes of trouble by marrying Aristobulus to his sister's daughter Berenice, and Alexander to Glaphyra, daughter of the king of Cappadocia. During his journey to Agrippa (14 B.C.) the two princes had treated Salome and Phreroras with haughtiness and had given utterance to imprudent remarks about the murder of their mother. To intimidate them from possible revenge Herod recalled to the court his son Antipater by his first wife Doris. This son at once began to intrigue against his half-brother with such effect that Herod took them both to Rome to complain against them to Cæsar, who brought about a reconciliation, which was, however, only on the surface. Herod then busied himself with building operations intended to perpetuate the memory of members of his family, and with great liberality made contributions to many cities outside his domains in favor of Greek customs and celebrations, not excluding largess for the Olympic games. While this brought him celebrity of a pleasant sort from the outside world, it excited the hatred of the Jews. The atmosphere of his own court was unwholesome, where resided not only Nicolas of Damascus and his brother Ptolemy, but the numerous wives of the king and a host of eunuchs and disreputable persons. Intrigue was in the air, and the palace inmates became involved. Herod trusted no one. By the device of Antipater suspicion was directed against Alexander, whose adherents were put to torture. Alexander himself was thrown into prison, from which his father-in-law was just able to save him. But Salome renewed her intrigues, aided by Eurycles, a worthless Lacedæmonian, and both sons by Mariamne were executed, 7 B.C. Meanwhile an attempt of Herod's against a band of brigands had incensed the emperor, who sent a sharp rebuke to Herod. The latter succeeded in placating the emperor through Nicolas of Damascus, and was given a free hand in dealing with his sons, with the result stated above. Herod named Antipater as his successor, and sent him with the will to Rome. Hardly had this been done when it came out through the death of Phreroras that Antipater had planned to poison Herod. Herod revoked his will; he named Antipas, son of Malthace, his successor, and caused the execution of Antipater. In the joy of the prospect of speedy release from Herod's tyranny through the fatal disease from which he was then suffering, the people were easily induced to tear down from the temple gate the eagle which crowned it. But Herod was sufficiently well to have the instigators of the deed burned alive. His death occurred soon afterward, in the year 4 B.C. He had given orders that the noblest in the land should be slain at his death in order that sincere mourning should take place when he died. His final will directed that his son Archelaus should be king, Antipas was to have the tetrarchy of Galilee and Peræa, and Philip that of Gaulanitis, Trachonitis, and Panias.

6. Personal Characteristics.

Herod was possessed of a powerful physique, uncommon strength of intellect and will, keen powers of observation, quickness in seizing the points of a situation, presence of mind, cleverness in choosing his means for his purposes, undaunted courage, and unfailing energy—a union of qualities which fitted him for action in a manner seldom attained. With Josephus one must also credit him with good nature and magnanimity, and consequently must not attribute all his actions to selfishness and ambition. This is evident even in his interest in Greek culture and his efforts to further its progress in Palestine. On the other hand, he was entirely lacking in a sense of duty from the standpoint of ethics. Thus no regard for the situation of the Jews and for their hopes deterred him from maintaining a friendship with the power most hostile to those hopes, and he was only a heartless, tyrannical, and suspicious savage. So all the accomplishments of his reign, his extension of his kingdom so as to equal that of David, his display of wealth and magnificence, his rebuilding of the temple, his beneficence to heathen which elevated the Jewish name outside Palestine—all which seemed to realize Messianic prophecy—was after all only a caricature of it.

(F. Siefferт.)

II. His Family: Archelaus (4 B.C.–6 A.D.), the son of Herod by Malthace, was by the will of his father to receive the title and Judea, Samaria, and Idumea. But, inasmuch as that will was not valid until confirmed by Augustus, he declined to assume the title of king, though hailed as such by the courtiers. To the people he promised, from a throne erected in the temple enclosure, fair and equitable dealing. The Jews at once made demand for a reduction of some taxes and abolition of others, release of pris-

1. Archelaus.

oners, deposition of the high priest Josar, and expulsion of the Gentiles. A further demand was punishment of those who had urged the death of the persons who had led in the destruction of the eagle over the gate of the temple. To some of these demands Archelaus could not make definite answer, and by temporizing exhausted the patience of the population, at the time augmented by the Passover pilgrims. Some of his guards were attacked, and a mêlée was precipitated in which some 3,000 people fell in the streets. He went to Rome with Nicolas of Damascus as his advocate, where he, Antipas, Philip, and deputations of Jews who asked for direct Roman rule as against the Herods pleaded their causes before Augustus. The emperor sustained the will, except in some small particulars and in withholding the title of king and substituting that of ethnarch until Archelaus should prove his fitness for it. While Archelaus was away the spirit of discontent spread throughout the land, and a succession of fanatics, brigands, would-be messiahs, and aspirants for the kingship involved nearly the whole country with the Romans, who plundered the temple treasury. Archelaus inherited from his father a love for beautiful buildings, and the wars had destroyed so much that he had ample scope for restoration. He rebuilt the palace at Jericho and built a new city which he called Archelais (12 m. n. of Jericho), after himself. His conduct was violent, arbitrary, and capricious, especially in his frequent removal of the high priests. He outraged public opinion seriously by marrying Glaphyra, the widow of his half-brother Alexander, to whom she had borne children, while at her marriage with Archelaus her first husband was still living. After nine years of the rule of Archelaus the Jews exposed the barbarousness and tyranny of his dealings to Augustus, who, in 6 A.D., banished him to Vienne in Gaul, sequestrated his property, and annexed his dominions to the province of Syria.

2. Herod Antipas.

Herod Antipas (4 B.C.–39 A.D.), also a son of Herod by Malthace, was given Galilee and Peræa and the title of ethnarch by his father's will. He is improperly called king in Mark vi. 14, possibly as a reflection of the popular terminology, and correctly ethnarch in Matt. xiv. 1, Luke iii. 19. He preserved the peace in his dominions, was tolerated by Augustus, and was a favorite with Tiberius. Inheriting with his brothers a fondness for display, especially in public buildings, he restored Sepporis, the capital of Galilee, and built Tiberias near the hot springs of Emmaus and erected there a palace. As part of the site was on a burial ground it was unclean for the Jews, who refused to settle there. It was therefore largely settled by foreigners and Hellenized. He rebuilt Livias, afterward Julias, on the site of Beth-haram, and adorned Machærus, east of the Dead Sea. Excessively cunning (cf. Luke xiii. 32), shrewd and astute, a pagan at heart, he was superstitious and sensitive. In 27 A.D. he went to Rome, saw there the beautiful and ambitious Herodias, his own niece and already the wife of his half-brother, Herod Philip, and although he had a wife living, he proposed marriage to her. By divorcing his wife, the daughter of Aretas, and marrying Herodias he aroused the anger and caused the denunciation of John the Baptist and inflamed with anger Aretas, by whom some years afterward he was disastrously defeated (36 A.D.). When Jesus was brought before him for judgment, according to Luke xxiii. 7–15, he avoided pronouncing decision, probably having in mind his own mental suffering after his execution of the Baptist. On the advice of the ambitious Herodias, Antipas went to Rome to sue for the title of king. Agrippa anticipated his arrival there with charges of disloyalty to Cæsar in that he had provided equipment for 70,000 men in Galilee. This was really intended for a war of revenge on Aretas; but Caligula would hear no explanation, banished him to Lyons, and gave his territory to Agrippa (39 A.D.).

3. Herod Philip.

Herod Philip (4 B.C.–34 A.D.), son of Herod by Cleopatra, received Batanea, Trachonitis, Auranitis, Gaulanitis, Panias, and Iturea, a region large in area but poor in resources and inhabited by a mixed population of Greeks, Arabs, and Syrians, with Scythopolis as the capital. Philip was, however, the worthiest of the sons of Herod and the man for a difficult place. For his people he did the best possible economically and administratively. The result was an age of peace and prosperity during the thirty-seven years of his rule altogether new to his people. Like all the Herods, he was un-Jewish in his tastes, he employed images on his coins, and built shrines for Greek deities. He made his capital at Panias, where he built Cæsarea Philippi, enlarged Bethsaida and called it Julias after the daughter of Augustus. He was only once married, to Salome, daughter of Herodias. At his death his territories were included in the province of Syria, and in 37 given to Agrippa.

4. Agrippa I.

Herod Agrippa I. (37 A.D.–44 A.D.), son of Aristobulus by Bernice, Herod's niece and daughter of Salome, and grandson of Herod the Great and Mariamne the Maccabee, lived in Rome till 37 A.D., when Caligula came to the imperial throne. He had married Cypros, who bore to him Agrippa II., Drusus, Bernice, Mariamne, and Drusilla, had had a checkered career, been dissipated, exhausted his means, borrowed recklessly, become an adventurer, but had the good fortune to become the friend of Caligula. The imprudently expressed wish that Tiberius might be succeeded by Caligula was reported to Tiberius, who thereupon threw him into prison. Six months later (37 A.D.) Caligula succeeded Tiberius, and to Agrippa were given the tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias (cf. J. H. A. Ebrard, *Gospel History*, Edinburgh, 1869, pp. 143–146). In 40 A.D. by his astuteness and influence he induced the mad Caligula, just then bent on setting his statue in the temple at Jerusalem, by force if necessary, to forego his design, and thus a collision between Jews and Romans was avoided. On the assassination of Caligula in 41 Agrippa was able to render timely and valuable aid to Claudius and was rewarded by the addition of Judea and Samaria to his dominions, when he became the ruler of a domain as large as his grandfather's. His reign lasted but three years

longer, but was a happy one for his subjects. When at Jerusalem he observed scrupulously the ceremonial law and became beloved even by the Pharisees, though he patronized Greek culture and games outside the distinctively Jewish part of his realm. The persecution of Christians (Acts xii. 1–3) was doubtless a part of his general policy of placating the Jews. At his death the Romans regarded his son Agrippa, then only seventeen years of age, as yet too young to be entrusted with the control of so difficult an aggregation of peoples as then inhabited the kingdom which had been his father's. Accordingly Palestine passed over wholly into Roman control until five years later, when it was given to Agrippa II.

5. Herod of Chalcis, Aristobulus, and Agrippa II.

Herod of Chalcis, own brother of Agrippa I., was made king of Chalcis by Claudius on the latter's accession because of his friendship for Agrippa. His son, Aristobulus, was made king of Chalcis in 52, of Armenia Minor in 55, and of Armenia Major in 61. His wife was Salome, daughter of Herodias. Agrippa II. (50–100 A.D.), son of Agrippa I., was appointed by Claudius king of Chalcis after his uncle Herod, and had control of the temple and the appointment of the high priest. He served the Jews by having Ananias the high priest and Ananus, the commander of Jerusalem, acquitted of a charge of rebellion brought by the Roman Cumanus. In 53 A.D. he gave up Chalcis and took the tetrarchy which had belonged to Philip, and later was given by Nero parts of Peræa and Galilee. He was adroit and diplomatic, gained and kept favor with Jewish leaders, in spite of arbitrary action as to the high-priesthood, yet in the Jewish war fought on the Roman side.

6. Herod Philip, Herodias, Salome, Bernice, Drusilla.

Herod Philip, son of Herod the Great by the second Mariamne (of Jerusalem), was left out of the succession owing to his mother's influence against him, lived a private life in Rome, was the husband of Herodias before Antipas married her, and father by her of Salome who pleased Antipas and asked the head of John the Baptist. This is his one claim to distinction. The women of the family who figured in history were Herodias (see above, II., § 2); her daughter Salome, who married, first, Herod Philip the tetrarch, and then Aristobulus, son of Herod of Chalcis, to the latter of whom she bore three children, Herod, Agrippa, and Aristobulus; Bernice, oldest daughter of Agrippa I., who married the Herod who became king of Chalcis in 44 A.D., and later Polemon, king of Cilicia (she is the Bernice of Acts xxv.–xxvi.; and was charged with illicit relations with her brother Agrippa I. and with Titus, the conqueror of Jerusalem); and Drusilla, youngest daughter of Agrippa I. She married Azizus, king of Emesa, deserted her husband, and married the Gentile Felix the Procurator; and had a son by him, Agrippa (cf. Acts xxiv. 24). The other members of the family are mentioned in the genealogical table.

GEO. W. GILMORE.

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HERODIANS: A Jewish party in the time of Christ. They are mentioned in the Gospels in connection with the Pharisees as enemies of Jesus (Matt. xxii. 16; Mark iii. 6, xii. 13). Those who hold with some of the Fathers (Tertullian, Philastirus, Epiphanius) that they were a separate Jewish sect are certainly wrong. They were probably a political party, "the adherents of Herod," as Josephus called them (*Ant.* XIV., xv. 10). They were opposed to Christ, since they misunderstood the nature and purpose of his kingdom.

(F. SIEFFERT.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. T. Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, iii. 157 sqq., 6 vols., London, 1873–82; E. Renan, *Life of Jesus*, chap. xxi., London, n.d.; *DB*, ii. 362; *EB*, ii. 2043; *JE*, vi. 360; and, in general, works on the life of Christ.

HERRICK, GEORGE FREDERICK: Congregational missionary; b. at Milton, Vt., Apr. 13, 1834. He was graduated at the University of Vermont (1856) and Andover Theological Seminary (1859). Since that year he has been a missionary of the American Board, and was likewise a professor in the Mission Theological Seminary in 1870–93, president of Anatolia College in 1890–93, and joint superintendent of the publications of the Turkish branch of his society in 1893–1903. He was also a member of the committee for the translation and revision of the Bible in Turkish in 1873–78 and 1883–85, and sole responsible editor of the same undertaking in 1898–1902. Theologically he is a conservative liberal. He has written in English *Life of Rev. A. T. Pratt, M.D.* (Chicago, 1890), and in Turkish and Armenian works on "Church History" (Constantinople, 1873; also in Greco-Turkish, 1891); "Natural Theology" (1886); "Belief and Worship" (1886); "Introduction to Old Testament History and Prophecy" (1896; both Turkish and Armenian); Sunday-school notes covering the most of the books of the Bible (1895–1907).

HERRITES. See MENNONITES.

HERRMANN, JOHANN GEORG WILHELM: German Protestant; b. at Melkow, near Magdeburg, Dec. 6, 1846. He studied at the University of Halle 1866–70, and four years later, after serving in

the Franco-Prussian war, became privat-docent at Marburg. Since 1879 he has been professor of systematic theology in the same university, and has written *Gregorii Nysseni sententiæ de salute adipiscenda* (Halle, 1874); *Die Religion im Verhältnis zum Welterkennen und zur Sittlichkeit* (1879); *Der Verkehr der Christen mit Gott, im Anschluss an Luther dargestellt* (Stuttgart, 1886); *Ethik* (Tübingen, 1901); and *Die sittlichen Weissagungen Jesu* (Göttingen, 1904).

HERRNHUT, HERRNHUTERS. See Unity of the Brethren; Zinzendorf, Nikolaus Ludwig.

HERSFELD (HEROLVESFELD): A town of Hesse-Nassau, Germany, about twenty-three miles north of Fulda, the site of a celebrated abbey founded about 770 by Archbishop Lullus of Mainz. Charles the Great placed the monastery under royal protection and conferred upon the monks freedom of choice in the election of their abbot. He also bestowed upon it extensive territorial possessions. During the lifetime of its founder the monastery included 150 monks, who were active in propagating Christianity among the Saxons. Literary labor began in the ninth century, the most important production being the Hersfeld chronicles, now lost, but drawn upon by the compilers of the chronicles of Hildesheim, Quedlinburg, and Weissenburg.

At Hersfeld, in the eleventh century, wrote Lambert (q.v.) and the author of the *Liber de unitate ecclesiæ conservanda*, according to some Walram, later bishop of Raumburg. Beginning with the thirteenth century, the town gradually freed itself from the jurisdiction of the abbey, and about 1371 placed itself under the protection of the landgrave of Hesse, which was conceded by the abbot in 1432. The prosperity of the abbey declined; and on the resignation of Abbot Wolpert in 1513 it was placed under the abbot of Fulda for a time. Abbot Krato (1517–56) was inclined to Lutheran ideas, but the abbey maintained a feeble existence until the death of the last abbot, Joachim Röll, in 1606. The landgrave of Hesse kept the administration in his family until at the Peace of Westphalia (1648) the territory of the abbey, as a fief of the empire, was formally incorporated with Hesse.

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HERTZLER, CHARLES WILLIAM: Methodist Episcopal; b. at Burlington, Ia., Feb. 22, 1867. He studied at German Wallace College, Berea, O. (B.A., 1889) and the University of Berlin (1892–93), and held pastorates at Peoria, Ill. (1889–91), and St. Louis, Mo. (1891–92). After his return from Germany he was pastor at Jordan, Minn., from 1893 to 1895, when he was appointed president of St. Paul's College, St. Paul, Minn., a position which he occupied for five years. Since 1900 he has been professor of practical theology at Nast Theological Seminary, Berea, O.

HERVÆUS BRITO (HERVÆUS NATALIS; (Hervé de Nédellec): Thomist philosopher and theologian; b. at Nédellec, Brittany; d. at Narbonne Aug., 1323. He studied at Paris, entered the Dominican order, became provincial for France in 1309 and general of his order in 1318.

For many years he taught scholastic theology and philosophy. As a moderate Thomist, he distinguished himself by his opposition to the views of Duns Scotus. In opposition to the univocal being of the Scotists he maintained that the reality of individual objects depends upon that background of being which is common to them. On the other hand, he seemed to incline toward nominalism in his view that universals, though they have their basis in the nature of things, are subjective. In particular Hervæus devoted his attention to the famous question of individuation, which the Scotists had explained by the doctrine of hæcceity. He showed that hæcceity itself is only a universal concept, which becomes a principle of individuation only when applied to an individual thing, and that such a principle might just as well be applied to matter or form. His own view is that essence is the inner principle of individuation. In theology Hervæus held that the existence of God can be deduced on rational grounds, but that positive knowledge of God is won only through faith. He treated the doctrines concerning God, the Trinity, and Christ in the traditional scheme of distinctions. His importance lies in the insight which he gives into the sphere of interests of Thomistic philosophy and theology after Scotus. His chief works are: *In quatuor Petri Lombardi sententiarum volumina scripta subtilissima* (Venice, 1505); *Quodlibeta undecim cum octo profundissimis tractatibus* (1513); and *De intentionibus secundis* (Paris, 1544). A list of unpublished writings by Hervæus will be found in Quétif and Échard's *Scriptores ordinis prædicatorum* (vol. i., p. 533, Paris, 1719).

(R. Seeberg.)

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HERVÆUS BURGIDOLENSIS (Hervé de Bourg-Dieu): Medieval French exegete; b. at Le Mans (130 m. s.w. of Paris) in the latter part of the eleventh century; d. at Déols (72 m. s.e. of Tours) about 1150. About 1100 he entered the Benedictine monastery at Déols, where he spent the remainder of his life, devoting himself to the study of the Bible and the Church Fathers. His chief works were his commentaries on Isaiah and the Pauline Epistles (*MPL*, lcxxxi.). Whether his interpretations of the pericopes of the Gospels may be recovered from the homilies ascribed to Anselm of Canterbury is a moot question, but the commentaries on Matthew and Revelation assigned to him were actually written by Anselm of Laon.

(R. Schmid.)

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HERVEY, ARTHUR CHARLES: Church of England bishop of Bath and Wells; b. at London Aug. 20, 1808; d. near Basingstoke (45 m. w.s.w. of London), Hampshire, June 9, 1894. He was of noble birth, being the fourth son of Frederick William, first marquis and fifth earl of Bristol, and was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge (B.A.,1830), and was ordered deacon and ordained priest in 1832. He was rector of Ickworth-cum-Chedburgh, Suffolk (1832–69), and was also curate of Horringer (1844–1869), as well as archdeacon of Sudbury (1862–69). In 1869 he was consecrated bishop of Bath and Wells. He was one of the Company of Old Testament Revisers. In theology he inclined toward Evangelicalism. He prepared portions of the volumes on Ruth and Samuel for *The Speaker's Commentary* (London, 1873), and on Judges, Ruth, Acts, and the Pastoral Epistles for *The Pulpit Commentary* (1881–87), and wrote: *Sermons for the Sundays and Principal Holy-Days throughout the Year* (2 vols., London, 1850); *The Genealogies of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as Contained in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, Reconciled with Each Other, and with the Genealogy of the House of David, from Adam to the Close of the Canon of the Old Testament, and Shewn to be in Harmony with the true Chronology of the Times* (Cambridge, 1853); *The Jews, their Past History, their Present Condition, their Future Prospects* (London, 1854); *The Inspiration of Holy Scripture* (1856); *The Authenticity of the Gospel of St. Luke* (London, 1892); *The Book of Chronicles in Relation to the Pentateuch and the "Higher Criticism"* (1892); and *The Pentateuch* (in collaboration with C. Hole; 1895).

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HERVEY, JAMES: Popular religious writer and clergyman of the Church of England; b. at Hardingstone (1 m. s. of Northampton) Feb. 26, 1714; d. at Weston Favell (1 m. n. of Northampton) Dec. 25, 1758. He was educated at the free grammar-school at Northampton, and at Lincoln College, Oxford (B.A., 1736). At Oxford he came under the influence of John Wesley, then fellow and tutor at Lincoln, but finally adopted a strongly Calvinistic creed and determined to remain in the Established Church. After holding curacies in Hampshire and Devonshire, where he was also chaplain to Paul Orchard of Stoke Abbey, he became curate to his father at Weston Favell in 1743, and succeeded to the livings of Weston Favell and Collingtree in 1752. His death was brought about by overwork, both in his parish and in his study. He was the author of several books which, though of no great literary or theological value, once enjoyed wide popularity, occupying a position in the family library side by side with the *Pilgrim's Progress* and the *Whole Duty of Man*. The more important of them are: *Meditations and Contemplations* (2 vols., London, 1746–1747; 25th ed., 1791), containing among other things the *Meditations among the Tombs;* and *Theron and Aspasio, or a Series of Dialogues and Letters* (3 vols., 1755), which drew replies from John Wesley, Robert Sandeman (qq.v.), and others; and the posthumous *Eleven Letters . . . to . . . John Wesley* (1765), an answer to Wesley's objections. His *Works* were published at Edinburgh (6 vols., 1769) and also in London (7 vols., 1797).

Bibliography: A *Life*, by Dr. Birch, was prefixed to the *Letters*, with a supplement by his curate, A. Maddock; a *Life* by T. W. was prefixed also to the *Meditations;* and still other editions of his works have had sketches of his life by different hands. Consult *DNB*, xxvi. 282–284; D. A. Harsha, *Life of Rev. James Hervey*, Albany, 1865.

HERZOG, hār'tsōg, EDUARD: Old Catholic bishop; b. at Schongau (a village near Hochdorf, 11 m. n. of Lucerne), Switzerland, Aug. 1, 1841. He was educated at Tübingen, Freiburg, and Bonn (1865–68), and from 1868 to 1872 was teacher of religion in the normal school of the Canton of Lucerne and of exegesis in the Roman Catholic theological seminary in Lucerne. In 1872 he left the Roman Catholic Church for the "Christian Catholic Church of Switzerland," a branch of the Old Catholic movement. He was then pastor of churches of this sect at Crefeld, Prussia (1872–73), Olten (1873–76), and Bern (1876–84). In 1876 he was consecrated bishop of the Old Catholic Church, and since 1874 has been professor of New Testament exegesis, catechetics, and homiletics in the Catholic theological faculty of the University of Bern. He has written *Ueber die Abfassungszeit der Pastoralbriefe* (Lucerne, 1870); *Christkatholisches Gebetbuch* (Bern, 1879); *Gemeinschaft mit der anglo-amerikanischen Kirche* (1881); *Ueber Religionsfreiheit in der helvetischen Republik* (1884); *Synodalpredigten und Hirtenbriefe* (2 series, 1886–1901); *Gegen Rom, Vortrag zur Aufklärung über den Montanismus* (in collaboration with F. Wrubel and Weibel; Zurich, 1890); *Beiträge zur Vorgeschichte der christkatholischen Kirche der Schweiz* (Bern, 1896); *"Predige das Wort"* (sermons, 1897); *Die kirchliche Sündenvergebung nach der Lehre des heiligen Augustins* (1902); and *Stiftspropst Josef Burkard Leu und das Dogma von 1854* (1904).

HERZOG JOHANN JAKOB: German Reformed theologian; b. at Basel Sept. 12, 1805; d. at Erlangen Sept. 30, 1882. He was educated at the Pædagogium in Basel and the University of Basel where he studied theology for three years. He then attended the University of Berlin, where he had first Schleiermacher and then Neander for teachers. He then returned to Basel, where he passed his first theological examination and became a docent in the university. In 1835 he was called to Lausanne, where in 1838 he became professor of historical theology. At Lausanne he lived on most friendly terms with both colleagues and students, cultivating with them pleasant social relations. At the same time he was very active in a literary way; besides several smaller essays, such as one on the teachings of Zwingli, and his *Johannes Calvin, eine biographische Skizze* (Basel, 1843), he composed a longer work: *Das Leben Œcolampadius und die Reformation der Kirche zu Basel* (2 vols., Basel, 1843). In 1840 and 1841 he contributed a series of articles to the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* on the conflict between the national church of the Canton of Vaud and the State, which at that time was trying to render it dependent. In Feb., 1846, he resigned his professorship on account of conscientious scruples and after a year of private teaching was called in

the spring of 1847 to the chair of church history and New Testament exegesis at the University of Halle. While there he became much interested in the Waldenses, two of his students being members of that sect, and he devoted himself to a historical investigation of their origin, making for that purpose journeys to Geneva, Grenoble, Paris, and Dublin that he might study ancient manuscripts dealing with that subject. The results of these researches he embodied both in his *De origine et pristino statu Waldensium* (Halle, 1848) and in his comprehensive *Die romanischen Waldenser* (1853). His studies led him to quite different opinions on the early history of the Waldenses from those usually entertained at the time, but his views are now universally adopted. He believed the Waldenses arose not earlier than the twelfth century, and from the beginning were students of the Bible, but deserted the paths of Roman Catholic piety only in the sixteenth century under the influence of Huss and the German Reformation. In 1854 he was called to Erlangen as professor of Reformed theology. Some time before this there had been planned in Germany a comprehensive encyclopedic work on theology, and Schneckenburger had been named as editor, but the revolution of 1848 had caused it to be abandoned for a time. With the advent of peace it was again undertaken. Schneckenburger having died in 1848, Tholuck, who was asked for advice, suggested the name of Herzog. Herzog was well fitted for the task by his many-sided knowledge, his ripe judgment, his mild and catholic views, his strong faith in revelation, and especially by his extended personal relations. He took great interest in the undertaking, contributing from his own pen no less than 529 articles. For the history of the *Real-Encyklopädie* see the preface to the first volume of this work, p. ix. Besides the works mentioned above, Herzog wrote an *Abriss der gesammten Kirchengeschichte* (3 vols., Erlangen, 1876–82). F. Sieffert.

Bibliography: F. Sieffert, in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 1883, no. 31, Beilage.

HESS: The name of several ministers and theologians of Zurich, of whom the more noteworthy are the following:

1. Johann Jakob Hess: B. at Zurich Oct. 21, 1741; d. there May 29, 1828. He was the son of a watchmaker, and from 1748 was brought up by his maternal uncle, Heinrich Gossweiler, pastor at Affoltern, near Zurich, a man of great piety and wide culture. From 1755 to 1760 he studied in Zurich. As a youth he showed considerable poetical talent; and, encouraged by Klopstock and Wieland, both of whom he had met in Zurich, he thought seriously of abandoning theology for poetry, but in 1760 he became assistant to his paternal uncle Kaspar Hess, pastor at Neftenbach. In 1767, having inherited considerable property from his father, he was able to retire to private life and devote himself entirely to study. For several years he worked upon his life of Christ. In 1777 he was called to the Liebfrauenkirche, Zurich. Despite the fact that Zurich had at that time several famous preachers, Hess attracted crowded congregations. His sermons, which he soon began to publish, were transcribed and circulated widely in manuscript, and thus his influence extended beyond his congregation, and his sermons came to serve as models for hundreds of ministers in Switzerland and even in other countries.

In 1795, quite unexpectedly and against his will, Hess was elected superintendent (antistes) of the churches of the Canton of Zurich. It was with a heavy heart that he entered upon the duties of this responsible office, now made doubly difficult by the political conditions of the time. However, Hess proved the right man, and his wisdom and strength of character safely piloted the Church through the tempestuous weather of the succeeding years. His leadership in the conflict with the enemies of the Church was recognized in other cantons, and his methods were adopted there. A thorn in the eye of the civil authorities, he was even threatened with deposition and deportation. In 1815 he wished to retire to private life, but the ministerium declined to consider his resignation. The Reformation-Jubilee in 1817 brought him honorary doctorates from Tübingen, Jena, and Copenhagen. He was a prominent figure at the secular celebration of the Reformation held in Zurich in Jan., 1819, when he received a large gold Zwingli-medal from the government, and another large gold medal from the king of Prussia. Shortly after the celebration he was taken ill, and henceforth had to entrust the duties of his office to his official representatives. He made his last public appearance in 1820, at a meeting of the Zurich Bible Society, of which he was the founder and president.

In the history of Protestantism in Zurich Hess occupies a very important position. He avoided fruitless speculation, and made himself the champion of historical and Scriptural Christianity. His favorite idea was that of the "inner union," or "the inner community of Christ," which with him represented not merely an ideal, but an actuality. All followers of Christ, he held, are year by year being gradually united in spirit into a single great brotherhood. He himself did much toward the realization of such a brotherhood. He was held in universal reverence; and it was largely because of this fact that he was able to make his influence so potent. In the world of theological scholarship Hess has exerted his greatest influence by his studies in the life of Christ. In this field he was a pioneer. His principal works are *Geschichte der drei letzten Lebensjahre Jesu* (6 vols., Zurich, 1768–73; 8th ed., 3 vols., 1822–23), which was translated into Dutch and Danish, and also adapted to the use of Roman Catholics; *Jugendgeschichte Jesu* (Zurich, 1773); *Von dem Reich Gottes* (2 vols., 1774); *Geschichte und Schriften der Apostel Jesu* (2 vols., 1775); *Geschichte der Israeliten vor den Zeiten Jesu* (12 vols., Zurich, 1776–91); *Ueber die Lehren, Thaten und Schicksale unseres Herrn* (2 vols., 1782; 3d ed., enlarged, 1817); *Bibliothek der heiligen Geschichte* (2 vols., 1791–92); *Der Christ bei Gefahren des Vaterlandes* (3 vols., 1799–1800), a collection of sermons; and *Kern der Lehre vom Reich Gottes* (1819). Before his death Hess published a collected edition of his works under the title, *Biblische Geschichte* (23 vols., 1826).

2. Felix Hess: B. in Zurich 1742; d. there 1768. He studied in Zurich and entered the Protestant ministry, was an intimate friend of J. K. Lavater and J. J. Hess, and a theologian of great promise. His early death was generally deplored. He wrote *Prüfung der philosophischen und moralischen Predigten* (Berlin, 1767), and made a translation of John Taylor's *Scheme of Scripture-Divinity*, which was edited by J. J. Hess, *J. Taylor's Entwurf der Schrifttheologie* (Zurich, 1777).

3. Salomo Hess: B. in Zurich 1763; d. there 1837. He was a nephew of Johann Jakob Hess. He became a deacon at St. Peter's in 1792, where J. K. Lavater was pastor, and succeeded Lavater in 1801. His historical works are lacking in exactness, and should be used with caution. The more important are *Erasmus von Rotterdam* (2 parts, Zurich, 1790); *Lebensgeschichte Dr. J. Œkolampads* (1791); *Geschichte der Pfarrkirche St. Peter* (1793); *Geschichte des Zürcher-Katechismus* (1811); *Das Reformationsfest* (1819); *Anna Reinhart, Gattin und Wittwe von Ulrich Zwingli* (1819); and *Lebensgeschichte M. H. Bullingers* (2 vols., 1828–29).

4. Hans Caspar Hess: B. 1772; d. 1847. He received his theological training in Zurich and entered the Protestant ministry there. As *informator* in Geneva he wrote *La Vie d'Ulrich Zwingli* (Paris and Geneva, 1810; Germ. transl., Zurich, 1811; Eng. transl., London, 1813).

(P. D. Hess.)

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HESS (HESSE), JOHANN: German Reformer; b. at Nuremberg Sept. 23(?), 1490; d. at Breslau Jan. 5, 1547. He studied from 1505 to 1510 at Leipsic, and then spent two years at Wittenberg, where he was on terms of friendship with Luther, and especially with Luther's friends Johann Lange and Spalatin. In 1513, after a short stay at Nuremberg, his humanistic connections and the commendation of Steurl gained him the position of secretary to the bishop of Breslau, Johann V. Turzo, a friend of the Renaissance and admirer of Erasmus. In 1515 he became private tutor of a son of Duke Charles of Münsterberg-Öls at Neisse, where he was appointed to a canonry in the same year. In 1517 he visited central Germany, and in 1518, Italy. On his return in 1519 he went to Wittenberg, where he lived two months in intimate association with Luther and Melanchthon. Then he went back to his bishop, who gave him additional canonries at Brieg and Breslau. At this time he was ordained priest. The prospects for an Evangelical reform were favorable, as the bishop showed no suspicion toward Hess and himself maintained relations with Luther and Melanchthon. Moreover, humanistic studies had found a ready welcome at Breslau even before the time of Hess. Now the new religious spirit entered, and some of Luther's smaller reforming writings were reprinted. But Bishop Turzo died in 1520, and his successor, Jacob von Salza, adhered strictly to the Roman Church. Thus conditions became unbearable for Hess. He sought refuge with his ducal patron, and as court preacher he proclaimed Evangelical doctrines. In 1523 we find him again at Nuremberg. During his absence the Reformation had made headway in Breslau. The Franciscans of the monastery of St. James took part in the movement, and the people had been stirred up by "Lutheran" sermons. Under these circumstances the magistrate of the city called Hess in 1523 as preacher to the Church of St. Mary Magdalene. In a disputation held in 1524 he openly declared for the Reformation. The town council ordered all preachers of the city to follow the example of Hess. The change of liturgy and the restoration of communion in both kinds seems to have been accomplished by Hess without disturbance. Hand in hand with the religious reform went the reform of the schools and charitable work. In 1525 Ambrosius Moiban, a friend of Hess, was called to the St. Elizabeth's Church, and that of the Cistercians was also placed under an Evangelical preacher.

The changes in the service were restricted to narrow limits, Hess showing himself here a man of moderation and caution. One of the chief peculiarities of the Reformation in Breslau was the connection of the new system with the old, at least in form. Hess and Moiban continued to acknowledge the bishops as their superiors, and the bishops themselves were not inclined to interfere with this state of affairs. By having the ordinations of its ministers performed elsewhere, especially at Wittenberg, the city guarded itself against interference by the king of Bohemia, who was a strict Catholic; though in any case he was inclined to tolerate the Evangelical church of Breslau as a strong defense against the inroads of Schwenckfeldianism and Anabaptism. Hess had no sympathy with these tenets, nor with the teachings of the Swiss Reformers on the Eucharist. Besides Johann Lange, Melanchthon, and Luther, he counted Veit Dietrich, Camerarius, and Brenz among his friends, and corresponded with influential men in the Prussian Church. In 1540 he visited his native city, and again in 1541 on the occasion of his father's death. Thence he went to Regensburg, where he and Veit Dietrich attended the diet which discussed the state of religion. His only publication was a reprint of the chapter *De vitanda ebrietate* from Pliny's "Natural History" together with some poems (Wittenberg, 1512).

(J. Köstlin†.)

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HESSE.

Rise of Protestantism (§ 1).
Church Organization (§ 2).
The Clergy (§ 3).
Recent Reforms (§ 4).
Roman Catholics (§ 5).

The grand duchy of Hesse is a state of the German empire, comprising two main portions and eleven small exclaves. The northern division, called Upper

Hesse, is surrounded by the Prussian province of Hesse-Nassau; the southern portion, consisting of the provinces of Rhenish Hesse and Starkenburg, is bounded by Prussia, Bavaria, and Baden. Heese has an area of 2,965 square miles, and a population (1905) of 1,210,104. About two-thirds of the population belong to the State Church, which comprehends all Evangelical parishes, whether Lutheran, Reformed, or of a united confession. The majority of persons outside of the Established Church are Roman Catholics, who number about 30 per cent of the population. The Jews number some 30,000. Mennonites, Baptists, Methodists, and Quakers number all together only a few hundreds.

1. Rise of Protestantism.

Under the influence of Philip the Magnanimous, landgrave of Hesse 1509–67 (see PHILIP OF HESSE; HOMBERG SYNOD AND CHURCH ORDER OF 1526), and his theological counselors, Melanchthon, Zwingli, Butzer, and Hyperius, the Evangelical Church of Hesse in the sixteenth century represented a mediating tendency, though until 1566 it showed a curious union of Episcopal and Presbyterian tendencies. In the interest of uniformity throughout the margravate, the Agenda of 1566 was promulgated by the church authorities. It was Calvinistic in character, represented a mediating tendency in its treatment of the sacraments, and provided ordination by laying on of hands for bishops, elders (preachers and laymen), and deacons. After the death of Philip a new Agenda was published in 1574, showing a stronger bias toward Lutheranism. This remained substantially in force till into the nineteenth century. The frequent changes that have taken place in the boundaries and political organization of Hesse render it impracticable to give here the details of its ecclesiastical history. In general, Lutheranism has gradually gained the ascendancy, and usually changes in boundaries have broken the confessional unity of the state only temporarily.

2. Church Organization.

The present organization of the State Church rests upon the edict of Jan. 6, 1874. The church constitution is of the modern synodal type and resembles most nearly that of Baden. The grand duke, a Protestant, is the head of the Church; and the highest ecclesiastical authority is vested in the consistory (*Oberkonsistorium*), which is responsible directly to the grand duke. This is composed of three clerical and three lay members, the clerical members being at the same time the heads of the Church in the three provinces of Rhenish Hesse, Starkenburg, and Upper Hesse. The State Church includes all Evangelical parishes, though these are allowed to maintain their confessional peculiarities, in that they have a right to reject any ecclesiastical legislation affecting religious instruction. The individual parishes are governed by local parochial boards, consisting of the ministers and from four to twelve laymen, who are elected for ten years, and by a popular body of from twelve to seventy members. The parishes are united into twenty-three deaneries (*Dekanate*), each having its decanal synod, composed of clerical and lay members in equal numbers, with an executive committee. A general synod meets every five years. This body is composed of two representatives of each of the decanal synods, a clergyman and a layman, three clerical and four lay members named by the grand duke, and the prelate, who, like the Roman Catholic bishop, is a member of the upper chamber. The consistory is represented in local affairs by the deans, who are elected by the decanal synods, and, as regards finances, by certain district officials. The executive committee of the general synod is an extension of the consistory.

3. The Clergy.

Salaries of clergymen are paid from the general treasury of the Church. After the candidate for the ministry has spent at least seven semesters at some German university, he is examined in the first instance by the theological faculty of the University of Giessen. He must then spend a year in the seminary for ministers at Friedberg. He then undergoes a final examination by a special committee, composed of the clerical members of the consistory and of the professors of the seminary. The duties of ministers are regulated by law; and pastorates are filled by the consistory on petition of the parochial boards. Surplice-fees were abolished in 1891. The pastor must give weekly, three or four hours' religious instruction in the public elementary schools, basing his instruction on Biblical history and the catechism. In Lutheran parishes he uses the Lutheran catechism, in certain Reformed parishes the Heidelberg catechism, and in united parishes the catechism of 1894, which combines the Lutheran and Heidelberg catechisms.

4. Recent Reforms.

There is no uniform liturgy for the whole state, though a movement having as its object the preparation of a liturgy acceptable to all parishes is now in progress. Similarly, an effort has been made to give church-music a uniform character; and in many places church-singing has been reformed in the interest of a lively popular rhythm. To be mentioned here is the choral book edited by J. G. Herzog, and also his book of preludes. In recent years the interests of the State Church have been furthered by the division of the larger parishes, the erection of numerous new churches, by the ordinance providing for the care of the poor, and by regulations against such sects as the Irvingites, Adventists, etc. Sunday-schools are now common. The Innere Mission maintains some thirty hospitals and a large number of other charitable institutions of an educational nature.

5. Roman Catholics.

The Roman Catholic inhabitants are under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Mainz. The relation between the Roman curia and the Hessian government was established by the bulls *Provida solersque* (1821) and *Ad dominici gregis custodiam* (1827), and the edicts of 1829 and 1830 (changed in 1853). An agreement made in 1854 between the bishop and the Hessian government was repudiated by the curia in 1866. Since then all ecclesiastical relations have been arranged by secular legislation. Both the Roman Catholic Church and the Evan-

gelical Church receive financial aid from the government. (F. FLÖRING.)

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HESSELS (HESSELINUS), JOHANN HEINRICH: Roman Catholic theologian; b. either at Arras (100 m. n.n.e. of Paris), France, or at Louvain, Belgium, 1522; d. at Louvain 1566. He taught eight years in the Premonstratensian monastery of Parc, near Louvain, and then became professor in the theological faculty of that university in 1559. He joined the Augustinian antischolastic party which went back to the Church Fathers of the third, fourth, and fifth centuries, but vigorously opposed the Augustinism of the Protestants. With Bajus and Cornelius Jansen he went, in 1563, to the Council of Trent, where he seems to have taken part in the preparatory work of the *Catechismus Romanus*. The last three years of his life were occupied with polemical agitation against Protestantism and Cassander. He wrote polemical treatises and commentaries on the Bible. His chief work in the sphere of dogmatics is his *Catechismus* (Louvain, 1571, 2d ed., 1595). (O. ZÖCKLER†.)

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HESSEY, JAMES AUGUSTUS: Church of England; b. at London July 17, 1814; d. there Dec. 24, 1892. He was educated at St. John's College, Oxford (B.A., 1836), and was ordained priest in 1838. He was vicar of Helidon, Northants. (1839), and lecturer in logic in his college (1839–42). He was public examiner in the University of Oxford (1842–44), and headmaster of Merchant Taylors' School (1845–70). He became examining chaplain to the bishop of London (1870), and from 1875 until his death was archdeacon of Middlesex. He was likewise select preacher at Oxford in 1849, and at Cambridge in 1878–79, preacher of Gray's Inn, London, in 1850–79, Bampton Lecturer at Oxford in 1860, prebendary of Oxgate in St. Paul's Cathedral in 1860–75, Grinfeld Lecturer on the Septuagint in Oxford in 1865–69, and Boyle Lecturer in 1871–1873. He was one of the three permanent chairmen of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, took an active part in the movement against legalizing marriage with a deceased wife's sister, and in theology was a moderate High-churchman, with deep sympathy with all that is earnest and true in every school of his Church. In addition to editing the *Institutio Linguæ Sanctæ* of Victorinus Bythner (2 parts, London, 1853), he wrote *Schemata Rhetorica: or, Tables explanatory of the Nature of the Enthymeme, and the Various Modes of Classification adopted by Aristotle in his Rhetoric and Prior Analytics* (Oxford, 1845); *Sunday, its Origin, History, and Present Obligation* (Bampton lectures; London, 1860); *Biographies of the Kings of Judah* (1865); and *Moral Difficulties Connected with the Bible* (Boyle lectures; 3 series, 1871–73).

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HESSHUSEN, TILEMANN: German Lutheran; b. at Nieder-Wesel (32 m. n.w. of Düsseldorf), in the duchy of Cleves, Nov. 3, 1527; d. at Helmstedt (22 m. e. of Brunswick) Sept. 25, 1588. He studied at Wittenberg, where he became the pupil, friend, and guest of Melanchthon. During the Interim he went abroad, hearing lectures at Oxford and Paris. In 1550, after his return to Wittenberg, he lectured at the university. In 1553, at the recommendation of his teacher, he was appointed superintendent and *pastor primarius* in Goslar; but his zeal for the reformation of the collegiate chapters and convents brought upon him the disfavor of the magistrates so that he was compelled to resign in 1556. He went to Magdeburg, where he collaborated on the "Magdeburg Centuries" and took an active part in attempts at mediating between Melanchthon and Flacius. After a few weeks he went to Rostock as professor at the university and pastor of the church of St. James. Here he joined Peter Eggerdes in preaching against the celebration of marriage ceremonies on Sundays and the carousals which usually followed them, against the participation of Evangelical Christians in Roman Catholic funerals and the employment of Roman Catholic sponsors. He excommunicated the two burgomasters who opposed him, but although many citizens and even Duke Ulrich were on his side and that of Eggerdes, they were both expelled on Oct. 9, 1557.

In the following month Elector Otto Heinrich called Hesshusen to Heidelberg as first professor of theology, preacher at the Church of the Holy Spirit, and general superintendent of the Palatinate. Here, too, he gained few friends, and his attacks on the Calvinistic doctrine of the Lord's Supper made him generally unpopular. Elector Frederick III., the successor of Otto Heinrich, demanded adherence to the *Augustana variata*. As Hesshusen did not submit, he was deposed in 1559. He had a still more vehement encounter on the question of the Lord's Supper with Albert Hardenberg, cathedral preacher in Bremen, who was an adherent of Philippism (see PHILIPPISTS). In 1560 he became

pastor of the Church of St. John in Magdeburg, whence he continued his attacks on Hardenberg. In 1561 his opponent was deposed as a disturber of the common peace and expelled. At a convention held in Lüneburg in 1561, Hesshusen achieved the victory of strict Lutheranism, but the synod of Lower Saxony accepted its resolutions only under the condition that preachers be forbidden to condemn one another. In the mean time Johann Wigand, whom Strigel had expelled from Jena, had come to Magdeburg. Hesshusen intended to secure for him a position at the Church of St. Ulrich, and for this purpose tried to expel Sebastian Werner. The magistrates, however, did not submit to this arbitrary procedure. Riots followed, and Hesshusen declared that he did not consider the council any longer a Christian authority and imposed the ban upon its members. As a consequence, in 1562 he was driven out of Magdeburg by an armed force. He fled to Wesel, his native city; but his denunciations of the pope as Antichrist aroused the displeasure of the duke of Jülich, and at his instigation the council expelled him. He pleaded in vain with the authorities of Strasburg to be received there. In 1565 Count Palatine Wolfgang of Zweibrücken called him to Neuburg as court preacher. In May, 1566, he took part in the discussions of the Diet of Augsburg, with the permission of his sovereign.

On the death of the Count Palatine in 1569, Duke John William called him to the University of Jena, with the special task to reestablish strict Lutheranism in the country. With his colleagues Wigand and Cœlestin he subjected the clergy of Thuringia to a vigorous examination. The fruit of this visitation was Hesshusen's *Examen theologicum* (1570). In 1570 Jacob Andreä came to Weimar to win the duke for the Formula of Concord; but all attempts at union were bitterly opposed by Hesshusen, and Andreä was dismissed without having achieved his purpose. In 1571 Hesshusen attacked Flacius, his former friend, who, according to him, taught that hereditary sin formed the substance of man. On the death of Duke John William in 1573, the administration of the country was entrusted to Elector Augustus, who speedily expelled Hesshusen and Wigand and a hundred other clergymen and theologians. The two leaders turned to Brunswick, where Chemnitz offered them a place of refuge. On Sept. 21, 1573, Hesshusen was consecrated bishop of Samland. In his zealous defense of the Lutheran doctrine against the Calvinists he went so far as to say that not only is Christ omnipotent, but that the humanity of Christ is omnipotent, on the basis of the unity of the two natures. Now the tables were turned upon him. After having triumphantly represented Flacius as teaching that the devil was a creator as well as God, he was now proved to teach that there were two divine beings, both omnipotent. As Hesshusen did not retreat, the duke deposed him from his office (1577). With the assistance of Chemnitz, he received a position in the University of Helmstedt. He was finally persuaded to sign the Formula of Concord, and every obstacle to its introduction in Brunswick seemed to be removed; but in comparing the printed copy with the written text, Hesshusen found a considerable number of deviations, and was not satisfied with the explanations of Chemnitz. The duke of Brunswick also opposed the Formula, so that it was not accepted in his country, and thus lost much of its general authority.

Of his works may be mentioned: *Von Amt und Gewalt der Pfarrherren* (1561; ed. Friedrich August Schütz, Leipsic, 1854), in which he developed his rigorous views on church discipline, and *De servo arbitrio* (1562). Against the supposed adiaphorism of men like Andreä who tried to harmonize, he wrote *Vom Bekenntnis des Namens Jesu* (1571). Several treatises are directed against the Wittenberg catechism of 1570 and against the Consensus of Dresden. He wrote against Rome in his exposition of the nineteenth Psalm (1571) and in *De 600 erroribus pontificis ecclesiæ* (1572). Against Flacius he wrote *Analysis argumentorum Flacii* (1571), *Gegenbericht von der Erbsünde wider Flacius* (1571). *Clara et perspicua testimonia Augustini* (1571), and *Antidotum contra Flacii dogma* (1572, 1576). He developed the thoughts of his *Examen theologicum* further in *De vera ecclesia et ejus autoritate libri ii.* (1572). Against the Calvinistic doctrine of ubiquity he wrote *Veræ et sacræ Confessionis de præsentia corporis Christi pia defensio* (1583); *Bekenntnis von der persönlichen Vereinigung beider Naturen* (1586) and other works. Hesshusen also wrote commentaries on the Psalms and on the epistles of Paul, six books *De justificatione* (1587), and several collections of sermons. (K. Hackenschmidt.)

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HESSHUSIUS. See Hesshusen, Tilemann.

HESYCHASTS: A community of Greek quietistic and mystic monks, especially on Mount Athos in the fourteenth century. Since the elevation of the Palæologi to the imperial throne, the Church had been in a state of continuous unrest, the policy of the government inclining alternately to union with the Roman Catholic Church and to hostility to the Latin faith; while the first half of the fourteenth century was a period of civil war. This was the time at which the Hesychasts originated, first on Mount Athos, under the leadership of Gregorius Palamas (q.v.), later archbishop of Thessalonica. They spoke of an eternal, uncreated, and yet communicable divine light, which had shone on Mount Tabor, the Mount of Transfiguration, and had passed to them. They were soon assailed, however, by the monk Barlaam, a native of Calabria, of Greek descent, but educated in the Roman Catholic Church, and originally a member of a Roman Catholic Basilian order. He had gone to Greece at the beginning of the reign of Andronicus, joined the Greek Church, and won prominence by polemics against the Roman Church and as an agent of Andronicus to Benedict XII. at Avignon, ostensibly to procure the support of western Europe against the Turks, but really to labor for a union

First Appearance. Barlaam.

between the Greek and Roman churches. After his return to Greece Barlaam attacked the Hesychasts and declared their teaching heretical, since such a light could only be the essence of God. To the argument of Palamas that the light was not the absolute essence, but a divine agency and grace in its communicability, Barlaam replied with a charge of teaching a twofold divinity, approachable and unapproachable, thus approximating dualism. The matter was brought by Barlaam before the Patriarch Johannes, and a synod was convened at Constantinople in 1341 under the presidency of the emperor and the patriarch. The Calabrian was defeated and returned to Italy, where he rejoined the Roman Church, and in 1342 was made bishop of Gerace in Calabria. He now wrote as violently against the Greek Church as he had formerly against the Latin. He died in 1348. A second synod confirmed the decision of the first, especially as Barlaam was suspected in Greece of being an adherent of Rome. Notwithstanding all this, the number of those who agreed with him increased, and in a third synod his party were able, through the influence of the Empress Anna, to depose the patriarch, although their success was checked by the victory of John Cantacuzenos over Anna. A fourth synod was held in 1351, and the final decision was completely in favor of the monks. The Hesychasts were accordingly approved, while Barlaam was excommunicated and his partizan, the archbishop of Ephesus, was deposed.

The Hesychast Doctrine.

The object of the Hesychasts was a revival of the mysticism which had prevailed in Greek theology from ancient times. Since Clement of Alexandria, it had been an axiom that illumination might be gained by purification, and the pseudo-Dionysius, who sought some other means of approach to God than the ordinary method of knowledge and meditation, postulated a hidden light into which one who was deemed worthy to see God might enter. Similar concepts recur under different terminology in Maximus, but the chief theologian to raise the theory of the divine light to a cardinal doctrine in the Greek system was Symeon Neotheologus (q.v.), who flourished about the year 1000. He regarded the vision of God and the consequent union with the divine as the chief end of the Christian, and for the attainment of this object required a systematic education which was to be perfected by baptism, asceticism, penance, and the sacraments. This teaching formed the basis of the Hesychasts of Mount Athos, although they devised an artificial mode of obtaining these visions. The light was regarded as superterrestrial and divine, but was not identified with God, and a distinction was accordingly drawn between essence and activity. The latter was divided into an indefinite number of individual energies of wisdom, power, counsel, illumination, and life. These form the "divinities" which emanate from God and are inseparably connected with him. To them belongs the Tabor-light, which is superterrestrial, visible, eternal, and uncreated, yet deifies that through which it passes and raises it to the region of the uncreated. Against this the followers of Barlaam, represented especially by Nicephoras Gregoras, argued that the uncreated light must be either a substance or a quality. In the former case, a fourth hypostasis is assumed, and in the latter a quality, which is impossible without a subject. In either case, two Gods would be presupposed: one superior, and the other inferior and capable of being attained to by physical vision. On the other hand, the most necessary attributes of God are unity and goodness; but the former excludes all combination, and the latter is unthinkable, except in a union of essence and activity.

The Points of Controversy.

The problem presented to the synod was twofold: the distinction between essence and activity, and the Hesychastic interpretation of their uncreated energies as "divinities," which became the principle of a mysterious deification. On the basis of the latter question the Hesychasts could scarcely have been sustained, but the synod gave prominence to the purely speculative problem without regard to the peculiar point of view from which it was deduced. The Greek Fathers had always recognized the acme of the divine transcendency as the absolute, to which no name might be given and which no eye, either of mind or body, might behold. On the other hand, they admitted life and activity proceeding from the absolute, and these qualities could not fail unless the finite was to be separated from all vital association with God. For so fluctuating a differentiation, which formed, moreover, a ready basis for mysticism, it was not difficult to find proofs both from analogy and from the earlier theologians; and the synod accordingly rendered its decision regardless of the philosophical error contained in the mystical deductions of the Hesychasts. The justice of their claims to the discovery of the Tabor-light, the retainable portion of their Gnosticizing description of the energies, and the reconciliation of the contradiction of an uncreated visibility were unexplained; nor was the relation of essence and activity clearly defined. Nevertheless, the Greek Church remained content with this unsatisfactory result, partly because it squared with the tendency of its theology. In its turn, the Roman Catholic Church upheld Barlaam, and even made the controversy one of the points of difference between itself and the Greek Church. The struggle for Hesychasm was in defense of the essentially Greek dogma that the spirit of God still operates creatively in the Church as it did in the Apostolic Age, and it was likewise a battle against Occidental scholasticism, which was then rejected forever by the Greek Church.

From this point of view it becomes clear why the doctrine of the sight of the divine light has been retained in Greek theology, and why it gained new power with the revival in that body in the nineteenth century. The chief representative of the Hesychasts in that period was Nikodemus Hagiorites (q.v.), a monk of Athos, in his "Manual of Symbolistics" (Venice [?], 1801), who was followed by such dogmaticians as Eugenios Bulgaris in his "Theology" (ed. Leontopulos, Venice, 1872) and Athanasios Parios (q.v.) in his "Epitome" (Leipsic, 1806), while a work on the "spiritual prayer," which leads to the vision of light, was

published at Athens in 1854 under the title of "Spiritual Synopsis" by Sophronios, an archimandrate of a monastery on Athos.

(PHILIPP MEYER.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sources are in John Cantacuzenos, *Hist. Byzantina*, in *MPG*, cliii (gives the case for the Hesychasts); Nicephoras Gregoras, *Hist. Byzantina*, *MPG*, cxlviii (gives the Barlaam side); review of the sources in Krumbacher, *Geschichte*. For history and discussion consult: Illgen, in *ZHT*, viii (1838), 48 sqq.; W. Gass, *Geschichte der Athos-Klöster*, Giessen, 1865; J. H. Krause, *Die Byzantiner des Mittelalters*, pp. 312 (on Barlaam), 327 (on the Hesychasts), Halle, 1869; Stein, *Studien über die Hesychasten des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Vienna, 1874; J. Hergenröther, *Handbuch der allgemeinen Kirchengeschichte*, ii. 860 sqq., Freiburg, 1885; K. Holl, *Enthusiasmus und Bussgewalt bei dem griechischen Mönchtum*, Leipsic, 1898; A. H. Hore, *Eighteen Centuries of the Orthodox Greek Church*, pp. 457–458, New York, 1899; *KL*, i. 2012–2016 (Barlaam), v. 1960–68 (the Hesychasts).

HESYCHIUS, he-sik'i-us: A name of frequent occurrence in the history of early ecclesiastical literature.

1. An Egyptian bishop of the third century who suffered martyrdom under Maximus about 311 A.D. (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, viii. 13). He is known chiefly as a Biblical critic. A revision of the Septuagint prepared by him once occupied in Alexandria and Egypt a position of importance analogous to that held by the work of Lucian from Constantinople to Antioch (see BIBLE VERSIONS, A, I. 1, § 5). He also prepared an edition of the New Testament which found a few enthusiastic admirers, though it was rejected by Jerome (cf. *Ad Rufinum*, ii. 26; *De vir. ill.*, lxxvii.; cf. Gelasius I., *Decretum*, vi. 14–15). None of his writings have been preserved, and nothing is now known of the nature of his critical work.

2. Presbyter of Jerusalem; d. 430. He was the author of a work on church history, of which a portion was read before the Fifth General Council (Second Constantinople, 553; cf. Mansi, *Concilia*, ix. 248–249). This work has been lost. A large amount of literary material (printed in part in *MPG*, xciii.), commonly ascribed to Hesychius, has been preserved, but further research is necessary before the authorship can be definitely determined. The *Explanationes in Leviticum* (*MPG*, xciii. 787–790) are manifestly spurious, as they are based upon the Vulgate. W. Cave was of the opinion that the author of these writings was a presbyter named Hesychius who lived at Jerusalem about 600 A.D.

For others of this name consult Fabricius-Harles, *Bibliotheca Græca*, vii. 544 (Hamburg, 1801).

(PHILIPP MEYER.)

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2. W. Cave, *Scriptorum eccl. hist. literaria*, i. 570 sqq., Oxford, 1740; Fabricius-Harles, *Bibliotheca Græca*, vii. 548–551, Hamburg, 1801; O. Bardenhewer, *Patrologia*, pp. 351–353, Freiburg, 1894; Krumbacher, *Geschichte*, p. 147; *DCB*, iii. 11–12; Ceillier, *Auteurs sacrés*, xi. 654–657.

HETERODOXY. See ORTHODOXY.

HETHERINGTON, WILLIAM MAXWELL: Scottish poet and clergyman of the Free Church; b. near Dumfries June 4, 1803; d. at Glasgow May 23, 1865. He studied at the University of Edinburgh, and became pastor at Torpichen, Linlithgow, in 1836. At the separation of 1843 he joined the Free Church and received a charge in St. Andrews the following year. In 1844 he established the *Free Church Magazine*, which he edited for four years. In 1848 he was called to Free St. Paul's, Edinburgh. From 1857 till his death he was professor of apologetics and systematic theology at New College, Glasgow. Aside from his poems, his more important works are: *The Minister's Family* (Edinburgh, 1838; 12th ed., 1880), a popular Evangelical work; *History of the Church of Scotland* (1842; 7th ed., 2 vols., 1852), a good book, but biased; *History of the Westminster Assembly of Divines* (1843; ed. R. Williamson, 1878), a useful work of reference; and the posthumous *Apologetics of the Christian Faith* (1867), a course of lectures edited, with a biographical sketch, by Alexander Duff.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hew Scott, *Fasti ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, i. 204, London, 1871; *DNB*, xxvi. 300–301.

HETTINGER, FRANZ: German Roman Catholic scholar; b. at Aschaffenburg (23 m. e.s.e. of Frankfort), Bavaria, Jan. 13, 1819; d. at Würzburg Jan. 26, 1890. He studied at Würzburg and in the German College at Rome, where he was ordained priest in 1843. From 1847 nearly the whole of his life was spent at Würzburg, either in the clerical seminary or in the university, in which he was professor of theological encyclopedia and patrology (1856–67) and of apologetics and homiletics from 1867, besides being rector in 1862 and 1867. In 1868 he was summoned to Rome to take part in the preparations for the Vatican Council, and in 1879 was made domestic prelate to Leo XIII. His works include *Das Priesterthum der katholischen Kirche* (Regensburg, 1851); *Die Liturgie der Kirche und die lateinische Sprache* (Würzburg, 1856); *Das Recht und die Freiheit der Kirche* (1860); *Apologie des Christenthums* (2 vols., Freiburg, 1862–67; *Natural Religion*, and *Revealed Religion*, 2 vols., London, 1895); *Die kirchliche Vollgewalt des apostolischen Stuhles* (1873; *The Supremacy of the Apostolic See in the Church*, London, 1889); *D. F. Strauss* (1875); *Lehrbuch der Fundamentaltheologie oder Apologetik* (2 vols., 1879); and a number of scholarly works on Dante, of which the most important is *Die göttliche Komödie des Dante nach ihrem wesentlichen Inhalt und Charakter* (1880; Dante's *Divina Commedia: its Scope and Value*, London, 1887).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A *Gedenkblatt* was published at Würzburg, 1890. Consult: F. Kaufmann, *Franz Hettinger*, Frankfort, 1891.

HETZER, LUDWIG. See HAETZER, LUDWIG.

HEUBNER, heib'ner, **HEINRICH LEONHARD:** German Lutheran; b. at Lauterbach (in the Erzgebirge, 15 m. s.e. of Chemnitz) June 2, 1780; d. at Wittenberg Feb. 12, 1853. After schooling at Schulpforta and studying at Wittenberg, where, in 1805, he qualified as lecturer, he became superintendent and first director of the Wittenberg theological seminary, in 1832; and so served till his death. As theologian Heubner adopted the standpoint of F. V. Reinhard (q.v.) until about 1817; and since he was uninfluenced by newer theological, as well as philosophic, tendencies, his theology

bore somewhat of an antiquated stamp. Nevertheless his fervent piety elevated him to a sincerity and warmth that far exceeded the forms of the routine school system. Accordingly, his power lay not in his academic activity, nor yet in his sermons, but in the influence of his Christian personality. Loyalty to the confession of the Lutheran Church caused him to refuse acquiescence in the Act of Union and acceptance of the new liturgy. Respect for his personality, however, induced the authorities to leave him undisturbed. His publications are limited to minor treatises, two collections of sermons, and the reissue of Reinhard's *Plan Jesu* (Wittenberg, 1830; Eng. transl., including Heubner's notes, *Plan of the Founder of Christianity*, New York, 1831) and Büchner's *Handkonkordanz* to the Bible (Halle, 1840). After his death there appeared a practical exposition of the New Testament (4 vols., Potsdam, 1856), and *Christliche Topik oder Darstellung der christlichen Glaubenslehre für den homiletischen Gebrauch* (1863), based on his lectures.

GEORG RIETSCHEL.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Schmieder, *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, 1883, pp. 289 sqq.; *Zum Gedächtniss Dr. Heinrich Leonhard Heubners*, Wittenberg, 1853; G. Rietschel, *Heinrich Leonhard Heubner*, ib. 1880; Wangemann, *Die kirchliche Cabinets-Politik des Königs Friedrich Wilhelm III.*, pp. 171 sqq., 182 sqq., Berlin, 1884; A. Koch, *Dr. Heinrich Leonhard Heubner in Wittenberg*, ib. 1885.

HEUMANN, hei'mān, **CHRISTOPH AUGUST**: German Protestant; b. at Alstädt, Thuringia, Aug. 3, 1681; d. at Göttingen May 1, 1764. He received his education at the gymnasium at Saalfeld and at the University of Jena, where he became privat-docent in philosophy in 1702. After traveling in Germany, Holland, and France, he became director of the seminary and gymnasium at Eisenach in 1709. Here he remained till 1717, when he accepted a similar position in the gymnasium at Göttingen. Here he had abundant opportunity to display his talents as administrator, teacher, and writer. In 1734 the premises of the gymnasium were required for the erection of the new university. Heumann expected an appointment as full professor of theology, since he had received the doctorate in theology at Helmstedt in 1728, and had declined several calls to universities. But he was appointed professor of the history of literature and associate professor of theology. At last he received a full professorship in theology in 1745. In 1758 he felt obliged to retire, since he disagreed with the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper. He devoted the rest of his life to literary work. He was an indefatigable writer; the mere enumeration of his works occupies 134 pages in his biography by Cassius. He wrote on theology, criticism, philology, history of philosophy, biography, etc. Of his theological writings, the principal are his translation of the New Testament (Hanover, 1748), his commentary on the New Testament (12 vols., 1750–63), and the posthumous *Erweiss, dass die Lehre der reformierten Kirche vom Abendmahle die rechte sei* (3 parts, 1764), which grievously offended the Lutherans and called forth numerous replies.

(PAUL TSCHACKERT.)

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HEUSDE, PHILIP WILLEM VAN. See GRONINGEN SCHOOL.

HEUSSER, heis'ser, **META (SCHWEIZER)**: The best female hymnist in the German language; b. at Hirzel (13 m. s.s.e. of Zurich) Apr. 6, 1797; d. there Jan. 2, 1876. She was the fourth daughter of Pastor Diethelm Schweizer, a relative and friend of Lavater, and spent her quiet life in Hirzel. She married Johann Jakob Heusser, an eminent physician, and became the mother of a large family. She never dreamed that her lays would be given to the world; but her friends, after many vain efforts, obtained her consent to publish anonymously some of them in Albert Knapp's *Christoterpe* for 1834. They made a deep impression, and passed into many collections and German hymn-books of Europe and America, especially the Easter hymn, *Lamm das gelitten, und Löwe der siegreich gerungen*, and *O Jesus Christ, mein Leben*. Later Knapp edited a volume of her poems, under the title *Lieder einer Verborgenen* (Leipsic, 1858). It was followed by a second series (1867), under her real name. A selection from both volumes was translated into English by Miss Jane Borthwick under the title *Alpine Lyrics* (Edinburgh and London, 1875). Mrs. Heusser was a woman of rare genius, piety, and loveliness of character. Her memory was stored with the choicest poetry, secular and religious.

(PHILIP SCHAFF†.) D. S. SCHAFF.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: O. Koch, *Geschichte des Kirchenlieds und Kirchengesanges*, vii. 377–381, 8 vols., Stuttgart, 1866–1877; P. Schaff, *Christ in Song*, New York, 1868; *ADB*, xii. 339–340; Julian, *Hymnology*, pp. 519–520.

HEWALD (HERWALD): The name of two Anglo-Saxon monks who toward the end of the seventh century undertook a mission to Saxony. According to Bede (*Hist. eccl.*, v. 10), they had lived a long time in Ireland, and were distinguished as the "dark" (*niger*) and the "fair" (*albus*), from the color of their hair. Their request to be presented to the Saxon chief was not granted, and the barbarians slew them, torturing the dark Hewald cruelly, and throwing his limbs into the Rhine. The king punished the murderers, and the bodies of the martyrs at once began to work miracles. Pepin buried them in Cologne (which fixes their date before 714). The day of their suffering was Oct. 3. In 1074 Anno II., archbishop of Cologne, translated their relics to St. Cunibert's church; the church of St. Victor at Xanten, and the abbey of Gorze, near Metz, also claimed to possess portions of their relics.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *ASB*, Oct., ii. 205–207; Rettberg, *KD*, ii. 397–399; Hauck, *KD*, ii. 368–369; *NA*, ii (1877), 293.

HEWIT, NATHANIEL AUGUSTUS (name in religion, **Augustine Francis**): Roman Catholic; b. at Fairfield, Conn., Nov. 27, 1820; d. in New York City July 3, 1897. He was graduated from Amherst (B.A., 1839) and from the Theological Institute of Connecticut, Windsor (1842). In the same year he was ordained to the Congregational ministry, within the year became a Protestant Episcopalian and was ordered deacon, but in 1846 he

became a convert to the Roman Catholic faith. He was ordained to the priesthood in 1847, and for two years was vice-principal of the Cathedral Collegiate Institute, Charleston, S. C. From 1850, when he entered the Redemptorist Order, until 1858 he was a missioner, and in the latter year was dispensed from his vows to enable him to enter the newly established Congregation of St. Paul the Apostle. In 1865 he was appointed professor of philosophy, theology, and Holy Scripture in the Paulist Seminary, New York City. Besides editing the *Catholic World* from 1869 to 1874, he wrote *Reasons for Submitting to the Catholic Church* (Charleston, S. C., 1846); *Life of Princess Borghese* (New York, 1856); *Life of Dumoulin-Borie* (1857); *Life of Rev. Francis A. Baker* (1865); *Problems of the Age, with Studies in St. Augustine on Kindred Topics* (1868); *Light in Darkness: A Treatise on the Obscure Night of the Soul* (1871); and *The King's Highway: or, The Catholic Church the Only Way of Salvation as revealed in the Scriptures* (1874). He also translated A. Bresciani's *Life of the Egyptian Aloysius: or, the Little Angel of the Copts* (New York, 1865).

HEXAPLA. See Bible Versions, A, I., 1, § 4; Origen.

HEXATEUCH.

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[The symbols J, E, JE, PD, used in this article, represent writers or schools of writers who, according to the critical hypothesis, produced the documents from which the Hexateuch was compiled. Thus J represents a document referred to the ninth century B.C.; E, one referred to the eighth century; JE to their union in one strand in the early part of the seventh century; D, to the product of a school working in the last half of the seventh and later, producing Deuteronomy and several of the historical books; P, a series of documents partly narrative, partly legal, assigned to the fifth and fourth centuries. For fuller explanation see Hebrew Language and Literature, II., § 5.]

The Hexateuch is the name given to the first six books of the Bible as a whole, the first five of which are called the Pentateuch. The Old

1. Names. Testament names for the Pentateuch are *Hattorah*, "the instruction, the law," *Sepher hattorah*, "the book of the law," *Sepher torath Yahweh*, "book of the law of Yahweh," and *Sepher torath Elohim*, "book of the law of God" (with reference to its source), and *Sepher torath Mosheh*, "book of the law of Moses," or, *Sepher Mosheh* (Ezra vi. 18; Neh. xiii. 1; with reference to its human mediator). In Talmudic times *Sepher hattorah* served to designate the Pentateuch written as one roll for use in divine service, while *Ḥamisshah Ḥumshey hattorah*, "the five fifths of the law," was applied to the Pentateuch written in five rolls or in book form. The Aramaic designation was *'Oraita*, "instruction"; the Greek, *Ho nomos* or *Ho nomos Mōuseōs*, "the law" or "the law of Moses." The term Pentateuch was first used, it is believed, by the Valentinian Ptolemæus (c. 160 A.D.) in a letter to Flora (Epiphanius, *Hær.*, viii. 14), the Latin *Pentateuchus* (*liber*) by Tertullian (*Adv. Marcion.*, i. 10), taking later the form *Pentateuchum* in Isidore of Seville. The individual books were called by the Jews by the first words occurring in them: *Bereshith, Shemoth* or *We'elleh Shemoth, Wayyiḳra, Bemidhbar* or *Wayyedhabber, Debharim* or *Elleh debharim* (cf. Origen in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, VI., xxv.). The Greek names *Genesis, Exodos, Leuitikon, Arithmoi, Deuteronomion* appear in Hippolytus (*Hær.*, vi. 15–16) as though used by Simon Magus.

The division into five books is older than the Septuagint, but not original. It is also older than Chronicles, since in I Chron. xvi. the psalm put into the mouth of David on the occasion of bringing the ark into Jerusalem contains the doxology at the end of the fourth book of the Psalms; and the division of Psalms into five books doubtless corresponds to the fivefold division of the Pentateuch.

The contents include the history of God's kingdom on earth and in Israel from the creation till the death of Moses, and the law of God's

2. Contents. kingdom in Israel. (1) Genesis: i.–xi. is primitive history (creation, paradise, the fall, the flood, the table of nations, building of the tower at Babylon, genealogy from Shem to Abram); xii.–xxvi. deals with Abraham and Isaac; xxvii.–xxxvii. 1 deals with Jacob, and xxxvii. 2–l. with Joseph. (2) Exodus: i.–xv. 21 contains the oppression of Israel in Egypt, two reports of the call of Moses (iii.–vi. 1 and vi. 2–vii. 7), the ten plagues of Egypt, the exodus and crossing of the Red Sea (vii. 8–xv. 21); xv. 22–xxiv. 11 describes the journey to Sinai and the conclusion of the covenant there (xx. 2–17 contains the decalogue; xx. 22–xxiii. is the Book of the Covenant); xxiv. 12–xxxi. contains directions concerning the building and equipment of the Tabernacle and concerning the clothing and consecration of the priests and the daily offering; xxxii.–xxxiv. describes the breaking of the covenant and its renewal; xxxv.–xl. narrates the erection of the Tabernacle, the making of the priestly garments and the consecration of the sanctuary. (3) Leviticus: i.–vii. contains laws of offerings, the kinds of offerings and the duties and privileges of the priests; viii.–x. describes the consecration of the priests and their induction into office; xi.–xvi. contains directions regarding clean and unclean and the day of atonement; xvii.–xxvi. is the Holiness Code, dealing with festivals and with the Sabbatical and Jubilee years; xxvii. deals with consecrations. (4) Numbers: i.–x. 10 gives the

last directions and events at Sinai; x. 11–xxii. 1, from Sinai to Moab (the spying out of the promised land and the murmuring of the people, the insurrections of Korah and of Dathan and Abiram, the gathering of the people in Kadesh, the death of Miriam and Aaron, three pieces of poetry); xxii. 2–xxxvi., occurrences and laws in Moab (Balaam, numbering of the people, summary of halting-places). (5) Deuteronomy: i.–iv. 43, introductory addresses of Moses; iv. 44–xxvi., the second address (repetition of the decalogue, directions to fear, love, and worship God alone, the central sanctuary, unclean foods, judgment at the central sanctuary and the law of the king, priests, levites and prophets, prayers and tithes); xxvii.–xxx., final address (direction to write the words of the law in plaster on great stones, blessings and cursings); xxxi.–xxxiv, end of the life and work of Moses (command to read the law every seventh year to the assemblies of people at the feast of tabernacles, the Song of Moses, the last words of Moses). (6) Joshua: i.–vi. recounts the crossing of the Jordan and the capture of Jericho; vii.–viii., the capture of Ai; ix.–x., the war in South Palestine; xi., the war in North Palestine; xii., recapitulation; xiii.–xxi., partition of the land among the tribes; xxii., dismissal of the trans-Jordanic tribes; xxiii.–xxiv., final exhortations of Joshua, his death and burial.

3. External Testimony to the Authorship.

In the time of Jesus and the Apostles the Pentateuch was certainly regarded as the work of Moses (Mark xii. 19; John viii. 5), and from this point of view the expressions of the Lord and his disciples regarding "the law" are made (Jesus in Matt. viii. 4; Mark xii. 26; Luke xvi. 29; John v. 45; Peter in Acts iii. 22; Paul in Rom. ix. 15). For the view in the Apocrypha cf. II Macc. i. 29, vii. 26. For earlier times this same view is indicated as regnant in Ezra vi. 18; Neh. xiii. 1. In the prophetical writings the name of Moses as attached to the law occurs only Mal. iv. 4, and the expression there does not necessarily involve authorship. The passages in the books of Kings where occur the phrases "the law of Moses" and "the law-book of Moses" relate only to Deuteronomy, I Kings ii. 2–4; II Kings xiv. 6 (II Kings xviii. 6, 12, xxi. 8, xxiii. 25 designate the law as given by God through Moses). Moses' name appears in Psalms lxxvii., xcix., cv., cvi., but in these passages is not associated with literary activity. Moses gives no testimony for his authorship of the whole, since Ex. xvii. 14, xxiv. 4, 7, xxxiv. 27, and Num. xxxiii. 2 concern only portions, while Deut. xxxi. refers only to the law in Deuteronomy. External testimony is therefore inconclusive. Regarding the citations from the New Testament it is to be remarked that they testify simply to the current opinion of the times. Were they an essential part of the authoritative teaching of the New Testament they would be decisive in themselves, and any introduction of further proof would be a setting aside of the authority of the Lord and his disciples. But none of the advocates of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch who have made themselves acquainted with the difficulties and development of the question have gone so far as to assert that the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch is conclusively decided by the manner in which the books are referred to by the Lord and his apostles and that no further proof is required. A remarkable exception was the late William Henry Green of Princeton (q.v.).

4. Internal Testimony.

From the contents, and especially from the composition of the Pentateuch, reasons appear which show that the Pentateuch is neither by Moses nor by a contemporary, nor indeed the work of one hand. (1) Moses would not have written concerning his own Egyptian name as the passage Ex. ii. 10 is worded; moreover, he would have called by their proper names both the king's daughter who rescued him and the Pharaoh of the oppression and of the exodus, while in the Pentateuch Pharaoh is used as though it were a proper name; he would have made known the identity of Reguel and Jethro, would not have mentioned the Cushite woman in the manner of Num. xii. 1; and he can not have written the conclusion of the genealogy found in Ex. vi. 26–27. (2) Numerous geographical, archeological, and historical details indicate post-Mosaic times. Such are the mention of Hormah, Num. xxi. 3; Deut. i. 44; and the villages of Jair, Deut. iii. 14 (cf. Num. xxxii. 41; Josh. xiii. 30; Judges x. 4). The passage which cites the Book of the Wars of Yahweh, Num. xxi. 14–15, must be post-Mosaic, since the contemporaries of Moses who were led across the Arnon did not need a testimony that this river was in their time the northern border of Moab. The summary of stations in Num. xxxiii., even though with Ewald verses 36b–41a are put after verse 30a, gives no clear picture of the journey through the wilderness; moreover, it is strange that Kadesh is mentioned only once, though elsewhere it is stated that the Israelites were there in the second and in the fortieth year. (3) That the Pentateuch is not by one hand, but a composite, follows from the fact that there is a lack of relationship between parts which, were they by the same author, would have been brought into express connection by cross-reference. How strongly the reader of Gen. xxvi. is reminded of Gen. xx.–xxi., where the similar experiences of Abraham and Isaac are recorded! And yet the later narrative contains no reference to that containing the earlier event. With reference to Genesis, this objection may be answered by the supposition that Moses employed earlier sources, as Campegius Vitringa supposed regarding the relation of Gen. ii. 4 sqq. to Gen. i. 1–ii. 3. But the same phenomenon is met in Exodus. There are two reports of the call of Moses; and while they are not contradictory, they in no way cross-refer. Moses could be considered the author of two reports, but there would be needed a later hand to bring them together. And further examination shows that the second report belongs to P, while the first is a composite of the work of E and J. Difference of authorship here is indicated both by linguistic differences and by other peculiarities; and just this difference in presentation is, as will be shown, a weighty ground for holding to the compositeness of the Pentateuch.

5. Early Theories of Composition.

For a long time students were uncertainly groping for an answer to the question how to decide concerning the origin of the Pentateuch, for the right key to the problem had not yet been found. For two thousand years the Mosaic authorship was maintained, the early synagogue following the books of Ezra and Nehemiah in this position (except in certain small particulars, cf. M. Eisenstadt, *Ueber Bibelkritik in der talmudischen Litteratur*, Frankfort, 1895), and this way of thinking was followed by the synagogue of the Middle Ages, except in certain particulars (Isaac ibn Jasos, cf. *JE*, vi. 623; Abraham ibn Ezra, cf. *JE*, vi. 520–524). The Church Fathers also regarded Moses as the author in spite of the quite common supposition based on IV Ezra xiv., that Ezra, inspired by God, restored in their entirety the Holy Scriptures which had been lost during the Babylonian exile. Andreas Bodenstein, of Carlstadt (*Libellus de canonicis scripturis*, Wittenberg, 1520), regarded the law as Mosaic, but doubted whether the thread of narration was the same, because in the narrative of the death and burial of Moses the method of expression differs not at all from what precedes. Many after Bodenstein questioned individual passages, so that in the eighteenth century there gradually grew up the "interpolation hypothesis." Many objections against Mosaic authorship were disposed of on the hypothesis of retouching or change (such as is suggested by the passage Gen. xii. 6, "the Canaanite was then in the land"), but by no means all. The "fragment hypothesis," originated by Alexander Geddes in England, and taken over in Germany by J. S. Vater, did not long maintain itself, for against the disconnection manifest in many places was the fact that numerous and longer passages were mutually connected. Through similarity of language and of notions in Genesis, particularly in passages where the name Elohim is employed, there was formed the idea, in the minds of J. J. Stähelin, F. Bleek, and F. Tuch, of a "supplementary hypothesis." An Elohim document, beginning with Gen. i. 1, named the foundation document, was filled out from a later document, the Yahwistic, by the addition of selections and remarks which were not entirely consistent. While this hypothesis seemed to meet many difficulties, the character of the long connected pieces proved that J was once an independent work alongside P, e.g., in the story of the flood, while sometimes J takes rank as the work which is supplemented from the narrative of P.

6. Development of the Documentary Hypothesis.

The French physician Jean Astruc (1684–1766), by a literary analysis of Gen. i.–Ex. ii., turned Pentateuchal criticism into a new channel. Using the divine names as a criterion, he set the pieces containing the name Elohim in a column designated A, those containing the name Yahweh in a column B, and other pieces also apart, and regarded A and B as originally complete and independent narratives. He thought that Moses had used the arrangement in columns and that later copyists had brought all together into one column and so destroyed the order. A was regarded as the work of Levi with the use of an older document, but Ex. i.–ii. by Amram, the father of Moses. The Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch was maintained by Astruc. In this way he thought he had solved chronological difficulties and those arising from duplication in Genesis. Astruc's idea was introduced into Germany by J. G. Eichhorn and given a better basis by the proof that the two chief documents were further differentiated by linguistic peculiarities. H. Ewald recognized that P and J were traceable not only as far as the first chapters of Exodus, but also in other books, and F. Tuch showed that they were recognizable even in Joshua. As early as 1822 F. Bleek had remarked upon the original relationship of Joshua to the Pentateuchal narrative, of which it formed the conclusion. The special position of Deuteronomy was recognized as early as 1806 by W. M. L. de Wette. H. Hupfeld followed K. D. Ilgen in proving that Elohim was used by two documents. K. H. Graf showed that Lev. xvii.–xxvi. were to be discriminated by many individualities from the priestly document, and indicated a fifth document (to which the name "Holiness Code" was attached by A. Klostermann because the characteristic of this body of laws is the designation of God as holy, and emphasis is laid upon Israel's duty also to be holy). Still later analysis was carried farther by those who were not contented with the five sources, at least three documents were "discovered" in the J sections, two in the E sections, two in D, and four in P (Wellhausen's designation for the chronological thread in P was Q=*quatuor fœderum liber*, though only three covenants are mentioned, with Noah, Abraham, and Moses, not one with Adam). And it is assumed that these documents had been subjected to recensions before their incorporation into the Hexateuch, though the question of how far this can be recognized is not satisfactorily answered. It is very probable that into the Priest Code, which has special interest for the law of ritual, additions were interjected, and attempts have been made to determine these, though the certainty and value of these attempts is open to question. That the original Deuteronomy up to and during its inclusion in the Hexateuch did not escape change is certainly probable; but the attempt to use the employment of the singular and plural numbers as means of discrimination seems unpromising. As an example of the minuteness attempted in analytical investigation, the results of C. Steuernagel's work may be given. The law-book of Josiah was put together from two documents, Pl and Sg; Pl has three sources, of which one is again resolvable into two originals; similar principal and auxiliary documents are discovered in Sg. Against the discrimination of J into two or more sources, growing more prevalent nevertheless, cf. E. König's *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (Bonn, 1893), pp. 197–200.

Justification of the analysis is attained by a careful reading even of a good translation of the following examples, in which the composition out of at least two sources is recognizable. The history of the flood and of Noah: P is in Gen. vi. 9–22,

vii. 6, 11–viii. 5 (except vii. 12, 16b, 17, 22–23, viii. 2b), viii. 13a, 14–19, ix. 1–17, 28–29; all the rest is J except that in vii. 7–10 there are editorial additions. Shechem and Dinah in Gen. xxxiv.: Hamor is the chief personage in the narrative of P–verses 1, 2a, 4, 6, 8–10, 14–18, 20–24; Shechem is the principal personage in the other verses, which belong to J. The spying out of the promised land, Num. xiii.–xiv.: P is in xiii. 1–17a, 21, 25, 26, 32, xiv. 1a, part of 2, 5–7, 10, 26–29, 34–38. The rebellion of Korah and of Dathan and Abiram: JE makes Dathan and Abiram direct their rebellion chiefly against Moses, and his document is in xvi. 1b, 2a, 12–15, 25–34; P, in which Korah and his 250 followers espoused the cause of equality of all Israel in priestly rights, is in xvi. 1a, 2b–11, 16–24, 35 (and it appears that Korah had a double part, since in verses 2–7 he seems to stand at the head of the men of various tribes, while in verses 8–11 he is the spokesman of the Levites; Deut. xi. 6 appears to have had a report in which Dathan and Abiram acted independently). The report of Israel's sin in Moab, Num. xxv. 1–5, is composed from J and E, as the exchange of the designations "Israel" and "the people" indicates; the one, in 1b, 2, 4a, mentions the lewdness between Israelites and Moabite women; the other, in verses 3, 5, denounces only the worship of Baal-peor. Further justification is attained by the recognition of varied linguistic peculiarities. If one reads the creation story in Gen. i.–ii. 4a, the genealogies from Adam to Noah (Gen. v., except verse 29), and from Noah to Abraham (Gen. xi.), the establishment of the covenant of circumcision (Gen. xvii.), and the purchase of the piece of ground at Machpelah (Gen. xxiii.), on the one hand, and the narrative of Paradise and the fall (Gen. ii. 4b–iv.), the visit of the three heavenly beings to Abraham, and the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen. xviii.–xix., except xix. 29) and the mission of Abraham's steward in behalf of Isaac (Gen. xxiv.), on the other hand, he will be convinced, even in using a translation, that the two sets of stories can not be by the same author, and that the differences exist in more than the material, the disposition of the material, and the purpose. The principal linguistic differences of the five main documents of the Hexateuch are given in § 11 of H. L. Strack's *Einleitung* (6th ed., Munich, 1906), cf. H. Holzinger's *Einleitung in den Hexateuch* (Freiburg, 1896); see also Feasts and Festivals, I., §§ 4–5.

7. Analysis Illustrated and Justified.

Of the scholars who, at the end of the nineteenth century, thought the authorship of Moses scientifically tenable, nearly all have died. Some names are K. F. Keil, E. C. Bissell, A. Zahn, W. H. Green. The Bavarian clergyman E. Rupprecht fights almost alone in this cause in *Das Räthsel des Fünfbuches Mose und seine falsche Lösung* (Gütersloh, 1894), *Des Räthsel's Lösung* (1895–97), and *Wissenschaftliches Handbuch der Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (1898). Roman Catholic and conservative Jewish scholars are apt to be dogmatically hindered from accepting critical conclusions. Of Roman Catholics may be mentioned F. Kaulen, *Einleitung in die heilige Schrift Alten und Neuen Testaments* (3 parts, 4th ed., Freiburg, 1897–99), §§ 190–201; and A. Schöpfer, *Geschichte des Alten Testaments* (Brixen, 1902), § 27; of Jewish scholars, D. Hoffmann, rector of the Rabbinerseminar in Berlin, in *Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums* (1876–80); *Abhandlungen über die pentateuchischen Gesetze* (Berlin, 1878); and *Die wichtigsten Instanzen gegen die Graf-Wellhausensche Hypothese* (1904).

8. Modern Conservative Writers.

Practically all other scholars of the present seek with the aid of the documentary hypothesis to gain a conception of the construction of the Hexateuch. Problems of importance under discussion are: the order in time and the absolute age of the individual documents, the shape each of these documents had up to its union with another or with others of its fellows, the number and character of the editorial efforts at combining the documents. In consequence of the expositions especially of K. H. Graf (1866) and J. Wellhausen (1876–78), whom E. Reuss (since 1833) and W. Vatke (1835) preceded, the predominant majority of Old Testament scholars in Germany, England, and North America hold: that D was written immediately before the reformation of Josiah and with a view to using his influence; that the completed central portion of P, brought together at the earliest in the Babylonian exile, is not historically trustworthy; and that the closing of the Hexateuch is to be placed in the time of Ezra (Wellhausen, B. Stade) or still later (E. Reuss, A. Kayser, A. Kuenen, and many others). But it must be remarked here that the law-book which came to light in the eighteenth year of Josiah must have been written earlier; that the Holiness Code is earlier than Ezekiel; that the value of P, the priestly document, is by most scholars rated too low; and that P (Wellhausen's Q) was not taken into the united JED, but that D was taken into the united PJE (QJE). The present writer is convinced that in the future neither the old traditional views nor those of the "advanced critics" will hold the field.

9. General Positions of Advanced Criticism.

The conclusions of E. König (in his *Einleitung*) are: that from Mosaic times come the decalogue, the book of the covenant (Ex. xx. 22–xxiii. 33), Ex. xxxiv. 10–26, the poetical pieces in Ex. xv., Num. vi., x., xxi., and at least for substance other parts; E belongs to the time of the Judges, J not before David nor after Solomon; the analysis of JE is in many places no longer possible; the kernel of D is iv. 45–46, v.–xxviii. 46, xxxi. 9–13, which has a Mosaic basis, but was worked over in the time of the Judges and immediately after 722 B.C.; P is a collection of oral traditions which grew up in priestly circles and was completed hardly before 600–500; the union of JED with P was probably made by Ezra in Babylon. A. Dillmann (in his commentary on Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Joshua, Leipsic, 1886) places E (which he calls B) in the first half of the ninth century; it used written sources

10. Position of Koenig, Dillmann, Wellhausen, A. Kuenen.

particularly in Ex. xx.–xxiii. and Num. xxi.; J (which he calls C) is a Judaic document not earlier than the middle of the eighth century; D is not much earlier than the eighteenth year of Josiah, and its author used E and J, especially the book of the covenant, and other laws (especially H) which now are embodied in P; Wellhausen's Q (which Dillmann calls A), the kernel of P, is dated c. 800 B.C.; E in its historical parts was constructed from oral sources and from written sources no longer extant, and in its legal parts from a collection of laws having the character of H; QEJ were worked together c. 600 by a redactor who still had J and E before him as independent documents (all other scholars hold that JE was consolidated before a third document was added); not much later, D was united with QEJ, so that D remained really the standard; before the return of Ezra H and some priestly instructions were added; Ezra brought the Pentateuch into recognition in 444, after which nothing essential was added, though editorial work and polishing of the text continued. J. Wellhausen in *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (5th ed., Berlin, 1899) holds that J belongs to the golden age of Hebrew literature, the time before the separation of the two kingdoms; the later E was worked together with J into the Jehovistic history, but takes in legislative elements only in the case of the giving of the law at Sinai in its historical connection; D (Deut. xii.–xxvi.) was written immediately before it was found; next followed the fundamental piece, Lev. xvii.–xxvi., later than Ezekiel, but closely related to him; P (of which Q designates the core, which treats history systematically and is found in its pure condition in Genesis) is the result of long-continued literary labors during and after the exile, and was already incorporated in the Pentateuch when the latter was published by Ezra in 444. A. Kuenen in his "Introduction" (3 parts, Leyden, 1861–65) places J in the ninth century or early in the eighth; E, to which J was known, is dated c. 750; both were northern documents, but a Judaic edition of both, somewhat extended, was made for Judah in the second half of the seventh century; these two documents were united into JE at the end of the seventh or beginning of the sixth century, before the Babylonian exile, and Moses' Song was in the possession of the redactor; D^1 (i.e., Deut. v.–xxvi., xxviii., xxxi. 9–13) was written as a guide for Josiah's reformation; D^2, drawn from JE, added to Deuteronomy the introduction i.–iv. 40; JE was united with D during the Babylonian exile, and the redactor made alterations only at the end of the history of Moses, in Deut. xxvi., xxxi., xxxiv.; further, in order to win Deuteronomy its place, he placed the Book of the Covenant and Ex. xxxiv. 10–28 in the time of the giving of the law at Sinai; H (Lev. xvii.–xxvi., Kuenen's P^1) is later than Ezekiel; still later and postexilic is the legal-historical Q (Kuenen's P^2); the book read by Ezra and accepted by the people's representative in 444 was Q united with H and other priestly instructions, but whether this union had taken place in Babylon or was made in Judea between 458 and 444 is not determinable; Ezra's law-book underwent essential changes and extensions; consequently the redaction of the Pentateuch is not a work completed all at once by the union of P with JED, probably before 400, but the result of a labor continued for some time as the differences of text in the Hebrew, Samaritan, and Septuagint indicate.

11. Klostermann's Recent Work.

A. Klostermann (*Der Pentateuch*, Leipsic, 1893; *Das chronologische System des P*, in *NKZ*, 1894; *Die Heiligtums- und Lagerordnung*, 1897; *Das deuteronomische Gesetzbuch*, 1902–03) complains (*Pentateuch*, pp. 1–76) that modern Pentateuchal criticism founded upon the documentary hypothesis lacks basis. It conceives that the synagogue text, by the side of which there are other and older ones, and which is regarded as a book often edited, is identical with that of the composer of the Pentateuch, and that all linguistic diversities, especially in the most variable element of divine names, originate not in differences of manuscripts which underlie our late edition, but in the diversity of historiographic sources which the author combined and thereby recognized as older. It ignores the fact, says Klostermann, that the Pentateuch was a book for the edification of the community, in the transmission of which the emphasis must have fallen upon its edifying quality, upon its lucidity, and not upon the purity and age of the text. The work should, therefore, not be carried from above downward and begin with assumed authors J and E, but should first investigate when the author —or, if you will, the redactor—wrote, that is, he to whom we owe the unified but materially multicolored Pentateuch. The starting-point of the investigation is the report in II Kings xxii. of Hilkiah's discovery (*Pentateuch*, pp. 77–114). Deut. iv. 44–xxvii. 69 is the recension with introduction of homiletic addresses directed by Josiah to be made of the work found in the temple, which is to be understood not as the law itself, but as the elucidation by the teacher of the law. In this way only is the character of Deuteronomy explained, and the supposition that Deuteronomy is a counterfeited program for a reformation is shown to be unreasonable (*Pentateuch*, ii. 154–428). In order to make possible the fitting of this document into the pre-Josianic Hexateuch, also in the time of Josiah, speeches of Moses and historical notes were interwoven, and so in the manner of a harmony attempts were made at smoothing away the difficulties which the reader discovers between Num. x. 11–xxxvi. and Deut. xxxi. 14 sqq., on the one side, and Deut. iv. 44–xxviii. 68, on the other. It results, therefore, that the report in Num. x.–xxxvi. and Deut. xxxi. 14 sqq. held its place as an authoritative account of the Mosaic times from the departure from Sinai to the death of Moses, and so is an old document; indeed, it must be older than Isaiah and Micah (*Pentateuch*, i. 115–152). Klostermann then takes up the Pentateuch of the times before Josiah (*Pentateuch*, i. 153–187), in which statistical details and independent documents with legal ordinances were combined, to which Genesis belonged. In consequence of the loose union of material of varied character, this book suffered damage and disarrangement and also experienced augmentation.

Examples of the latter are Num. xxviii.–xxxvi.; Deut. xxxi. 14–23, xxxii. 1–44, 48–52. The formation of the original work lay far back of Micah, who knew this enlarged book. The limit *a quo* Klostermann seeks to find in a discussion of the chronological system of the author who deals with the consecration of the temple in the twentieth year of Solomon as epoch-making. Three divine cycles (one is 12×49 years) or 1,764 years to the flood, two cycles or 1,176 years to the birth of Abraham, and two cycles to the consecration of the temple are discovered (concerning the Jubilee period as 49 years cf. *Pentateuch*, i. 419–447). The section concerning the tabernacle and the plan of the camp shows that the author used two sources marked by the distinctive use of separate terms for the tabernacle, *ohel mo'ed* and *mishkan ha-'eduth*. This work can have originated only in a time when the sanctuary at Shiloh was still in the memory, and when there was interest in preserving for posterity what had been replaced by the temple and so had fallen out of actual experience. The Sinaitic book of the covenant is discussed in *Pentateuch*, ii. 429–579. In later studies Klostermann purposes to investigate the older type of narration, and so the fragments designated by the symbols J, E, and Q, which then first come properly under consideration. Klostermann's method, as indicated by his keen investigations, is theoretically good. He rightly considers that the confidence of most Old Testament scholars in the security of the results of analytical work is too strong. On the other hand, he overvalues the meaning of the changes which the text of the Pentateuch has suffered in the course of time. (H. L. Strack.)

12. Limitations of Literary Analysis.

Of critics who accept the traditional account of the origin and development of the religion of Israel not a few accept the current analysis (§§ 6 and 7 above) in its bolder outlines (J. Robertson, C. H. H. Wright, J. Orr); while others, after minute investigation, find the analysis illusory and reject it altogether (W. H. Green, E. C. Bissell). These critics are one in the conviction that the method of argument is "in very many respects precarious; the criteria alleged are often fallacious to the last degree; and the resulting partition is extremely dubious." The reasons which call for caution are such as these: (1) The divine names are evidently used at times with discrimination. The particular aspect of God which was at the moment prominent in the thought of the speaker or narrator determined the choice of the title, whether it should be Elohim or Yahweh or the Almighty or the Most High God or the Everlasting God. "The original distinction between Jahweh and Elohim very often accounts for the use of one of these appellations in preference to the other" (Kuenen, Hexateuch, p. 56). According to the current analysis J at least uses each name as he has occasion; and Yahweh is found in passages of Genesis which are ascribed to the Elohist writer (Green, Unity of *Genesis*, pp. 539 sqq.; *Higher Criticism*, pp. 91 sqq.; E. Riehm, *Einleitung*, i. 126, Halle, 1889; P. J. Hoedemaker, *Mosaischer Ursprung der Gesetze*, p. 110 sqq., Gütersloh, 1897). The use of a particular divine name, therefore, can not in and of itself alone be conclusive evidence of authorship (cf. Gen. xv. 1, xx. 1, xxx. 2, 6, 8). (2) The diction, style, and religious conceptions of J and E are confessedly so similar that as evidences of authorship they are often "far from conclusive" and yield "nothing but conjectures as to the separation of the sources" (H. Gunkel, *Legends of Genesis*, p. 126, 134, Chicago, 1901; Strack, *Commentary*, p. xviii.; Driver, *Introduction*, 10th ed., pp. 116, 126). The same facts hold with regard to passages that are assigned to P, but not to the same extent (Green, *Unity*, p. 552; and on the scraps given to P in Gen. xii.–xviii., p. 215; cf. also Kuenen, on Gen. vii., viii.). Occasionally D and JE are not readily distinguishable (Kent, *Students O. T.*, vol. i., on Gen. xiii. 14–17; Driver, *Introduction*, pp. 35, 66, and 99). (3) The difference of style between passages, moreover, where such difference actually exists, is largely one of mood and subject-matter and purpose; calm or emotional, plain or graphic, rigid or easy, brief or descriptive or diffuse, stately or lively or formal, prosaic or poetic, declarative or hortatory. Unless other marks are present, stylistic differences of this general nature are at best an uncertain guide when the question concerns the analysis of a verse and the distribution of its clauses; for the style of a sympathetic author changes along these very lines and adjusts itself to his moods and the varying aspects of his subject (Green, *Unity*, p. 552; idem, *Feasts*, p. 14; Dillmann, *Commentary on Exodus and Leviticus*, p. 676, 1897). (4) The analysis is being based more and more on asserted divergences or contradictions, the existence of which is quite unnecessarily assumed (see below). In view of these facts, caution is demanded, especially when the attempt is made to disintegrate a small bit of connected story. Before leaving the subject of the literary analysis a remark is in place regarding "contradictions." Many doublets and divergences are said to exist in the Hebrew records. There may be some. No textual critic would think for a moment of denying that possibility. But such as have been pointed out are not always, nor even generally, "contradictions" (Green, *Higher Criticism*, pp. 109–113; C. H. H. Wright, *Introduction*, p. 100, London, 1891; J. Orr, *Problem of the Old Testament*, pp. 236, 361). They are diversities, indeed; but it is contrary to the canons of historical criticism constantly to pit sources against each other. Rather the historian regards variants as different aspects or incidents of the event.

The narrative of Israel's history contains an account of the organization of the people into a nation by Moses under the direction of God. Yahweh was acknowledged as the supreme head of the state; he was the sole object of worship and the ultimate source of all authority, legislative, executive, and judicial. The Ten Commandments with the prologue (Ex. xx. 2–17) were made the fundamental law. They were the constitution of the nation. The body of laws contained in Ex. xxi.–xxiii. 19, with the introduction and conclusion in xx. 22–26 and xxiii. 20–33, formed the statutes. The Ten Commandments were often called the

covenant (Deut. iv. 13); and the combined legislation, or at any rate the statutes, were entitled the book of the covenant, since it was upon the basis of the solemn agreement of the people to obey these laws that God made the covenant with Israel at Sinai (Ex. xxiv. 4–8). The articles of the constitution and the statutes are codified, the related injunctions being grouped together. The sections generally contain five or ten laws each, perhaps they all contained ten originally (Dillmann, Commentary on Exodus, pp. 242–245; Briggs, *Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch*, pp. 212–231; Paton, in *JBL*, 1893, pp. 79–83); and they relate to: (1) Forms of worship (xx. 23–26); (2) The protection of the rights of man; (a) in respect to liberty (xxi. 2–11); (b) concerning injury of person (xxi. 12–36); (c) concerning property rights (xxii. 1–17). (3) Regulation of personal conduct (xxii. 18–xxiii. 9). (4) Sacred seasons and sacrifice (xxiii. 10–19). (5) The promise annexed (xxiii. 20–33). The constitution was, of course, unchangeable without the consent of both parties. The statutes have the characteristics of such laws; they are constitutional, involving no principle contrary to the organic law of the State; they are expository, being the application of the doctrines of the constitution to the social life and religious observances of the people; and they were temporary in their nature and liable to amendment, abrogation, and increase in order to meet the new conditions and peculiar needs of each age. According to the narrative this process of modification began in the days of Moses and under his authority (cf. Ex. xii. 6, 18, xxiii. 15 with Num. ix. 9–14; also Num. xxvii. 1–11, xxxvi. 1–9). The laws were not new (Dillmann, Commentary on Exodus, p. 226). The Ten commandments, or most of them, had long been authoritative among the children of Israel (Gen. iv. 9–15, ix. 6, xx. 3, 5. 6, xxxi. 32, 37, xxxiv. 7, xxxv. 2, xliv. 9); and the laws of the second table, with the probable exception of the tenth, were in force among other nations. The significance of the decalogue lay in the fact that God made recognized moral obligations the fundamental law of his kingdom and, by the tenth commandment, probed back of the outward act into the inner nature of man and located the source of sin in the evil desires of the heart. The statutes also were not new. They were a hereditary body of usages, as is proven among other evidence by the laws of Hammurabi (see Hammurabi and His Code). The discovery of this ancient codex enables the student of the Bible to trace more of these ordinances back into the period before Moses than he had heretofore been able to do. It is remarkable that in so many instances the same classes of people, particularly the less fortunate members of society, were regarded by both Babylonians and Israelites as possessing rights that could be recognized by the State. It is perhaps more remarkable that the Babylonian and Hebrew law often imposes the same, or practically the same, penalty for the same offense. To a remarkable degree the two peoples shared the same conception of justice. It is not necessary to assume, nor is it probable, that the Hebrew legislator had the laws of Hammurabi before him; but it is certain that Israel inherited from some source the conceptions of justice and the judicial customs which existed among the Babylonians in the days of Hammurabi. Moses was inspired in the preparation of this book of the covenant; but a body of laws hidden from the foundation of the world was not revealed to him. Moses was a prophet (Deut. xviii. 15), and inspired as the prophets were. He was under the influence of the Holy Spirit, whereby he was made an infallible communicator of God's will to his fellow men. His mind was enlightened concerning the nature of the kingdom; he was led infallibly to choose the laws appropriate to the condition of the people and adapted to discipline them in the spirit of the kingdom; and he was prompted and controlled and enabled to frame a system, more or less out of old materials, yet distinguished from all known legislation of contemporary peoples by its humanity, by its amelioration of the hard lot of the unfortunate, by its extrication of the conduct of man from civil relations merely and the exhibition of that conduct in its relation to God also, and by its power to lift the secular life into the true service of God.

13. The Constitution and the Statutes.

The architect's specifications for the tabernacle are contained in Exodus xxv.–xxxi. They were obtained or completed from the study of a model seen in a vision (Ex. xxv. 9, 40); for which Moses was psychologically prepared by the need that was pressing upon him of organizing the religious life of the people as he had regulated their civil life, by hours spent on the mountain in calm and earnest and prayerful meditation on the subject, and by his acquaintance with the impressive temples and symbolical ritual of Egypt. The significance of the tabernacle centered in the ark of the covenant, where Yahweh dwelt between the cherubim; and the description accordingly begins with the ark as the chief object and proceeds outward—an order of recital followed only in these formal specifications and for symbolic reasons. (1) The constant and essential features, patterns of the heavenly: ark, table of shewbread, and candlestick (xxv. 10–39); and then their housing (xxvi. 1–37). The altar of burnt offering (xxvii. 1–8), and then the court in which it should stand (xxvii. 9–19). Directions concerning the materials to be used in connection with the permanent features: (the shewbread consisted of twelve loaves of ordinary bread, and hence specific directions for the making of it were not required), specifications concerning the oil for the continual light (xxvii. 20, 21). (2) Provision for man's approach to Jehovah: priests (xxviii. 1); their garments (xxviii. 2–43) and their consecration (xxix. 1–35); consecration of the altar of burnt offerings (xxix. 36, 37), and the daily morning and evening offering upon it for the nation (xxix. 38–46). After the mediating priesthood and the daily sacrifice have been provided, the offering of incense, symbolical of the prayers of God's people as being well-pleasing to Jehovah, is fitting; hence there follows the altar of incense (xxx. 1–10). (3) Provision for the

14. The Tabernacle.

things needed in this approach of man to God: for defraying the expenses (xxx. 11–16); for priestly functions, viz., the laver (xxx. 17–21), oil for anointing the vessels (xxx. 22–33), and incense (xxx. 34–38); for the work of building the tabernacle, skilled artificers (xxxi. 1–11). In this description the altar of incense, which symbolized the obligatory and acceptable adoration of God by his people, is not mentioned until provision has been made for sinful man to approach Jehovah. The place given to it in the specifications has its reason in the symbolism. Other considerations determine the order of narration afterward; other laws of association prevail, and the altar of incense is grouped with the furniture of the tabernacle (xxxv. 15, xxxvii. 25), or is mentioned at the proper place locally (xl. 5). It belonged to the holy of holies, before the mercy seat (I Kings vi. 22 R.V.; Heb. ix. 4); but, since none might enter the most holy place save the high priest and he but once in the year, the altar of incense was set in the holy place, in front of the veil that separated the holy from the most holy place, in order that the priest might officiate at it daily. Wealth was lavished on this movable and evidently temporary sanctuary. The gold alone amounted to twenty-nine talents or nearly nine hundred thousand dollars, and the silver raised by taxation to two hundred thousand dollars (xxxviii. 24–31), and this in addition to the silver, bronze, and precious stones given voluntarily (xxxv. 5–8, 21–29). But the riches were not wasted. The journey to the promised land might be accomplished in a few days (Deut. i. 2), but the tabernacle must serve during the expected wars of conquest and during the confusion of settlement and home-making. And, moreover, costly stuff was not used for things of a temporary nature. The housing was comparatively inexpensive, and the materials for it were at hand. The acacia wood might be had in the wilderness for the cutting, and the skins for the outer covering of the tent from the aquatic animals in the neighboring sea; while from their own flocks the rams' skins and goats' hair were obtainable. The precious metals went into the costly furniture of the sanctuary, which might be used for centuries, and into the gold plating and silver sockets of the boards. They would not be lost to the treasury of the Lord, even though a more substantial temple might ultimately be erected.

The priests officiated at the altar; hence they were provided with (1) a directory of procedure to be observed by the worshiper and the priest at the offering of the various kinds of sacrifice (Lev. i.–vi. 7), and a book on the disposal of the sacrifice (Lev. vi. 8–vii.). The priests required authorization; hence they had (2) the record of Aaron's consecration to the priesthood, an official act that established the order and placed it on a legal basis, and the precedent for future inductions into the priestly office; together with laws enacted to meet the deficiencies in the legislation which were revealed on that occasion (viii–x.). Approach to Yahweh was conditioned upon holiness of life, both ceremonial and moral; hence there was furnished for Israel and given to the priests as the teachers of the laws and guardians of the worship and overseers of the ritual: (3) a directory of ceremonial purity and a law of holiness, containing (a) laws concerning foods that defile, diseases or natural functions that render unclean, and an annual day of national ceremonial purification (xi.–xvi.), and (b) laws concerning holiness of life (xvii.–xxvi.), followed by an appendix on vows, tithes, and things devoted (xxvii.). These small collections of laws and precedent, all of which relate particularly to subjects of professional importance to the priests, form a distinct section of the Pentateuch—the book of Leviticus—and, as thus segregated, constituted a manual for the use of the priests. The laws contained in each of these divisions of the handbook, as it may be termed, were enacted at Sinai, according to express declaration. The directions for the consecration of Aaron and his sons were prepared during Moses' first sojourn of forty days in Mount Sinai (Ex. xxix.), and the instructions were carried out immediately after the erection of the tabernacle. The function occupied a week. At its end the punitory death of Nabad and Abihu was the occasion of new legislation (Lev. x. 6–20). The directory of procedure to be observed at the sacrificial services is dated after the erection of the tabernacle (i. 1); and the book on the disposal of the sacrifice was elaborated at the same general time, when "he commanded the children of Israel to offer their obligations to Jehovah" (cf. vii. 38 with i. 2). The appointment of an annual day of atonement was made sometime after the death of Aaron's older sons (xvi. 1), and met a requirement of the tabernacle law (Ex. xxx. 10). The regulations concerning ceremonial purity and holiness of life are throughout attributed to Moses, the representative of Yahweh (Lev. xvii. 1, xviii. 1 et passim), when he was in or, as the preposition may be translated, at Mount Sinai (xxvi. 1, xxvi. 46; for the usage of the preposition, cf. Num. xx. 23 with 25, xxxiii. 37 with 38; Deut. i. 6, ix. 8; and for the fact that some of the legislation was enacted in the camp, (cf. Lev. xxiv. 10–23). Possibly some laws, but certainly not all, that were enacted after the departure from Sinai were inserted for the sake of convenience in their proper place in the manual (cf. perhaps xxv. 32–34 with Num. xxxv.). And it may be added, though no importance is attached to the matter, that if changes took place in the priestly praxis at a later time, there could scarcely have been serious objection to the introduction of the necessary verbal modification into the text of the law as contained in the handbook.

15. The Manual for the Priests.

Many orders were issued while the Israelites were still at Mount Sinai and during the march to Canaan which were recorded in the annals of the State, but did not belong in a law book. But there was also legislation of a permanent character upon civil, religious, and ecclesiastical matters enacted while the people were yet at the Mount and after their departure. The documents to which these laws bore relation were the book of the covenant, the specifications for the tabernacle, and the collections relating to the priests. Only

the third was, for the present, liable to receive additions or modification; for the specifications for the building of the sanctuary had been carried out, and in regard to the book of the covenant there was doubtless a natural feeling at the time that the document to which the people had sworn obedience should not be tampered with or touched. The priests' manual, however, might well have been enlarged by the introduction of pertinent material. The laws in Num. xv. relating to the constituents of the meal-offerings, to the loaf of the first-fruits, and to the burnt sacrifices for certain sins (probably sins of omission and thus a supplement to Lev. iv.–v. 13), and the festival calendar of Num. xxviii. and xxix., enumerating the public sacrifices proper for each season, might fittingly have been given a place in the manual. The reason why they were not inserted in the priests' handbook is not apparent. The amendment to the passover law, providing for its celebration at another date by those who were disqualified from partaking of it on the regular day (Num. ix. 1–14), might have been introduced after Lev. xxiii. 8; but to have done so would have marred the symmetry of the section. A logical place is not readily found in the priests' manual for the law of jealousy (Num. v. 1–31), a civil judicial matter in which the test was applied by the priest, or for the law of the Nazirite (Num. vi. 1–21), which included the presentation of the Nazirite before the priest and the offering of sacrifice; and, of course, there was no call to put in the priests' handbook the conditions which determined the validity of vows taken by women (Num. xxx.).

16. Legislation not in the Law Books.

The theocracy was based on the conception of Israel as a community, and its success at any period was conditioned by the attitude of the people toward God and toward the provisions of the covenant. Obedience to God and reliance upon him were essential. During the thirty-eight years since the covenant was concluded at Sinai the weakness of the communal bands that held the tribes in union, and the tendency of the people to violate the terms of the covenant, had been frequently in evidence. Moses had often heard murmuring against God, a questioning of his goodness and his power, and he had been witness of their lack of faith at critical moments (Ex. xv. 24 etc.; Num. xiv. 4–12). He had seen the proneness of the people to fall away from the spiritual worship of Yahweh and bow down before images, contrary to the second article of the constitution; and worse yet, to turn aside from the pure and ennobling worship of the holy God to the abominable, licentious rites of heathenism (Ex. xxxii.; Num. xxv.). He had seen will-worship on the part of the priests and the indifference of these ministers at the tabernacle to the law of the sanctuary (Lev. x. 1). He had found personal ambition and tribal jealousy growing into conspiracy and open rebellion against both the civil ruler and the ecclesiastical authorities (Num. xvi.); and the prospect of material good leading to contentment with present conditions, to selfish choice, and for a time perhaps to forgetfulness of duty (Num. xxxii.). Moses knew, and all knew, that he had been the main force that had inspired the people for the great undertaking, that he was the most potent influence that was making for righteousness, and that he was the greatest representative of Yahweh among them. It was natural that the old man, the father of his people, should be unwilling to release the reins of government to other hands without making a final effort to save his children from disaster and to secure the permanence of the institutions which in the providence of God he had founded. It was natural that the aged leader should wish to speak a farewell word to his people, and that he who had so long borne the nation on his heart should desire to tell them how to act in the new circumstances. And God bade him speak.

17. The Legislation and Specific Needs.

His valedictory reflects the experiences of forty years with the Israelites, and the hopes and fears which these events had begotten. The words are the utterance of a wise statesman and man of God. The address was delivered in three instalments. (1) Rehearsal of the history of the people since the covenant was made with the preceding generation at Sinai, for the sake of the evidence afforded of both the goodness and the severity of Yahweh to Israel, and as a motive for obedience to Yahweh's laws (Deut. i. 6–iv. 40, with supplementary statement, 41–49). (2) Rehearsal of statutes which concerned the people, with emphasis on the spirituality of the laws and urgent insistence upon their observance (v.–xxvi.). (3) Conclusion: directions for building an altar on Mount Ebal and writing the law there on plastered stones; and blessings and curses annexed to obedience and disobedience respectively (xxvii.–xxviii.). This great address is closely followed by a brief speech at the ratification by the new generation of the covenant as thus proclaimed (xxix.–xxx.). This covenant, like the former one at Sinai, was recorded in a book (xxix. 20, 21, 27, xxx. 10; cf. Ex. xxiv. 4–8). The address is dated in the fortieth year, eleventh month, and first day; and the place is "beyond Jordan" or "on the other side of Jordan" (i. 1, 3). The designation was an old geographical term, inherited from their ancestors. To Abraham and the Canaanites it meant the region east of the river; and the rugged bluffs that rose behind the camp were known as Abarim, that is, the mountains of the other side. And the Jordan still separated them from the country of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. They were in the country "on the other side." Naturally enough under these circumstances the distinctive feature of the address is preparation for the settlement in Canaan. (1) It affects the language. With the occupation of the land imminent, and with a part of it in actual possession, the wilderness is a memory of the past and the thought is now of the new home. The speaker talks much about houses, towns, and city gates, about the cultivation of the soil and the fruits of the orchard and vineyard. (2) It leads to the adjustment of the laws to the new conditions, and to the reciting of so much only of an ordinance as applies to the new life. In reminding the people of

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the law of foods the speaker omits the reptiles, which are included in the earlier law among the forbidden articles of diet (cf. Lev. xi. 29, 30 with Deut. xiv.); passing them by without mention probably because the land of promise was before him, a land flowing with milk and honey, a land of corn and wine, of figs, pomegranates, and olives. Its fertility east of the river had already been seen by the people, and it was plain that there would be no temptation in the new home to eat the grosser forms of flesh. Again, the law which required animals that were slain for food to be slaughtered at the door of the tabernacle would necessitate a long journey on the part of those who dwelt in remote districts. It was changed so as to permit the people to slay for food in the town where they resided (Deut. xii. 15, 21; Lev. xvii. 3, 4). To meet the same difficulty a change was made in the law regarding the transport of certain tithes to the sanctuary (Deut. 22–25) and, apparently, in the age at which the firstling of the herd and flock should be offered (xv. 19, 20; cf. Ex. xxii. 30). The same intention probably led to the omission of a clause from the statute defining the procedure to be followed for legally confirming the Hebrew bond-servant's choice, who at the end of his period of service should elect to remain with his master. Henceforth he need not appear at the sanctuary before the Lord (Ex. xxi. 5, 6; cf. xxii. 8, 9) in order to declare his voluntary relinquishment of his right to go free; from this time on the ceremony of attachment was alone required, and that act was always performed at the master's own house, in whatever part of the country it might be (Deut. xv. 16, 17). (3) It leads to grave concern for the tribe of Levi, in view of the peculiar situation in which it would soon be placed: a tribe without an inheritance. The entire tribe of Levi had been set apart for service at the sanctuary. It was to receive no land in Israel; and was without support except from the gifts of the people to the Lord for the maintenance of worship. In his parting words he dwells on their rights and privileges, refers repeatedly to their dependent condition and exhorts the people to call them in as guests at their joyous feasts, and never to forsake them nor leave them in need (xii. 12, 18, 19 et passim). In alluding to their perquisites (x. 8, 9, xviii. 1–8) he takes for granted a thorough familiarity on the part of the people with the distribution of duties among the several families of the tribe, which had been adopted in the wilderness, and accordingly he uses the general designation Levi and Levites (xviii. 1, 6); just as the Hebrew historians often do who wrote after the legislation of Leviticus and Numbers had been enacted, leaving it to be understood that each order of ministers had its own peculiar duties and privileges (ver. 7; cf. Num. xxxv. 1–8; Josh. xxi. 3–7, 8–11, 13–20; I Kings xii. 31; I Chron. xv. 2, 4, 11, 15; II Chron. v. 4, 5; Mal. ii. 1–10, iii. 3). He uses also the designation "the priests, the Levites" (xvii. 9, xviii. 1, xxiv. 8), as do subsequent historians and prophets, even the latest (Jer. xxxiii. 18, 21; Ezek. xliii. 19, xliv. 15; II Chron. xxiii. 18). It was eminently appropriate as a means of distinguishing the legitimate priests, who had just been restricted to the family of Aaron, tribe of Levi, from the former ministers among the Israelites to whom it pertained to offer sacrifice (Ex. xix. 22, xxiv. 5; cf. xviii. 1, 12), and perhaps also from civil ministers to whom the title *kohen* applied (Paton, *JBL*, 1893, pp. 1–14). (4) It leads to insistence upon resort to the one altar by the whole nation, located at the place which Yahweh should choose out of all the tribes to put his name there (xii.), and the urgent exhortation to destroy all heathen altars. The unity of the altar was intended to counteract the tendency of the people to lapse into idolatry by preventing them from worshiping at the numerous local sanctuaries of the Canaanites and by keeping the service of Yahweh under proper control; to render the worship of Yahweh a grander spectacle and of greater pomp than the rites of the idols of the Canaanites by uniting the numbers and wealth of the Hebrews at one sanctuary; and to strengthen the national feeling and deepen the sense of brotherhood by giving to every member of the nation a common home and bringing all the tribes together at stated seasons as a great family. The spirit of jealousy between individuals and between tribes, the popular proneness to idolatry, and the willingness of large sections of the people to separate from their brethren and settle in attractive pastoral regions had already become manifest. And therefore the old idea of the priestly legislation, "one God, one sanctuary" (Wellhausen, *Hist. of Israel*, p. 34), the idea of the book of the covenant also, is insisted upon at this crisis. It was essential to the unity of the nation and the continuance of the theocracy.

19. Legislation and the Age.

The exodus of the children of Israel from Egypt, and the activity of Moses, are usually referred to the time of the eighteenth or nineteenth dynasty of Egypt, thirteen or fourteen or fifteen centuries before Christ. The age was one of culture. Evolution in government and religion had been going on for hundreds of years. Society had become highly organized and regulated by law. Sacred architecture had reached an excellence that for its purpose has never been surpassed. Religious symbolism and ritual had advanced to a stage of development, probably the highest they have ever attained. The primitive, crude, and simple had long since become the complex and refined. The imperfect had become the perfect. Moses and his contemporaries were born to this civilization, as children to-day are born into the civilization of the twentieth century. Men do not start *de novo;* they build on the achievements of the past. So did Moses. When he began his work, the organized state was already a definite conception before the minds of men, its conditions were understood, and a standard of attainment had been set. The institutions of which the origin is ascribed to Moses represent this civilization. (1) The book of the covenant contains a body of laws of which the form of statement, the organization into a code, the rights guarded, and the developed sense of justice, are an inheritance from a Semitic antiquity already hoary in the days of Moses. These facts have been completely established by the dis-

covery of the code of Hammurabi. (2) The tabernacle in its general plan conforms to a type of temple much favored by the Egyptians in the time of Moses: an open space or court where the people assembled; a gate where the worshiper with an offering met the priest and which admitted to the priestly precincts; then directly beyond and in line with the gate, the house of the deity and abode of the ark. The view from the assembly place in Israel was likewise directly through the gate, across the priests' court, through the door of the great tent, when opened, into the holy place with its lamp and table and incense altar to the curtain that screened the shrine where the ark stood. In many instances there is also a correspondence in shape and proportions between the ground plan of the Egyptian temple and that of the tabernacle of Israel. (3) This tabernacle and the ordinances of worship and the laws of the priests, in their character, elaborateness, and complexity, reflect the Mosaic age. From Babylon on the east to Egypt in the west the temple was the chief building in the community in point of nobility and richness. By the dignity of its architecture it impressed the beholder with religious awe. The encompassing court, the sacred house or pyramid, and the adytum of the deity were on a scale of beauty and grandeur commensurate with the opportunities of the worshiping people. Curtains within the chamber of the god, and sheathings of gold and silver and symbolical figures added to the splendor and impressiveness and significance of the place. The priesthood was a numerous body, and was accorded high social rank. At its head, to speak more particularly of the Egyptian priesthood, stood the high priest, the embodiment of the order, and officially distinguished by gorgeous attire. Under him were orders of priests and inferior temple servants. The respective duties and prerogatives of these various classes of sacred ministers were carefully defined. The prospective priests passed through an elaborate preliminary training in order to be fitted for the performance of pontificial functions, and when graduated and on duty purified themselves by ablutions and were arrayed in white raiment of linen or cotton. Besides the minute regulations to govern the conduct of the ministering priests, an elaborate ritual was drawn up. Among the Semites the offerings consisted of animals for sacrifice and vegetable products. Beasts were distinguished as clean and unclean. To be fit for use upon the altar the animal must be not only clean, but without blemish in the eyes of the priest. A ceremony was performed of such perfection that by action and dress it told its meaning to the worshiper. Festivals were celebrated in honor of the deity, and annual pilgrimages were made to the shrine by the populace. Moses did not borrow bodily. He did not take over as a whole. But the expression of esthetic feeling and religious thought in the forms of architecture and ritual had become a fine art. The symbols used may be likened to words. Moses took these words and by means of them told to men —not to the Hebrews only, but to strangers who might visit Israel—the character of Yahweh, the way to approach him, the obligations of his worshipers. The tabernacle and the priestly ritual, elaborate and complex though they were, were yet no novelty, no innovation. It is not surprising that at the founding of the nation, politically and religiously, the book of the covenant, which in modern parlance would be called the constitution and statutes, should be immediately followed by the plan and specifications for a national sanctuary and by a manual for the priests containing minute instructions for their guidance in the performance of a symbolic service. The ideals of the age demanded these things; and Moses under the direction of God gave to Israel a code of laws, a sanctuary, and a service devised primarily to meet the needs of the nation, but intended to command the respect of cultured gentiles as well.

On the priority of the priestly legislation to Deuteronomy consult the works of the school of Ewald, those, for example, by Dillmann ut sup., Klostermann, Strack ut sup.; further, E. C. Bissell, *The Pentateuch, its Origin and Structure*, New York, 1885. For evidence that the narrative portion of P is pre-exilic, cf. Boyd, *Ezekiel and the Modern Dating of the Pentateuch*, in *Princeton Theological Review*, 1908, 29 sqq. On the origin and sequence of the legislation, and on the congruity between the pentateuchal law and the history of the people, Green's works ut sup. and his article on *Critical Views respecting the Mosaic Tabernacle*, in *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, 1894, pp. 69 sqq. On the national sanctuary, and on the early distinction between priest and Levite, Green ut sup.; A. van Hoonacker, *Le Lieu du culte* (Ghent, 1894); idem, *Le Sacerdoce lévitique*, Louvain, 1899. On monotheism among the early Hebrews, J. Robertson, *Early Religion of Israel*, Edinburgh, 1892; A. Dillmann, *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, Leipsic, 1895; B. Baentsch, *Altorientalischen u. israelitischen Monotheismus*, Tübingen, 1906. On the stage of religious development during the early monarchy, J. Robertson, *Poetry and Religion of the Psalms*, Edinburgh, 1898. On the incompatibility between the prophetic teaching and the newer theories concerning the origin and growth of the religion of Israel, G. Vos, *Recent Criticism of the Early Prophets*, in *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, 1898 and 1899. A survey and estimate of the entire argument is found in J. Orr, *Problem of the Old Testament*, London, 1906; and a lawyer's study of the legislation and its criticism is contained in two articles by Wiener in the *Princeton Theological Reviews*, 1907, pp. 188, 605.

20. Literature on §§ 12–19.

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HEYLYN, PETER: English controversialist and church historian; b. at Burford (16 m. w.n.w. of Oxford), Oxfordshire, Nov. 29, 1600; d. in London May 8, 1662. He studied at Magdalen College, Oxford (B.A., 1617; M.A., 1620; B.D., 1629; D.D., 1633), and held a fellowship there (1618–29). He was made chaplain to the king in 1630, prebendary of Westminster Cathedral 1631, treasurer of the chapter in 1637, and subsequently subdean. In 1633 he was presented by Charles I. to the benefice of Houghton in the bishopric of Durham, which he exchanged for Alresford, Hampshire. In 1637 he was presented to the living of Islip, Oxfordshire. This he at once exchanged for the living of South Warren, Hampshire.

In the religious controversies preceding the civil war Heylyn proved a stanch supporter of the king and the High-church party. On account of the bitterness he had shown toward the Puritans he was singled out for punishment by the committees of the Long Parliament. He was deprived of preferments worth £800, and heavily fined; and his parsonage at Alresford was stripped of its contents, including his valuable library. To escape arrest he was forced to wander in various disguises till 1648, when he settled at Minster Lovel, Oxfordshire, the home of an elder brother. In 1653 he removed to Lacy's Court, near Abingdon. At the Restoration he regained his former important position in the councils of the Church, and would have been made a bishop but for physical infirmity. As subdean he attended the coronation of Charles II., Apr. 23, 1661, and on May 29 following he preached at Westminster Abbey a jubilant sermon on the return of Charles. He was an inveterate polemist, and was inclined to find Puritan tendencies even in the works of his fellow churchmen. Of his numerous writings, which are generally marred by prejudice and controversial rancor, the more important are: *Microcosmos* (Oxford, 1625), his once famous lectures at Oxford on geography, which he enlarged into *Cosmography* (London, 1652); *The History of . . . St. George of Cappadocia* (London, 1631); *Extraneus Vapulans* (1656), directed against Hamon l'Estrange and Nicholas Bernard, his cleverest piece of controversial writing; *Ecclesia restaurata, or the History of the Reformation of the Church of England* (1661; ed. J. C. Robertson for the Ecclesiastical History Society, 2 vols., Cambridge, 1849), his best book, but strongly biased; *Cyprianus Anglicus, or the History of the Life and Death of . . . William Laud* (London, 1668), the chief authority for Laud's private life, from which has been extracted *The Doctrine and Discipline of the English Church* (Oxford, 1846); *Aerius redivivus, or the History of the Presbyterians* (1670), a violent arraignment of the Presbyterians; and *Historical and Miscellaneous Tracts* (London, 1681), containing a life of Heylyn by G. Vernon.

Bibliography: The Life prefixed to the tracts (ut sup.) is a composite production, originally by George Vernon, revised without Vernon's knowledge by John Barnard (or Bernard), Heylyn's son-in-law, and re-revised, again without the knowledge of either Vernon or Barnard, by Thomas Barlow; Vernon then published his Life of Dr. Peter Heylyn, London, 1682, which evoked Barnard's *Theologo-historicus, or the True Life of . . . Peter Heylyn*, ib. 1683 (cf. on these I. Disraeli, *Curiosities of Literature*, iii. 238, ib. 1849). Consult further: David Lloyd, *Memoirs of the Lives . . . of . . . Personages that suffered . . . for the Protestant Religion*, pp. 525–528, ib. 1677; John Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*, ii. 190, ib. 1714; A. à Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, ed. P. Bliss, iii. 552–569, 4 vols., London, 1813–20; *DNB*, xxvi. 319–323.

HEYNLIN, hain'lin, VON STEIN (DE LAPIDE), JOHANN: German scholastic theologian; b. at Stein (10 m. e.s.e. of Carlsruhe) between 1425 and 1430; d. in a Carthusian monastery at Basel Mar. 12, 1496. He studied at Leipsic (1452); but removed to Paris (1454), where he became licentiate (1455), master (1456), fellow of the Sorbonne (1462), bachelor of theology (1463), and doctor of theology (1472). He then went to Basel, where by his energy and talent for organization he accomplished the victory of realism over nominalism (1464). Returning to Paris (1466), he became rector of the University of Paris (1469) and prior of the Sorbonne (1470). Together with Guillaume Fichet he introduced the art of printing in Paris and took an active part in the suppression of nominalism by the edict of Louis XI. (1473). Later he was prominent as a preacher in Basel (1474–78); he then became professor of theology and rector in the University of Tübingen (1478); but the opposition of the nominalists induced him to leave Tübingen to become rector of the chapter in Baden-Baden (1479). Afterward active as a teacher and reformer of morals in Bern (1480), but unable to attain success, he retired to Basel, first as canon and preacher of the cathedral (1484); but, wearied of the violent struggles with the nominalists, he entered the Carthusian monastery (1487). His commentary on Aristotle was written during his stay in Paris, but not published until many years later by his pupil Amerbach.

Carl Albrecht Bernouilli.

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HEZEKIAH.

Name, Character, and Chronology (§ 1).
Rejection and Reassumption of Vassalage to Assyria (§ 2).
Sennacherib's Third Campaign (§ 3).
Hezekiah's Later Life and Deeds (§ 4).

1. Name, Character, and Chronology.

Hezekiah (Hebr. *Ḥizḳiyyahu*, Isa. xxxvi. 1 and often; *Ḥizḳiyyah*, II Kings xviii. 1, 14–16; *Yeḥizḳiyyahu*, II Kings xx. 10 and often; *Yeḥizḳiyyah*, Hos. i. 1; Assyr. *Ḥazaḳiya'u*; Gk. *Ezekias*; Lat. *Ezechias*) was twelfth king of Israel, son and successor of Ahaz. His dates according to the old chronology are 727–696 B.C.; according to Köhler, 724–696; according to Duncker, 728–697; and according to Wellhausen, Kamphausen, Meyer, and Stade, 714–686. The difficulty of determining the exact dates arises from the fact that II Kings xviii. 10 states that Samaria fell in the sixth year of Hezekiah's reign, wherefrom it would result that he ascended the throne in the year 728 B.C.; verse 13 states, however, that Sennacherib's campaign against Judea took place in Hezekiah's fourteenth year. The cuneiform inscriptions clearly establish that this campaign occurred in the year 701 B.C.; so, according to these data, Hezekiah began to reign in 715 B.C. According to II Kings xviii. 2, he was twenty-five years old when he ascended the throne, but the text appears to be corrupt and should probably read fifteen instead of twenty-five. He was possessed of energy and courage, was prudent and active, religious in disposition. He is the only king, except Josiah, of whom the Book of Kings says that, like David, he did that which was pleasing to Yahweh (II Kings xviii. 3–4). He not only did away with the high places, but also endeavored to make it a rule that sacrifices should be offered only in the temple on Zion (II Kings xviii. 4; Mic. i. 5). In this way he strove to free the religious observances from those parts which he considered as either antagonizing (asherim and the brazen serpent) or as likely to endanger (high places and Maẓẓebhoth) the true knowledge and veneration of Yahweh as the holy and supernal God.

2. Rejection and Reassumption of Vassalage to Assyria.

It was probably after the violent death of Sargon in 705 B.C., and while his successor, Sennacherib, was occupied by a renewed attempt of Merodach-baladan to make himself master of Babylon (see Assyria, VI., 3, §§ 12–13), that Hezekiah severed his connection with Assyria. It seems that he took a prominent part in the revolt against Babylon, since he took charge of King Padi of Ekron when the latter was dethroned and made prisoner on account of his faithfulness to the Great King. He seems also to have been engaged in active negotiations with Egypt (cf. Isa. xxx.–xxxi.). After Sennacherib had subdued Merodach-baladan, he sought, in 701 B.C., to reestablish his sovereignty in the Mediterranean region. The Book of Kings affirms that Hezekiah sent a request for pardon to Sennacherib at Lachish and afterward paid him a heavy tribute. It is then stated in detail in II Kings xviii. 17–19, 35–37, that Sennacherib demanded the surrender of Jerusalem. Hezekiah, however, refused, on Isaiah's assurance that the city would not be captured, and Sennacherib was forced to turn back because the angel of Yahweh destroyed 185,000 of his men.

3. Sennacherib's Third Campaign.

Sennacherib's description of the results of his third campaign in the year 701 B.C. (Schrader, *KB*, ii. 91 sqq.) narrates the capture of the Phenician cities, the defeat of Zidka of Ascalon, the conquest of Ekron in spite of the approach of an Egyptian-Ethiopian army of relief, which was repulsed near Eltekeh, and lastly his successes against Hezekiah. But these successes involve only that Hezekiah was imprisoned in Jerusalem, was forced to surrender Padi, to send a heavy tribute to the Great King in Nineveh, and

also an embassy to pay homage. The comparison of these statements with the other accounts of Sennacherib's victories shows that the campaign against Hezekiah failed in its principal aim. Probably Sennacherib, during his operations with the main army in Philistia, sent to Judah a division which occupied and devastated the country and also surrounded Jerusalem. Thereupon Hezekiah gave up his enterprise, although he had been one of the leaders in the revolt. He sent the message of his submission to Sennacherib at Lachish, probably after the battle at Eltekeh, and before the fall of Ekron, at the same time surrendering Padi. At first Sennacherib seemed to be satisfied with this; but after Ekron was taken and he decided to move on toward Egypt, he did not consider it prudent to leave Hezekiah's still unimpaired and fortified city in his rear, and he demanded through the rabshak [commander] the surrender of Jerusalem. The surrender of Jerusalem to the Assyrians would have ended the remnant of independence enjoyed by Judah, and would have brought Hezekiah personally into great danger. In his perplexity Hezekiah turned to his God; and just as Isaiah had been right when he told Israel it would be to its injury to take part in world-politics, so also the prophecy which he was then empowered to give proved true. Sennacherib was thus forced to return home without capturing Jerusalem. The cause of his return was probably, according to II Kings xix. 7, the news of a renewal of revolt in Babylonia. In addition to this (if II Kings xix. 9–19, 36 also refers to what took place in 701 B.C., and not, as Winckler conjectures—*Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, Leipsic, 1892, pp. 255–258—to a later event) some great misfortune, probably a plague, befell his army just when he intended to move on toward Egypt.

4. Hezekiah's Later Life and Deeds.

Although God did not permit the Assyrians to capture Jerusalem, nevertheless Hezekiah became a vassal of Assyria. Of greater value than this semi-independence was the increase of earnest faith which the pious Jews derived from their misfortunes. The people, however, soon relapsed into the state of immorality; and under Manasseh the moral and religious condition of the people became worse than it had been under Hezekiah. For this reason even in Hezekiah's time (cf. Jer. xxvi. 17–19) Micah prophesied that the day would come when God would deliver Jerusalem to destruction. Hezekiah's intimate relation to his God is shown by the description of the illness which brought him near to death, when, after a fervent prayer of the sick king, he was cured by a remedy employed by Isaiah. Isa. xxxviii. contains a song of thanksgiving ascribed to Hezekiah after his illness, of the authenticity of which there should be no doubt. It is certainly an error on the part of later critics to undervalue the title of the collection of proverbs, Prov. xxv.–xxix.: "These are also proverbs of Solomon which the men of Hezekiah, king of Judah, copied out." This is undeniable testimony that Hezekiah appointed a commission to make a selection of the proverbs of Solomon. That this commission had also other literary duties, especially that of collecting psalms, is highly probable. Lastly, according to II Kings xx. 20; II Chron. xxxii. 30; Ecclus. xlviii. 17, Hezekiah built a subterranean canal from Gihon, the Virgin's Fountain of to-day, on the eastern slope of the southern spurs of Zion, to a pool at the lower end of the Tyropœan valley. The Siloam Inscription (q.v.), found in this tunnel in 1880, is considered the oldest Hebrew inscription known, and to date from the time of Hezekiah. The Shiloah mentioned in Isa. viii. 6 was probably a watercourse which existed before Hezekiah's day. W. Lotz.

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HIBBERT LECTURES: Next to the Bampton and the Boyle lectures perhaps the most noteworthy of the lectureships in Great Britain. The lectureship is named from Robert Hibbert (1770–1849), an English Unitarian, whose business interests were in Jamaica. In 1847 he executed a deed conveying to trustees after the death of his wife $90,000 in American railroad stocks, the income to be applied in a way "most conducive to the spread of Christianity in its most simple and intelligible form, and to the unfettered exercise of the right of private judgment in matters of religion." The income from the funds was used for some time in forwarding the independent research of students for the ministry whose attainments were regarded as especially brilliant. In 1878, however, a part of the funds was set apart for a limited series of years for the establishment of a lectureship to deal with the history of the religions of the world. The result is a series of volumes most of which have taken their place as classics in the subjects of which they treat. Many of the volumes have passed through several editions, and a new uniform edition has been issued, London, 1891–97. The following is a list of the lecturers and their subjects:

1878. F. Max Müller, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion, as Illustrated by the Religions of India*, Oxford, 1878.

1879. P. Le Page Renouf, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion, as Illustrated by the Religion of Ancient Egypt*, London, 1880.

1880. J. E. Renan, *The Influence of the Institutions, Thought and Culture of Rome on Christianity and the Development of the Catholic Church*, ib. 1880.

1881. T. W. Rhys Davids, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion, as Illustrated by some Points in the History of Indian Buddhism*, ib. 1882.

1882. A. Kuenen, *National Religions and Universal Religions*, ib. 1882.

1883. C. Beard, *The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century in its Relation to Modern Thought and Knowledge*, ib. 1883.

1884. A. Réville, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion, as Illustrated by the Native Religions of Mexico and Peru*, ib. 1884.

1885. O. Pfleiderer, *The Influence of the Apostle Paul on the Development of Christianity*, ib. 1885.

1886. J. Rhys, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion, as Illustrated by Celtic Heathendom*, ib. 1887.
1887. A. H. Sayce, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion, as Illustrated by the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, ib. 1887.
1888. E. Hatch, *The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church*, edited by A. M. Fairbairn, ib. 1890.
1891. E. Goblet d'Alviella, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of the Conception of God, as Illustrated by Anthropology and History*, ib. 1891.
1892. C. G. Montefiore, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion, as Illustrated by the Religion of the Ancient Hebrews*, ib. 1893.
1893. C. B. Upton, *The Bases of Religious Belief*, ib. 1894.
1894. J. Drummond, *Via, Veritas, Vita: Lectures on Christianity in its most simple and intelligible Form*, ib. 1895.

HICKES, GEORGE: English nonjuror; b. at Newsham, near Thirsk (20 m. n.w. of York), Yorkshire, June 20, 1642; d. in London Dec. 15, 1715. He studied at St. John's and Magdalen Colleges, Oxford (B.A., 1663; M.A., 1665; B.D., 1675), and became fellow at Lincoln 1664; was appointed chaplain to the duke of Lauderdale 1676, and accompanied him to Scotland; was made prebendary of Worcester and vicar of All Hallows, Barking, 1680, chaplain to the king 1681, and dean of Worcester 1683. Refusing the oath of allegiance after the revolution of 1688, he was deprived of his deanery 1690, and for the rest of his life lived chiefly in London in more or less close concealment. In 1694 he was consecrated bishop of Thetford by the nonjurors. He published many sermons and controversial tracts, wrote the preface for a "reformed" version of John Austin's *Devotions* (see Austin, John), and edited Thomas à Kempis; his *Linguarum veterum septentrionalium thesaurus grammatico-criticus et archæologicus* (Oxford, 1703–1705) is a work of much learning and industry.

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HICKOCK, LAURENS PERSEUS: Presbyterian; b. at Bethel, Conn., Dec. 29, 1799; d. at Amherst, Mass., May 6, 1888. He was educated at Union College (B.A., 1820), and after studying theology privately was ordained to the Congregational ministry in 1824. He held pastorates in that denomination at Kent, Conn. (1824–29), and Litchfield, Conn. (1829–36), and from 1836 to 1844 was professor of theology in Western Reserve College, O. He then accepted a call to the professorship of the same subject in Auburn Theological Seminary, a position which he held until 1852, resigning to become professor of mental and moral science and vice-president of Union College. In 1862 he became acting president of the same institution, of which he was full president from 1866 to 1868. In the latter year he retired from active life. He wrote *Rational Psychology* (New York, 1849); *A System of Moral Science* (1853); *Empirical Psychology* (1854); *Rational Cosmology* (1858); *Creator and Creation* (1872); *Humanity Immortal* (1872); and *Logic of Reason* (1875).

HICKS, ELIAS: Friend; b. at Hempstead, L. I., Mar. 19, 1748; d. at Jericho, L. I., Feb. 27, 1830. He was a mechanic in the early part of his life, but later devoted himself to agriculture. When he was twenty-seven he began to have "openings leading to the ministry," and subsequently became a noted preacher, traveling extensively among the Yearly Meetings of American Friends. When the more liberal element of the Society broke off from the more conservative wing in 1827 they were called Hicksites, and this separation extended to New York, Baltimore, Ohio, and Indiana. (See Friends, Society of, I., § 6.) Many were Unitarians, and some of Hicks's statements undoubtedly tend in this direction. His philanthropic activities were varied and effective. He published *Observations on Slavery* (New York, 1811); *Extemporaneous Discourses* (Philadelphia, 1825); *Journal of Religious Life and Labors* (5th ed., New York, 1832). Isaac Sharpless.

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HICKSITES. See Hicks, Elias; Friends, Society of, I., § 6.

HIERACAS, HIERACITES: An early heretic and his followers, important for the early history of monasticism, and known principally from Epiphanius (*Hær.*, lxvii.). Arius, however, as quoted by Epiphanius (l.c.), condemns the Christology of Hieracas, Valentinus, Manes, and Sabellius, and there is no reason to suppose another Hieracas. If he lived to be over ninety (as Epiphanius asserts), his birth would have fallen not long after 275. According to Epiphanius, he lived at Leontopolis, and was a man of the greatest learning. He knew the Bible almost by heart, composed a series of commentaries in Greek and Egyptian (Coptic), and wrote a great work on the Creation, and some psalms. He made his living by his skill as a copyist. His manner of life was extremely ascetic, including celibacy, complete abstinence from wine, and the reduction of food to the barest necessaries. His influence on the like-minded soon assembled round him an ascetic community, who went even beyond their teacher in severity. Hieracas saw in the teaching of physical purity and self-denial the essential difference between the Old and New Testaments. He denied the resurrection of the body, making the risen life a wholly spiritual one. He doubted the salvation of those who died in infancy, even baptized, because without knowledge there could be no conflict, and without conflict no reward. Epiphanius admits his orthodoxy on the Trinity. His Scriptural tendencies and his theoretical and speculative attitude toward renunciation of the world may be traced to the influence of Origen. If his monks were also his scholars, this would be one of the earliest instances of an ascetic community devoted at the same time to learning. According to Macarius Ægyptius, there were followers of his teaching, known as Hieracites, as late as the end of the fourth century.

(Adolf Harnack.)

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84; *DCB*, iii. 24–25; Neander, *Christian Church*, i. 713–716; *KL*, v. 2005–06.

HIERARCHY (from Gk. *hieros*, "sacred," and *archia*, "rule"): The rule of sacred things; then a body of rulers organized for such rule. The Roman Church probably presents the most perfect example of a hierarchy organized monarchically, the whole power centering in the pope, and most minutely graded, both with respect to orders—bishops, priests, deacons (the *ordines juris divini*), and subdeacons, acolytes, exorcists, lectors, doorkeepers, etc. (the *ordines juris ecclesiastici*), and with respect to jurisdiction—archbishops, metropolitans, exarchs, patriarchs, deans, vicars, cardinals, legates, etc. In the Greek Church the hierarchical organization is oligarchical: above the several patriarchs there is no pope. In the Evangelical Churches, where the State rules the Church, more or less of the hierarchical apparatus may be retained, as in the Church of England and the Prussian Church; while, when the Church is established on the principle of universal priesthood, and the congregation rules itself, as in the American churches and many free churches in Europe, all hierarchy disappears. See Church; Clergy; Jurisdiction, Ecclesiastical; Orders, Holy.

HIEROCLES: A persecutor and literary opponent of the early Christians; d. not before 306. He is probably the Sossianus Hierocles of an inscription from Palmyra between Mar. 1, 293, and May 1, 305, the governor of the province to which Palmyra then belonged. The responsibility for the outbreak of the persecution of Diocletian is placed chiefly upon him by Lactantius (*De morte persecutorum*, xvi. 4; *De divinis institutionibus*, V., ii. 12). As governor of Bithynia, he was at Nicomedia, the very center of the persecution and the place where it first broke out, when the church there was destroyed on Feb. 23, 303, and the edict against the Christians promulgated the next day. He was succeeded in the governorship of Bithynia by Priscillianus, and became prefect of all Egypt. Here also he persecuted the Christians, even confining Christian women and virgins dedicated to the ascetic life in houses of debauchery. The Christian Ædesius went to Alexandria, accused him to his face of overstepping the provisions of the law, and struck him, but was tortured and thrown into the sea. Hierocles was one of the two literary antagonists of the Christians whom Lactantius describes (*De institutionibus*, V., ii. 2) as coming forward in the spring of 303. In the few extant fragments of his work he appears as the upholder of a philosophic monotheism, which, however, did not exclude a polytheistic cult. Its line of attack is dependent mainly upon Porphyry, especially in the attempt to point out inconsistencies in the Scriptures. He carries out in greater detail Porphyry's suggestion of a comparison between Christ and Apollonius of Tyana, in favor of the latter. With Hierocles the Neoplatonic criticism, which had before been merely theoretical, became practical and gained an influence on the government. (K. J. Neumann.)

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HIEROGLYPHICS. See Inscriptions, I.

HIERONYMITES, hai''e-ren'i-maits (**HERMITS OF ST. JEROME**): The name of four religious orders in Spain, Portugal, and Italy, which lived after the rule of the Augustinian canons or hermits.

1. The Spanish Hieronymites were established in the diocese of Toledo about 1370 by Vasco, a Portuguese Franciscan tertiary, and Pedro Fernando Pecha of Guadalajara, chamberlain of Peter the Cruel. The order was confirmed by Gregory XI. in 1374, and spread rapidly through Spain and Portugal, extending even to America. Its chief monasteries in Spain were Santa Maria de Guadelupe, San Yuste, San Isidor in Seville, and the Escorial near Madrid. In Portugal it possessed the monastery of Belem, near Lisbon. The habit of the order, whose members were favorite confessors of the Spanish and Portuguese monarchs, is a coarse white cassock with a small black cowl and a black scapular. An order of Hieronymite nuns was founded in 1375 by Maria Garcias of Toledo, but did not take solemn vows until the time of Pope Julius II. Their habit was a white cassock and brown scapular. Their last convents fell in the Carlist struggles of 1835.

2. The Observantine Hieronymites were founded by Lupus Olivetus (Lope d'Olmedo), third general of the Spanish Hieronymites (d. 1433), and were confirmed by Martin V. in 1426. In Spain the order was united with the other Hieronymites in 1595, but in Italy, where it was known as the Congregation of St. Jerome of Lombardy, it possessed monasteries up to the middle of the nineteenth century.

3. The Poor Hermits of St. Jerome were established near Montebello in Italy in 1377 by Pietro Gambacorti or Petrus de Pisis (d. 1435), who formed his community from converted robbers. The rule was exceedingly strict, but was mitigated in 1444 and exchanged for that of St. Augustine in 1568. In the seventeenth century several communities of hermits in Bavaria and the Tyrol joined this order, but it now has only a few monasteries, especially one in Viterbo and one in Rome.

4. The Congregatio Fesulana or Clerici apostolici Sancti Hieronymi Jesuati was established in 1406 at Fiesole by Carlo de Montegranelli. The order was suppressed in 1668 by Clement IX., and most of its members joined the Poor Hermits of St. Jerome. (O. Zöcklerâ€ .)

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HIERONYMUS. See JEROME.

HIGH CHURCH. See ENGLAND, CHURCH OF, II., § 5.

HIGH PLACES.

Sacred Mountains in Ethnic Religions (§ 1).
West-Semitic Worship on Mountains (§ 2).
Hebrew High Places (§ 3).
Their Number and Location (§ 4).
High Places in Codes and History (§ 5).
Opposing Interests and Ideas (§ 6).

In all primitive cults the jurisdiction of a deity is regarded as restricted within limits comparatively confined. Each spot may have its resident spirit who is for that spot the god or, as the Semites say, the baal, "lord." Early anthropomorphism conceived such a baal as having a fixed residence in that place, which was therefore a sanctuary from which he seldom or never wandered.

1. Sacred Mountains in Ethnic Religions.

It was in this way that Yahweh was conceived to have taken up his abode in the Temple of Solomon (I Kings viii. 13; Ps. xxiv. 7–10). It was a long step in advance of this stage in religious thought when, e.g., the Assyrians could think of Asshur going forth with his hosts to foreign conquests, or the Hebrews of Yahweh as coming from "Seir" to do battle for his people (Judges v. 4–5). The earlier condition is illustrated frequently in the Old Testament, where baal is the first (or second) element of a compound place-name. This Semitic principle is illustrated further by the fact that "Melcarth is Baal of Tyre, Astarte the Baalath of Byblus; there was a Baal of Lebanon, of Mt. Hermon, of Mt. Peor, and so forth" (Smith, *Rel. of Sem.*, 1st ed., p. 93). Among the spots which deity inhabits are the crests of hill and mountain. This is abundantly exemplified in both primitive and advanced cults. In early Cretan worship a notable place was the sanctuary of the Cretan mountain mother (A. Evans, in *Annual* of the British School at Athens, vii. 29, 1900–01, cited in J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to . . . Greek Religion*, p. 498, Cambridge, 1903). In the developed Greek religion the cult of Zeus shows many sanctuaries on the mountain-tops, such as Mt. Laphystos in Beotia, Mt. Pelion, Olympus in Thessaly (Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, i. 50–52, Oxford, 1896). The Acropolis at Athens was the site of the most famous temples of the region. The Persians had their Alburz, the people of India their Meru. The Javanese placed their paradise, the home of spirits and gods, on the crests of their highest mountain (E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, p. 60, Boston, 1874). In the Semitic sphere the baalim were generally connected with fertility, and consequently their sanctuaries were probably early located at the springs and watery bottoms whence fertility seemed to have its source. But according to Semitic notions there were two great reservoirs whence fertilizing waters issued; one below the earth, from which springs and rivers sprang; and one above the firmament or sky, whence came the rains (Gen. i. 6–7; in Gen. vii. 1 both sources are represented as contributing to the flood). Frequently the clouds gathered about a mountain-top and thence spread to deposit their moisture; hence the summits whence the rain seemed to come were regarded as homes of baals and their appropriate sanctuaries. A second cause of the selection of hilltops as places of worship was the conception of heaven-gods who were most appropriately worshiped on the hills (Smith, ut sup., pp. 470–471). The notion of mountain deities and of consequent worship on the hills is especially dominant in the Semitic realm. Arameans attributed Israelitic victory to the supposed fact that Yahweh was a god of the mountain (I Kings xx. 23, 28). Assyrian deities were wont to gather on the heights (Isa. xiv. 13). Mt. Sinai was a sacred spot before the Hebrews left Egypt, took its name from the Babylonian-Himyaric moon-god Sin (see BABYLONIA, VII., 2, § 5); Horeb-Sinai was during Hebrew history the sacred mountain (Deut. xxxiii. 2; Hab. iii. 1), with which Yahweh is connected in Judges (v. 4–5), whither Elijah returned for communion with him (I Kings xix.), while it was the goal of pilgrimages during the early Christian centuries. Reminiscences of earlier worship on the hills are seen in the ziggurats of Babylonia, elevated sometimes to seven or eight stories.

2. West-Semitic Worship on Mountains.

That the branch of Semites to which the Hebrews belonged used heights as places of worship is abundantly attested in Scripture. The Moabites had altars on Mt. Pisgah (Num. xxiii. 14), Mt. Peor (xxiii. 28–30), other unnamed places (xxii. 41–xxiii. 1), and other Moabitic high places were Bajith, Dibon, and Nebo (Isa. xv. 2; cf. Jer. xlviii. 35), and possibly Bamoth-baal and Beth-baal-meon (Josh. xiii. 17), while one of their deities was Baal-peor. A high place has been discovered at Petra (cf. *Biblical World*, xvii. 2, xxi. 170, xxvii. 386; Benzinger, *Archäologie*, p. 320, ed. of 1907). Further illustrations of this are the frequent notice in the Old Testament of high places used by the Canaanites (Num. xxxiii. 52; Deut. xii. 2). *Zeus oreios*, "Zeus of the mountain," is named on a post-Christian inscription found near Saida, and Jacob of Sarug knew of idolatrous high places in the early sixth century. Among the ancestors and leaders of the Hebrews it is recorded of Abraham that the site of the intended sacrifice of Isaac was on a mountain (Gen. xxii. 2); of Jacob that he "offered sacrifice upon the mount" (Gen. xxxi. 54), in this case possibly an artificial mound; Moses built an altar on the hill from which he had viewed the battle between Amalek and Israel (Ex. xvii. 15); Joshua built an altar on Mt. Ebal (Josh. viii. 30; cf. Deut. xxvii. 4–5, in which Moses commands the erection of an altar there). The case is strengthened by the fact that for events having sacred or solemn significance heights were frequently chosen. The death of Aaron took place on Mt. Hor (Num. xx. 22–29), and of Moses on Nebo (Deut. xxxiv. 1–5). Moabites (Isa. xv. 2) and Hebrews alike went to the hills to mourn (cf. the mourning for the

daughter of Jephthah, Judges xi. 40). The oracle in Deut. xxxiii. 19 implies worship on the mountains led by the tribes of Issachar and Zebulon. That the high places used by Israel during the period of the kings were taken over from the pre-Hebraic inhabitants of Canaan is held as almost axiomatic. The establishment of a new holy place came about usually through some supernatural phenomenon (as Jacob's dream, which showed that the spot was the haunt of deity, Gen. xxviii. 10 sqq., or the appearance of the angel of destruction at the threshing-floor of Araunah, II Sam. xxiv. 16). For mountain-tops as places of worship under the Hebrews cf. I Kings xiv. 23; II Kings xvi. 4, xvii. 10; Hos. iv. 13; Jer. ii. 20, iii. 6, vii. 2; Ezek. vi. 13, xx. 27–29. Especially illuminating is Jer. iii. 2, where "high places" is the rendering of *shephayim*, from *shaphah*, "to be bare," the idea probably being that bare peaks, offering an unobstructed view of heaven, were especially propitious. According to Ps. lxviii. 16, God especially desires to dwell on the hill of Zion.

3. Hebrew High Places.

The Hebrew term *bamah* (pl. *bamoth*), "high place" (cf. Assyr. *bamatu*, pl. *bamati*, the latter used in the sense of "hill country"), probably means "a crest." That the term is not merely figurative is proved by the fact that people "go up" to the high place (I Sam. ix. 13, 19; Isa. xv. 2) and "come down" from it (I Sam. x. 5, ix. 25; cf. Ezek. xx. 29). The word has occasionally the significance of "mountain stronghold" (Ezek. xxxvi. 2), and so (in the plural) is symbolical of dominion (Deut. xxxii. 13; II Sam. xxii. 34; Isa. lviii. 14). But in general the use of the word is religious; it may have lost its physical meaning and have come to denote simply "sanctuary," though generally as an elevation. In prose it always means a place of worship, though it is synonymous at times with *gibh'ah*, "hill," and *ramah*, "lofty place" (cf. Ezek. xx. 28–29, xvi. 16, 24–25, 31, 39). It occurs in the plural as an element in names (Num. xxi. 19–20, 28, R. V.; Josh. xiii. 17); and it is found on the Moabite Stone (q.v.) as the name of a Moabitic sanctuary for Chemosh (line 3) and as an element in a place-name (line 27). It is debatable whether "all the worship of Old Israel was worship at the high places" (*EB*, ii. 2066), since it is by no means certain that at all the shrines, e.g., under the sacred trees (see Groves and Trees, Sacred), "high places" existed (though cf. I Kings xiv. 23). Yet that the word was not always used in its physical sense appears from the cases in which the *bamoth* were in valleys (Jer. vii. 31, xix. 2, 5), in cities (I Kings xiii. 32; II Kings xvii. 9, 29, xxiii. 5), in the temple (Jer. vii. 31; Ezek. xvi. 34), at the entrance to the city (II Kings xxiii. 8), or near the city (I Sam. ix. 25, x. 5). In these cases the *bamah* must have been an artificial mound, perhaps resembling on a small scale the Babylonian ziggurat (cf. the notice of the Phenician coin, ut sup.). It is to be noted that in some cases these ziggurats bore the name of mountain or hill, thus revealing the idea which underlay their construction. This artificial construction is made quite clear by the cases in which the *bamah* is distinguished from the hill on which it stood (I Kings xi. 7, xiv. 23; Ezek. vi. 3). The accessories of the high places were the *maẓẓebah*, a stone pillar (see Memorials and Sacred Stones); the *asherah* (q.v.), a wooden post or pole; the altar (q.v.); often images of some description (see Images and Image Worship, I., and cf. II Chron. xiv. 3); Ephod and Teraphim (qq.v.; cf. Judges viii. 27, xvii. 5; I Sam. xxi. 9); often a sacred tree (I Sam. xxii. 6); a structure like a house or shrine, cf. the "houses of high places" (I Kings xii. 31, xiii. 32; II Kings xxiii. 19). A house for the ark is indicated at Shiloh (I Sam. iii. 3), and one at Nob (I Sam. xxi. 9), while at these places were probably deposited sacred trophies, e.g., of war (cf. the last passage cited). The attendants were *kohanim*, "priests" (I Kings xii. 32, xiii. 2, 32), called also *kemarim* (II Kings xxiii. 5); *kedheshim* and *kedheshoth*, "male and female diviners," perhaps in the latter case prostitutes (Hos. iv. 14; Deut. xxiii. 18; I Kings xiv. 24, xv. 12), and prophets (I Sam. x. 5, 10). The practises indicated for these places by Hosea are festivals, joyous gatherings of the family or clan, while the individual was not prohibited from attending, with sacrifices and libations, offerings of corn, wine, oil, flax, wool, and fruits; licentious intercourse was also practised here, since female devotees were attached to the shrines; divination was common and Mutilations (q.v.) occurred (Hos. ii. 15, 17, ix. 4; cf. Deut. lxii. 5–8, 11).

4. Their Number and Location.

The number of high places used by the Hebrews is perhaps not more than hinted at in the Old Testament. With those already named, high places were possibly, probably, or certainly located at Bochim (Judges ii. 5), Ophrah (vi. 24–26, viii. 27), Dan (xviii. 30), Shiloh (xviii. 31), Bethel (xx. 18; II Kings xxiii. 15), Mizpeh (Judges xi. 11–12, xx. 1; cf. I Sam. vii. 9), Kirjath-jearim ("in the hill," I Sam. vii. 1), Ramah (I Sam. vii. 5, 16–17, ix. 12), Gibeah (x. 5, 13), Gilgal (x. 8, xi. 5, xv. 21), Bethlehem (xvi. 2 sqq., xx. 6), Nob (xxi. 1–2), Hebron (II Sam. xv. 7); Olivet (xv. 30–32), Gibeon (xxi. 6; according to the correct reading—cf. H. P. Smith's commentary on the passage, New York, 1899—the Gibeonites crucified the descendants of Saul on Mt. Gibeon "before the face of Yahweh," showing that a sanctuary was located there; cf. also I Kings iii. 3 sqq., "the great high place"), an unnamed hill near Jerusalem (I Kings xi. 7), Carmel (I Kings xviii. 19, 30; Vespasian is said to have offered sacrifice there), Tabor (Hos. v. 1), and Gerizim (Josephus, *Ant.*, XI. viii. 2, 4). How continuously these places were used is indicated not only by the detail preceding (showing that they were employed by the patriarchs, by Moses and Joshua, by the leaders and people in the time of the Judges, of Samuel, and of Saul), but also by the cases still to be cited. High places were erected by Solomon (I Kings iii. 3 sqq.; II Kings xxiii. 12–13), were used in the especially significant reigns of Rehoboam (I Kings xiv. 23), Jeroboam (xii. 31–32, xiii. 2, 32–33), and Asa (xv. 14); Elijah bewails the destruction of the Yahweh altars (xix. 10, 14);

these sacred places were still employed under Jehoshaphat (xxii. 43), by Jehoash, who was under the tutelage of Jehoiada (II Kings xii. 3), Amaziah (xiv. 4), Azariah (xv. 4), Jotham (xv. 35), Ahaz (xvi. 4), Manasseh (xxi. 3), and presumably Amon (xxi. 20–21). The first thoroughgoing attempt at abolishment of these ancient seats of worship was under Josiah, yet Ezek. vi. 3–7 shows that they continued after the promulgation of the Deuteronomic law.

The matter of the high places is important not only for itself but for its bearing upon the date and authorship of the Pentateuch (see HEXATEUCH). Into this connection come not merely the sanctuaries which were technically high places, but the entire circle of places of sacrifice outside the temple after Solomonic times. Within the Pentateuchal codes themselves three situations appear. (1) Ex. xx. 24 clearly recognizes the legitimacy of a plurality of places of worship, and this is what appears in history until Josiah's destruction and defilement of the sanctuaries outside the temple and is echoed in Elijah's lament and his practise at Carmel (I Kings xviii. 30, "repaired the altar of the Lord which was broken down"). (2) Deuteronomy (xii. 4–7, xiv. 22–23, xv. 19–20, xvi. 1–2, xviii. 6, xxvi. 2, etc.) regards one sanctuary and one alone as sacred and legitimate for purposes of worship (contrast the use of the phrase "the place which the Lord your God shall choose" in these passages with the phrase "in all places where I record my name" of Ex. xx. 24). (3) The Priest Code assumes that there is but one sanctuary and legislates for it. With this diverse usage history seems to accord. The Judges erect altars, Samuel officiates at many sites, Solomon's high places were not all the loci of foreign cults, Elijah's position has been shown, while the pious kings Asa, Jehoshaphat, Johoash, Amaziah, Azariah, and Jotham, as well as the evil kings, used them. The idea underlying the use of the many altars seems to be that "the whole land, being Israel's possession, is Jehovah's house, people are convinced that they may worship him at any place within it at which he may make himself known" (H. Schultz, *Old Testament Theology*, p. 209, Edinburgh, 1895; cf. Hos. viii. 3 sqq.; II Kings v. 17). The author and editors of the Books of Samuel record the continued employment of the many altars and high places without condemning it. The Books of Kings, beginning their narrative practically with the reign of Solomon, assume the Deuteronomic position and denounce worship at these places in spite of the fact that they contain the story of Elijah and record that pious kings worshiped there, while the author excuses prior use of the *bamoth* because the temple was not yet built (I Kings iii. 2). Hezekiah was apparently the first king who attempted to do away with a cult condemned by the author of Kings (II Kings xviii. 4)*, and Manasseh's reign saw a very vigorous renascence of the cult. These historical facts are explained in two ways. (1) Those who hold to the substantially Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch regard the cult as the result of a defiance of the Deuteronomic and priestly codes, the persistent wrongdoing of a perverse nation. But this still leaves unexplained Ex. xx. 24. (2) Those who deny Mosaic authorship to the Pentateuch and place the Deuteronomic Code in the seventh century affirm the legitimacy of the high places until that code was written, some time before 622. They regard that code as caused by the repulsion produced in the prophetic mind by the debased syncretism of the worship of Yahweh with Canaanitic practises, and explain the renewal of the cult under Manasseh as expressing not only the personal will of that king, but as a response to the demands of the populace who repelled what seemed an attack upon their religion in favor of the royal temple at Jerusalem. The unity of worship commanded in the Deuteronomic Code and assumed in the Priest Code is not that of Isaiah, who predicted an altar to Yahweh in Egypt (Isa. xix. 19); nor, from the standpoint of history, that of Jeremiah, who speaks of Shiloh as the place where Yahweh set his name "at the first" (Jer. vii. 12, 14) and employs the a fortiori argument that if Shiloh could not escape, surely Jerusalem cannot; nor of Amos, who speaks of the desolation of the high places as a part of the punishment of the people (vii. 9); nor of Hosea, whose complaint, according to modern commentators, is not that the people worshiped at the high places, but that they practised there abominable things (chap. iv.), just as the feast-days, new moons, and sabbaths are not in themselves vicious but only occasions of wickedness (ii. 11–13); and so things which the Deuteronomic Code comes to prohibit, but which throughout prior periods had been used without consciousness of wrong, are to be removed or destroyed not as prohibited but as a punishment (iii. 4). The pre-Deuteronomic prophetic denunciation is therefore grounded not upon the inherent illegality of the high places as loci of worship, but upon the idolatry, confusion of worship, abominations, and human sacrifices which were practised there (cf. Jer. vii. 31, xi. 13, xix. 5).

5. High Places in Codes and History.

That, from the time of the establishment of the temple cult at Jerusalem, a tendency would be established toward centralization of worship there was from the nature of the case to be expected from the fact that the cult was, under direct royal patronage. That such centralization did not mature earlier shows how strong must have been the sentiment of regard in the minds of kings, priests, and people for the shrines hallowed by the devotion and example of the patriarchs and heroes of history whose names were associated with those places. It was to be expected that the presence of the ark first at Shiloh, then at Jerusalem, would exalt those sanctuaries above the rest. Yet prophets and godly kings knew of no obligation to worship only at Jersualem. What was a priori likely to lead to the discrediting of the *bamoth* and concentration of worship in the capital was the in-

6. Opposing Interests and Ideas.

* The reform of Hezekiah is doubted by some scholars on the ground that II Kings xviii. 4, 32, xxi. 3 are late, and that the account of the reformation of Josiah seems to imply no earlier efforts.

troduction of foreign cults—as when Solomon built high places for Chemosh and Molech (I Kings xi. 7) and for Ashtoreth (II Kings xxi. 3), or as when Ahab built altars for Baal (I Kings xvi. 31–32)—with practises and suggestions alien to the pure worship of Yahweh and tending to confuse him in person and in conception with other gods or to substitute these for him. The antagonism to these grew up after the period when the two Hebrew kingdoms were on terms of amity, and the syncretism in which the northern kingdom led had been diffused toward the south; and this antagonism was embodied in the Deuteronomic Code—which bore not a priestly, but a prophetic stamp. On the other hand, tending to protect the cult of these places was the strong religious conservatism, ever a powerful factor in religious evolution, both of the masses of the people and of the priests who served at these shrines, and these would deem themselves deprived of their privileges by prohibition to use their long hallowed sacred places. The zeal of the clear-minded prophets who realized the increasing alienation from Yahweh and obscuration of the people's conception of him, the prestige carried by the name of Moses under the protection of whose name the Deuteronomic Code was promulgated, the evident awe and fear produced in the mind of Josiah at the complete disharmony between the Deuteronomic requirements and daily practise—all these explain the fact that the high places so completely disappeared that the postexilic code had not to deal with them at all, but could legislate for the central sanctuary alone. Ezekiel, indeed, shows that there were still sporadic cases of worship at the old shrines, but it is clear that this was only the *dernier resort* of the skeptical who saw all hopes wrecked and faith in Yahweh made baseless by the fall of the holy city, who turned therefore in sheer despair to the gods of the conquering peoples, to the sun and moon and stars, even to the animal deities of a bald, recrudescent totemism (cf. Jer. xliv.). But how completely for Israel the high places had been discredited is most conclusively proved by the attitude of the Chronicler who revises the history of the Books of Samuel so as to make it accord with the course events should have taken had the postexilic ideas governed in the times of which he speaks.

GEO. W. GILMORE.

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HIGH PRIEST.

Official Names, Character, and Robes according to P (§ 1).
The Office in Other Documents (§ 2).
The Office in Historical and Prophetic Writings (§ 3).
The Office in Postexilic Times (§ 4).

In the Old Testament the high priest is called either *hakkohen*, "the priest" (e.g., Lev. iv. 6; cf. I Chron. xvi. 39; Neh. xiii. 4), or *hakkohen haggadhol*, "the great priest" (e.g., Lev. xxi. 10; Neh. iii. 1), or *hakkohen hammashiaḥ*, "the anointed priest" (e.g., Lev. iv. 3); also *hakkohen harosh*, "the chief priest" (e.g., II Kings xxv. 18), and once simply *harosh*, "the chief" (II Chron. xxiv. 6). The data concerning his office and position are contained in the priestly document in the Penta-

teuch (see HEXATEUCH). According to this, Aaron and his sons (really the descendants of his two sons Eleazar and Ithamar) are alone the legitimate possessors of the priestly office; among these Aaron as high priest took the leading place, and was the type of official whose function at his death was to be assumed by one of his sons (Lev. xvi. 32), probably by the first-born (cf. Num. xxv. 11), but, in case the high priest had no sons, by his oldest brother, as happened in Maccabean times. The high priest held office for life, since no higher authority is designated by which he could be deposed; his position was that of a prince, as is indicated by his crown, by the color of his raiment, and by amnesty at his death for certain crimes which had occurred (Num. xxxv. 25, 28). His authority was entirely spiritual as mediator between God and the people. As representative of the people, he bore on his breast in sacred functions the names of the tribes; as representative of deity, he carried the Urim and Thummim by which the will of deity was indicated. As head of the priesthood, he had sacrificial duties which he alone might perform (Lev. iv. 3 sqq., 13 sqq., ix. 8 sqq., vi. 12–15). The period of seven days for the consecration ceremonies, with many other particulars, belonged to the induction into the ordinary priesthood as well as into the high priest's office; and though the other priests were also anointed, especial significance seems to have attended the anointing of the high priest. Special importance is indicated also in the clothing assumed by the high priest at investiture. The garments were: the *me'il*, a sleeveless gown of purple adorned with golden bells and pomegranate-shaped knots of violet-red or carmine; the ephod (q.v.), a shoulder cape of cloth of gold in blue, purple, and scarlet with two onyx stones on which were engraved the names of the tribes; the *ḥoshen*, a breastplate containing twelve stones, each bearing the name of a tribe, in which were carried the Urim and Thummim (q.v.); and the *miẓnepheth*, a tiara, on the front of which was a gold plate carrying the inscription "holy to Yahweh" (Ex. xxxix.). It was significant of the high-priesthood that it involved complete purity. Hence the high priest was forbidden to touch a corpse, even that of his nearest relation, and his wife was to be a virgin of pure Israelitic stock (Lev. xxi. 15).

1. Official Names, Character, and Robes according to P.

In the other Pentateuchal sources no such prince-priest appears. J makes Eleazar the successor of Aaron as priest (Josh. xxiv. 33; cf. Deut. x. 6), but of an organization of the clergy in general this document says nothing. Deut. xvii. 8 in arranging for justice at the central sanctuary speaks of "the priest," which probably does not mean an ordinary priest, but can not mean the high priest. It is noteworthy that Ezek. xl.–xlviii. fails to speak of the high priest; even xlv. 19 can hardly mean anything but the officiating priest of the occasion, and in Ezekiel the prince cares for the official ritual.

2. The Office in Other Documents.

Comparison of the prescriptions of the priestly document with the historical and prophetic writings fails to reveal in the latter in preexilic times a high priest corresponding to the official of the former. Certain passages show a chief priest such as Jehoiada (II Kings xi.–xii.), Urijah (II Kings xvi. 10), and Hilkiah (II Kings xxii.–xxiii.), where the designation *hakkohen haggadhol* first appears and where late critics see interpolation, though without sufficient ground since the name of a later office may have had historic foreshadowing. Such foreshadowing is indicated in *kohen mishneh*, "second priest" (II Kings xxv. 18; Jer. lii. 24), a priest who had oversight of the temple in late preexilic times. But that this is not the high priest appears from the fact that there were in the time of David and Solomon two such priests, Zadok and Abiathar (II Sam. xix. 11). The dealings of Solomon with Zadok and Abiathar (I Kings ii. 35) show that the absolute high priest was not yet in existence. Similar conclusions are indicated in the existence of chief priests for the separate sanctuaries of historic times. Immediately after the exile, with Joshua, grandson of the murdered chief priest Seraiah, the office assumes new importance which suggests the Priest Code (cf. Zech. iii. and vi. 13). In Haggai Joshua's place is of importance, but alongside that of Zerubbabel, who is generally named first. Zechariah's view of the office is closely related to that of the Priest Code. The steps to the creation of the office as seen in the Priest Code are hidden, especially in view of Ezekiel's silence. But it may be affirmed on general grounds that the emergence of the office was due to a movement which had for its purpose the emancipation of the Church from the State. Ezekiel concentrated political power in the hands of the prince, but made it subsidiary to the cult. The Priest Code depended upon the centrality of the Jerusalem cult and made the high priest the highest authority for the people.

3. The Office in Historical and Prophetic Writings.

The authority of the high-priesthood grew in postexilic times to a significant eminence through the introduction of the priestly law which set the anointed high priest forth as the one authority, though still in a spiritual sense, which authority was generally recognized. A characteristic example of this is given in I Macc. vii. 14, where it is stated that Alcimus, made high priest by Demetrius (162 B.C.), was received with confidence at Jerusalem upon the ground that he was priest of the seed of Aaron and would do no wrong. The panegyric in Ecclus. l. indicates the ideal of the office which was maintained. The concentration of political power into the hands of the high priest continued in postexilic times. Zerubbabel vanished without leaving a successor, but the priest-prince remained and became the political representative of the people. The Urim and Thummim, upon which, according to the Priest Code, priestly authority rested, does not appear in postexilic times. But the growing wealth of the Jewish community ever enhanced the political importance of the office. The high priest's power was somewhat limited by the Sanhedrin, but

4. The Office in Postexilic Times.

he alone cared for the external relations of the people and was their protector (Ecclus. l. 4). The assumption of the royal title, e.g., by Aristobulus (104–103 B.C.), did not alter the essential facts of the office, and the robes needed no change to express regal authority. Under the influence of the times, the political interests became predominant, as is seen in the history of the Maccabean period; but of the office between the days of Ezra and the last pre-Maccabean high priest almost nothing is known. The transference of the office to the priestly family of the Maccabees in 153 B.C. was no less illegal than the deposition of Jason in favor of Menelaus, but the gratitude of the people restrained the opposition of the legalists. The downfall of the Hasmoneans marked the end of the high-priesthood in its special significance. True, the office continued till the destruction of Jerusalem, and the holder was first in the Sanhedrin and possessed important influence; but he had lost the two essentials of the office, its transmission by heredity and its possession for life. Herod the Great and the Romans arbitrarily changed the high priests, and the title was held not only by those who at the time performed the duties of the office, but by those who had formerly done so. With the fall of Jerusalem the office ceased to exist. (F. Buhl.)

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HILARION, SAINT: Palestinian hermit; b. at Tabatha (5 Roman m. s. of Gaza) 291; d. in the island of Cyprus 371. He received his first instruction at Alexandria, where he became a Christian. Hearing of St. Anthony and his hermit life, he lived two months with him. He then returned home, and, at the age of fifteen, began the life of a solitary in a little hut in the vicinity of Majuma, the port of Gaza. Like the Egyptian hermits, he wove baskets of rushes to earn his subsistence. At the same time he observed the strictest discipline of fasting. He was visited by frequent apparitions of demons, but soon obtained the gift of healing demoniacs and other patients. He became especially known by curing the sons of an aristocratic lady, Aristænete, and this gave occasion, in 329, to the founding of a colony of hermits about him. He is supposed to have maintained a correspondence with St. Anthony, and visited the sacred localities in Jerusalem (Jerome, *Epist.*, lviii., *ad Paulinum*). Jerome has much to say of the conversions to Christianity wrought by Hilarion, as when he is reported to have won over the Saracens of Elusa in the desert of Kades.

Owing to predictions of impending times of distress—the persecutions of the Christians under Julian—Hilarion left Palestine never to return. By way of Lychnos he reached Castrum Theubatum (Thaubastum), where he visited Dracontius, exiled by the Emperor Constantius on account of his orthodoxy. His pilgrimage then led him to the Nile city Aphroditopolis and to Mount St. Anthony, from which he went to the Alexandrian suburb Bruchium. At the port town of Paraitonion, in the Egyptian Marmarica, he met his Palestinian disciple Hadrian, who, apparently, came to conduct him back to Palestine; but he refused to go. Hilarion next reached Sicily, and lived as a hermit in the vicinity of the promontory Pachynum. Here, in a wonderful manner, he was discovered by his pupil Hesychius. But he soon left Sicily, because here, as elsewhere, a crowd of disciples gathered about him, so that he could not live the solitary life. He betook himself to Epidaurus in Dalmatia. The last years of his life were spent in Cyprus, first in the vicinity of Paphos, afterward at a lonely place in the interior, called Carbyris by Sozomen. To his sojourn in Cyprus belongs the period of his converse with Epiphanius. Shortly before his death he made over to his favorite pupil, Hesychius, his only belongings—his tunic, cowl, and cloak. He was buried in the neighborhood of Paphos, but Hesychius stole his corpse, and, greatly to the grief of the Cypriots, conveyed it to Majuma.

Hilarion is accredited with the distinction of having been among the first to transplant the hermit life to Palestine, though he was not the only Palestinian hermit in the first half of the fourth century. His activity, however, was confined exclusively to southern Palestine; and, even here, he merely naturalized the hermit life in its oldest Egyptian form, without undertaking the slightest modification or development. G. Grützmacher.

Bibliography: Documentary sources for the life of Hilarion are a biography by Jerome (*Opera*, ed. Valarsi, ii. 13 sqq.; in *MPL*, xxiii. 29 sqq., and *ASB*, Oct., ix. 16–59, Eng. transl., *NPNF*, 2d ser., vi (303–314), compiled about 390 and notices by Sozomen (*Hist. eccl.*, iii. 14; v. 10). A brief letter of eulogy written by Epiphanius of Salamis not long after the saint's death has been lost, although Jerome used it for his *Vita*. Jerome is the main source. He greatly exaggerated his saint's importance in order to glorify Palestinian monasticism, to which he himself belonged. Hence, in spite of a historical nucleus, it is often hard to decide what are the facts. Consult W. Israel, *Die Vita S. Hilarionis des Hieronymus als Quelle für die Anfänge des Mönchthums kritisch untersucht*, in *ZWT*, xxiii (1880), pp. 129 sqq.; O. Zöckler, in *Neue Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, iii (1894), pp. 147 sqq.; L. Servières, *Hist. de S. Hilarion*, Rodez, 1884; Ceillier, *Auteurs sacrés*, vi. 376, vii. 593–594, 690; Neander, *Christian Church*, ii. 142, 271, 378, iii. 420; *KL*, v. 2039–42; *DCB*, iii. 52–54.

HILARIUS: Roman deacon of the fourth century. Hilarius was an adherent of Bishop Lucifer of Calaris (q.v.), whom he probably accompanied to the Synod at Milan (355). He was mentioned by Jerome in the "Dialogue against the Luciferians" as already dead (*NPNF*, vi. 331, cf. 333, 334). To suppose that he is the same as the so-called Ambrosiaster (q.v.) is without any warrant.

G. Krüger.

Bibliography: G. Krüger, *Lucifer von Calaris*, pp. 13, 88–89, Leipsic, 1886; *DCB*, iii. 75.

HILARY (HILARIUS, HILARUS): Pope 461–468. The Sardinian Hilarus was elected bishop of Rome probably Nov. 17, 461, consecrated Nov. 19, and died on Feb. 28 (?), 468. As archdeacon under Leo I. he vigorously opposed the condemnation of Flavian of Constantinople at the Council of Ephesus (449). As pope he continued the policy of his predecessor in enforcing the claims of the Roman see in southern Gaul (cf. *Epist.*, x., to Mamertus of Vienne, Feb. 25, 464). He, furthermore, gave laws to the Spanish Church (cf. *Epist.*, xiii.–xvii.); and the *Liber pontificalis* praises his donations to Roman churches and cloisters. His briefs and decrees are given in *MPL*, lviii. 11–32; and (critically) in A. Thiel, *Epistolæ pontificum Romanorum*, pp. 126–174, Braunsberg, 1868.

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HILARY OF ARLES (Hilarius Arelatensis), SAINT: Bishop of Arles; b. in northern or middle Gaul c. 401; d. at Arles c. 450. He was a relative of Honoratus, abbot of the monastery of Lerins and bishop of Arles 426–429, who induced him to enter his monastery. On the death of Honoratus Hilary became his successor. He owes his importance chiefly to his attitude toward Augustinianism. He repudiated the Augustinian doctrine of predestination, accusing Augustine of fatalism.

He believed, according to Prosper of Aquitaine, that every man had sinned in Adam and could be saved only by the grace of God in regeneration. Salvation by the blood of Christ was offered to all men without exception, and all who are willing to accept faith and baptism could be saved. God predestined for his kingdom all whom he foresaw would be worthy of their election after their gratuitous call, and therefore every man is to be exhorted to take part in the divine institutions in order that nobody may despair of attaining eternal life, since this depends upon voluntary consecration. At the instigation of Prosper, Augustine wrote his treatises *De prædestinatione sanctorum* and *De dono perseverantiæ*, but these did not convince the Gallic theologians. As he maintained his independent judgment against a great authority, so also Hilary tried to vindicate the independence of his position. On account of the political importance of the city of Arles in the fifth century, its bishops took the first rank in the Gallic episcopate, and Bishop Patroclus had already attempted to extend the primacy of Arles over the whole of southern Gaul. Hilary renewed his efforts, but was opposed by Leo the Great, who finally deposed him (see Arles, Archbishopric of). Of his writings the eulogy on Honoratus (usually quoted as *Vita Honorati*) is undoubtedly genuine; also an unimportant letter to Eucherius of Lyons. The following works are enumerated in his biographies: *Vita Honorati; Homiliæ in totius anni festivitatibus; Symboli expositio; Epistolæ; Versus fontis ardentis.*

(A. Hauck.)

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HILARY OF POITIERS.

Early Life. His Commentary on Matthew (§ 1).
Exile in the East (§ 2).
Activity in Arian Controversy (§ 3).
Later Life in Gaul (§ 4).

Hilary, who has been called the Athanasius of the Western Church, comes into clear historical light only after the Synod of Milan (355), and then not for long, since he died at Poitiers in 367. Of his early life we know little. He was born of pagan and probably well-to-do parents at Poitiers, was well educated there, married apparently while still a heathen, was led by his study of philosophy to the Christian faith, was baptized, and, some time before 355, was made bishop of Poitiers. At the time of the Synod of Milan he can not have been more than forty. He tells that at this time he did not know the Nicene Creed, and had not heard of the strife over the distinction between *homoousion* and *homoiousion*. In view of the paucity of evidences as to Western orthodoxy of the period before 356, when Greek influence became strong, the historical interest of Hilary's commentary on Matthew is very great. Though it lacks the beginning and end, its genuineness is beyond dispute. Its date is probably between 350 and 353. The Christology of this work is the old Western Christology of Novatian (and Tertullian), without the least trace of influence from Nicæa or of the Eastern catchwords of the time. Another specifically Western trait is the strong Pauline influence—the antithesis of law and gospel, the emphasis laid upon justifying faith. It is difficult to decide exactly what were the sources of the theological learning set forth in this, the oldest of Hilary's works; but it will not suffice to say that he gained his knowledge of the orthodox belief, as it was set forth in the *homoousion*, from Scripture alone. He seldom names authorities; but he does mention Tertullian and Cyprian as the authors of expositions of the Lord's Prayer known to him, and he seems to have read Novatian's *De trinitate* under the name of one of these two. That he knew Irenæus is possible from the parallelism of certain lines of thought, but there are things which tell in a contrary direction. Greek influences are improbable from the complete absence of any reference to the Greek text of the Bible. In fact, it is unlikely that Hilary's youthful education included a "good knowledge" of Greek. It was his being drawn into the Arian controversy that made him "the Athanasius of the West," and his exile in the Orient that turned him into a Grecizing Western theologian.

1. Early Life. His Commentary on Matthew.

After Paulinus of Treves had been exiled in 353

and Eusebius of Vercelli, Lucifer of Calaris, and Dionysius of Milan in 355, the Arian controversy began to affect Hilary, who had been present neither at Arles nor at Milan. With other Gallic bishops, he renounced communion with Ursacius and Valens, who had dominated the situation at Milan, and their partizan, Saturninus of Arles. At the same time (355 or early in 356) he wrote his first address to the Emperor Constantius. In it, without discussing dogmatic problems, he complains of the behavior of the Arians and appeals for a cessation of the persecution and the recall of the banished bishops. He now evidently knows what Arianism means, and takes his stand on the Nicene side because it represents what he has always believed. The Arianizing party knew what his influence was worth, and made every effort to have him also banished. They succeeded soon after the synod held in 356 at Biterræ, the modern Béziers, where he made fruitless efforts to win over his opponents. Envoys from the synod to the emperor procured a decree of banishment against him. The place of his exile was at first kept secret; after a long journey he reached the civil province of Asia, where (principally in Phrygia) he remained until after the Synod of Seleucia, spending his time in study and writing. The result of his studies was his most important work, the *De trinitate*, called by Jerome *Contra Arianos*, by Rufinus, Cassian, and others *De fide*. It was written before he came in contact with homoiousianism, and thus before the Synod of Ancyra in the spring of 358. The peculiar western Christological tradition still appears in it; in spite of the expression *trinitas*, which naturally occurs more than once, binitarian views make themselves decidedly felt. But he has now come to know Greek theology. The *homoousion* is acknowledged; in place of the Novatian conception of the eternity of the Son are clear expressions as to his eternal generation; instead of speaking only of the human *corpus* of Christ, as before, he now speaks also of an *anima* created through the Logos together with the body formed in Mary; and in spite of all his use of the phrase *susceptus homo*, he guards carefully the identity of the Logos-subject in the incarnate Logos.

2. Exile in the East.

Hilary followed with attention the exciting course of events in the East: the synod of the court bishops at Sirmium in 357, whose colorless formula (known as the Second Sirmian) even a Hosius subscribed; the appearance of the Homoiousians at the Synod of Ancyra; the struggle of Basil of Ancyra, Eustathius of Sebaste, and Eleusius of Cyzicus with the court bishops; the reception of the consecration formula at the Synod of Sirmium in 358; the recrudescence of the Arianizing tendency; and the plans for a new council in Nicomedia. At this time Hilary had news at last from Gaul, where the orthodox faith was prevailing; the Sirmian formula had been rejected at a synod held simultaneously with that of Ancyra, and Saturninus of Arles had not improved his position in the three intervening years. The plan for calling a new council, to which also some Gallic bishops were invited, troubled him, because he knew that his friends in Gaul believed that orthodoxy dwelt there alone, and was afraid that discord would arise between them and the Homoiousians, out of which only the extreme Arians could make profit. When the plan of holding two synods, one at Ancyra and one at Rimini, was adopted, Hilary addressed both the Gallic bishops and the Homoiousians in his *De synodis*, a document which was intended to unite all the anti-Arians, the Homoousians of the West and the Homoiousians of the East, in opposition to the graver danger by explaining the position of each to the others. He was somewhat in advance of his time, and zealous Westerns, especially Lucifer of Calaris, attacked him, so that he was compelled to write an *Apologetica ad reprehensores libri de synodis responsio*, of which only a few fragments remain. Even before writing this, probably, he took practical steps in the same direction. Attending the Synod of Seleucia, he maintained friendly relations with the Homoiousians, and accompanied their deputies to the capital at the close of the sessions. He remained here while the delegates from Seleucia met with those from Rimini (among whom seems to have been his antagonist Saturninus of Arles), and were compelled to agree on a bare Homoian formula. He was still in Constantinople during the synod of January and February, 360, and then wrote his second book, *Ad Constantium*. After boldly pointing out the evils of the existing confusion, and strongly reprobating Homoianism, he asked leave to confront Saturninus in the emperor's presence and debate the question with him. Immediately after this he was allowed to return to Gaul—either because he was considered a disturber of the peace of the East or his exile being terminated.

3. Activity in Arian Controversy.

The mood in which he came back is evidenced by his indignant letter to the Gallic bishops under the title of *Contra Constantium*. He exhorts them to resist the "Antichrist" Constantius to the death, and makes his policy, especially the Homoianism introduced by him, responsible for the troubles and the degradation of the Church. When Hilary returned to Poitiers—in 360 or more probably in 361—is uncertain; but it was he who beat down heresy in Gaul. His spirit breathes through the letter of the Synod of Paris (361) which excommunicated Saturninus. Nor did he confine his efforts to Gaul alone. In Italy he supported Eusebius of Vercelli, now also returned from exile; but their chief opponent, Auxentius of Milan, delated them to the new emperor, Valentinian, as disturbers of the peace, and Valentinian forbade them to trouble the church of Milan, which he regarded as orthodox. Hilary made countercharges against Auxentius, and after a personal hearing before court officials, the latter, as a point of policy, acknowledged the *homoousion*—though he repudiated it again not later than the following spring—and threw fresh odium on Hilary and Eusebius. Hilary, attempting to expose his duplicity, was ordered to leave Milan, and in his book *Contra Auxentium* gave a full account of these proceedings to

4. Later Life in Gaul.

all the orthodox bishops and laity. This date (365) is the last certain one in his life.

Several of his most important works, as enumerated in the list given by Jerome (*De vir. ill.*, c.), have already been dealt with in their chronological connection. Of the others mentioned by him there are still extant a commentary on part of the Psalms, a portion of the *Liber mysteriorum*, and fragments of the *Liber hymnorum* and the commentary on Job. The work on the Psalms is even more extensive than in Jerome's specification, covering Ps. i., ii., ix., xiii., xiv., li.–lxix., cxi., and cxviii.–cl. The *Liber mysteriorum* was long supposed to be lost, but in 1887 Gamurrini discovered a manuscript which, though incomplete, he identified with this treatise, and found to contain a treatment of the mysteries of Old Testament typology. Of the commentary on Job, which Jerome calls a free rendering of Origen's, two fragments are preserved by Augustine; its dependence on Origen places it in the period after Hilary's banishment. There has been much discussion on the difficult question as to the existence of remains of what Jerome describes as *Liber adversum Valentem et Ursacium, historiam Ariminensis et Seleuciensis synodi continens.* Fifteen "fragments" preserved in the manuscripts perhaps belong to this work, and scholars have held very divergent views about the authenticity of them, together or severally; but until further evidence is presented the hypothesis which regards them all as genuine and belonging to this book seems the least open to objection.

(F. Loofs.)

Bibliography: The best edition of the works is the Benedictine of Coustant, Paris, 1693, reprinted with additions by Maffei, Verona, 1730, and in *MPL*, ix.–x. Earlier and less valuable are those by B. Ascensius, Paris, 1510, and by Erasmus, Basel, 1523. Hilary's principal work on the Trinity and several other tracts and homilies are in *NPNF*, 2d ser., vol. ix.

The *Vita* by Venantius Fortunatus, ed. B. Krusch, is in *MGH, Auct. ant.*, iv. 2 (1885), 1–11; an early *Vita* is in vol. i. of Maffei's ed. and in vol. ix. of *MPL*. His life is given also by Jerome in *De vir. ill.*, chap. c. An excellent and detailed introduction to Hilary's life and writings and theology is in *NPNF*, ut sup. Consult: J. H. Reinkens, *Hilarius von Poitiers*, Schaffhausen, 1864; J. B. Wirthmüller, *Die Lehre des . . . Hilarius von Poitiers*, Regensburg, 1865; K. R. Hagenbach, *Hist. of Christian Doctrines*, i. passim, ii. 82, Edinburgh, 1880; O. Bardenhewer, *Patrologie*, Freiburg, 1894; G. Dreves, in *ZHT*, xii (1888), 358–361; Baltzer, *Die Christologie des heiligen Hilarius von Poitiers*, Rottweil, 1889; F. W. Farrar, *Lives of the Fathers*, i. 426–467, New York, 1889; A. Ebert, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur des Mittelalters*, i. 143–145, Leipsic, 1889; S. W. Teuffel, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, pp. 1053–1057, ib. 1890; H. Lindemann, *Hilary von Poitiers, liber mysteriorum*, Münster, 1905; Wilmars, in *Revue bénédictine*, April and July, 1907; Ceillier, *Auteurs sacrés*, iv. 1–89, 566–576 et passim, consult index; Neander, *Christian Church*, ii. 618–622 et passim; Schaff, *Christian Church*, iii. 589, 664, 959–961; *DCB*, iii. 54–56.

HILDA (HILD), SAINT: Abbess of Whitby (40 m. n.n.e. of York); b. 614; d. at Whitby Nov. 17, 680. She was baptized by Paulinus (q.v.) at York with her great-uncle Edwin, king of Northumbria, and his nobles in 627. At the age of thirty-three she started to join her sister, Hereswid, who was a nun in Gaul, but was recalled from East Anglia by Aidan and appointed over a small monastic community on the north bank of the Wear. In 649 she became abbess at Hartlepool. In 657 she founded a double monastery at Whitby (then called Streanæshalch), which became the most famous religious house in northeast England. The Synod of Whitby (q.v.) was held there in 664, after which Hilda accepted the Roman date for Easter. Five of the monks trained under her rule became bishops. The poet Cædmon (q.v.), perhaps originally a laborer on the monastic lands, was made a brother of the house by Hilda, and received instruction and encouragement from her.

Bibliography: Bede, *Hist. eccl.*, iii. 24–25, iv. 23, 24; J. B. Lightfoot, *Leaders of the Northern Church*, London, 1890; *DCB*, iii. 77–78; *DNB*, xxvi. 381–382; W. Bright, *Chapters of Early English Church History*, Oxford, 1897.

HILDEBERT, îl''de-bār,' **OF LAVARDIN:** Bishop of Le Mans and archbishop of Tours; b. at Lavardin, near Montoire (24 m. w.n.w. of Blois), department of Loir-et-Cher, c. 1056; d. at Tours Dec. 18, 1133. After 1085 he was *scholasticus* in the cathedral of Le Mans, and became archdeacon there in 1091. He was made bishop of Le Mans in 1096. A minority of the clergy and William Rufus of England, at that time feudal lord of Maine, protested against his election as bishop; and until the death of the King Hildebert had to suffer much from the ill will of the English court. After the end of the second campaign against Maine, he was even forced to follow the king to England as prisoner, but in 1100 he was released. Shortly after his return to Le Mans, he undertook a journey to Italy, asking to be relieved from his duties; but Paschal II. would not give his consent. Richly provided with means for the continuation of the building of his cathedral, he returned to Le Mans in 1101. He developed a busy administrative activity, which was interrupted only by his attendance at various French councils, and by a captivity of several months in the castle of Count Rotrou du Perche (1112). About 1116 Henry of Lausanne (q.v.) appeared in Le Mans and preached fearlessly against the conduct of the higher clergy. The people enthusiastically hailed the anticlerical agitation, and when Hildebert returned from a second journey to Italy he was received with maledictions, though he banished Henry from town and diocese. In 1120 Hildebert had the great satisfaction of seeing the cathedral finished. In 1123 he attended the great Lateran Council of Calixtus II. at Rome. Through Louis VI. of France he was chosen archbishop of Tours in 1125, against his will. His new office involved him immediately in new and protracted struggles with Louis about appointments to offices, with the bishop of Dol about jurisdiction over the dioceses of Brittany, etc.

Hildebert achieved fame beyond the boundaries of his diocese chiefly by his literary works, particularly his poems. He had great talents for form. He was the first medieval writer who mastered Latin like a living language, but he was more of a versifier than of a poet. Next to his poems, Hildebert achieved fame by the elegant style of his letters and by his preaching in French and Latin. He was the first prominent representative of the tendency which led later to the Renaissance, but

was temporarily checked by the rise of monasticism and the activity of the mendicant orders.

Beaugendre has embodied in his edition of Hildebert's works (Paris, 1708) all anonymous writings that he could possibly ascribe to his hero. Bourassé's edition (*MPL*, clxxi. 1–1486) is not much better. Of the numerous prose works attributed to Hildebert, the only ones surely genuine are four sermons, a work entitled *Liber de querimonia et conflictu carnis et spiritus seu animæ* (c. 1100), and two biographies of saints, *Vita S. Radegundis* and *Vita Hugonis abbatis Cluniacensis*. The genuineness of the following poetical works is proved: *Versus de sacrificio missæ; De operibus sex dierum; Inscriptionum christianorum libellus; Vita Mariæ Ægyptiacæ;* some of the *Carmina miscellanea* and of the *Carmina indifferentia*. The genuineness of the following poetical works has not yet been investigated: *De ordine mundi; Carmen in libros regum; Versus de S. Vincentio; De inventione S. Crucis; Lamentatio peccatricis animæ*. It is possible that Hildebert is the author of a *Historia de Mahomete*. (H. Böhmer.)

Bibliography: Criticisms by B. Hauréau of the editions of Beaugendre and Bourassé are in *Notices et extraits de la bibliothèque nationale*, xxviii. 2, pp. 289–448, xxix. 231–362, xxxi. 2, pp. 126–140, xxxii. 2, pp. 7, 84–166, xxxiii. 1, pp. 257 sqq. Certain letters, ed. E. Sackur, are in *MGH, Lib. de lite*, ii (1893), 668–673. Sources for a life are the *Vita Hildeberti* in the *Acta episcoporum Cenomannensium* reprinted in the introductions to the editions of Beaugendre and Bourassé; Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. eccl.*, ed. A. le Prevost, ii. 250–251, 576, iv. 41 sqq., 103, 374, Paris, 1838–55; and William of Malmesbury, ed. W. Stubbs, in *Rolls Series*, no. 90, pp. 338–340, 402–403, London, 1887–89. The biographies by V. Hébert-Duperron (Bajocis, 1858) and P. Déservilliers (Paris, 1876) are superseded by A. Dieudonné, *Hildebert de Lavardin, . . . sa vie, ses lettres*, Paris, 1898; cf. E. A. Freeman, *Reign of William Rufus*, ii. 191–245, 274–302, 625–645, 654–656, Oxford, 1882; F. Barth, *Hildebert von Lavardin und das kirchliche Stellungbesetzungsrecht*, Stuttgart, 1906; Wattenbach, *DGQ*, ii (1886), 191, ii (1894), 217; Julian, *Hymnology*, pp. 522–523; R. C. Trench, *Sacred Latin Poetry*, pp. 106–109, London, 1864.

HILDEBRAND. See Gregory VII., Pope.

HILDEGARD, SAINT: Abbess of Disibodenberg and Rupertsberg, near Bingen; b. at the castle of Böckelheim (16 m. by rail s. of Bingen) 1098 or 1099; d. at Rupertsberg 1178. She was educated at the Disibodenberg abbey by a female recluse, Jutta of Sponheim, and became abbess herself in 1136. Subsequently she founded and superintended the cloister on the Rupertsberg. She influenced the ecclesiastical and moral conditions of the time by her speech and example, in the course of journeys to France, to Swabia, Cologne, and the Netherlands, and by her manifold writings, the product of ecstatic visionary conditions, and the earliest memorials of German mysticism. From 1141 onward, Hildegard had her visions, imparted through the "inner light," recorded in writing; thus originated her principal work, *Scivias* [i.e., *Sci vias*] *Domini*, her *Liber vitæ meritorum, Expositiones evangeliorum*, and other books. Although never canonized, Hildegard's name has found recognition in the *Martyrologium* of the Roman Catholic Church; and she is still highly honored in the districts of the confluence of the Nahe and the Rhine.

K. Benrath.

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HILDESHEIM, BISHOPRIC OF: The bishopric for the Eastphalian districts in the northwestern regions of the Harz Mountains. It was probably created early in the reign of Louis the Pious (814–840), as the Hildesheim catalogue of the bishops names two bishops before Ebo (q.v.) and the latter received the bishopric shortly before the Synod of Mainz in 847, in which he took part as bishop of Hildesheim. The most prominent among the Hildesheim bishops were Altfrid, founder of the cathedral of Hildesheim, Bernward, and Godehard. The most important monastery in the diocese was Gandersheim, founded 852 at Brunshausen and removed to Gandersheim in 856. (A. Hauck.)

The bishops acquired great temporal power under the Hohenstaufen emperors, and had been so much distracted by the consequent cares and struggles that there was great need of reform when it was undertaken by Bishop Magnus of Saxony-Lauenburg (1424–52) supported by Nicholas of Cusa (see Cusa, Nicholas of) who had been sent to North Germany for this purpose, and by Jan Busch (q.v.) and the Windesheim congregation, as well as by the Benedictine congregation later called of Bursfelde (q.v.), which originated within the diocese about this time. Worldliness, however, made fresh inroads, and under John IV. of Saxony-Lauenburg (1504–27) all was ripe for both political and religious innovations. A large part of the diocese became Protestant and the dukes of Brunswick-Lüneburg and Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel took the power. The Peace of Westphalia (1648) confirmed the existing status and prevented any attempts at restoring Roman Catholicism. In 1803 the remaining territory of the diocese was secularized and annexed as a principality to Prussia; but the Concordat of 1824 between Hanover and Rome established new and much larger boundaries for the spiritual jurisdiction of the bishops, including a Roman Catholic population of 55,000.

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HILDUIN, îl″dü″an′: Abbot of St. Denis; d. Nov. 22, 840. He came of a noble Frankish family, was a pupil of Alcuin, and became a man of great learning, admired by Rabanus Maurus, Walafried

Strabo, and the famous Hincmar of Reims, his pupil. At the end of 814 or beginning of 815 he became abbot of St. Denis, though he was not yet a monk. In 819 or 822 he was made *archicapellanus* to Louis the Pious, and his subsequent career was of more political than ecclesiastical importance. In 827 an embassy from the Eastern emperor, Michael Balbus, brought the works of Dionysius the Areopagite as a present to Louis the Pious, who placed them in charge of Hilduin as abbot of St. Denis, having a special devotion to the saint, whom he regarded as identical with the Areopagite, and in 835 charged him to write the life of St. Denis. This biography is of importance as taking the same view of the identity—the view which, although all his contemporaries did not share it, prevailed finally and dominated the Middle Ages. Involved in the struggle of Louis the Pious with his sons, he lost his position at court and was imprisoned for a time in the abbey of Corvey. He was soon pardoned by Louis, and some of his abbeys were restored to him; but he took no further part in political conflicts, and devoted himself to the reformation of St. Denis, probably taking the monastic vows in this period. (Foss†.)

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HILGENFELD, ADOLF (BERNHARD CHRISTOPH CHRISTIAN): German Protestant; b. at Stappenbeck (near Salzwedel, 54 m. n.n.w. of Magdeburg) June 2, 1823; d. at Jena Jan. 12, 1907. He studied at Berlin and Halle 1841–45, and in 1847 became privat-docent at Jena. In 1850 he was appointed associate professor in the same university, and in 1869 was made honorary full professor, while from 1890 to his death he was full professor of New Testament exegesis. In theology he belonged to the liberal school of F. C. Baur. Besides his work as editor of the *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* after 1858, he wrote *Die clementinischen Rekognitionen und Homilien* (Jena, 1848); *Das Evangelium und die Briefe Johannis nach ihrem Lehrbegriff* (Halle, 1849); *Kritische Untersuchungen über die Evangelien Justins, der clementinischen Homilien und Marcions* (1850); *Die Glossolalie in der alten Kirche* (Leipsic, 1850); *Das Markus-Evangelium* (1850); *Der Galaterbrief* (1852); *Die apostolischen Väter* (Halle, 1853); *Die Evangelien nach ihrer Entstehung und geschichtlichen Bedeutung* (Leipsic, 1854); *Das Urchristentum in den Hauptwendepunkten seines Entwicklungsganges* (Jena, 1855); *Die jüdische Apokalyptik* (1857); *Der Paschastreit der alten Kirche* (Halle, 1860); *Der Kanon und die Kritik des Neuen Testaments in ihrer geschichtlichen Ausbildung* (1863); *Die Propheten Esra und Daniel und ihre neueste Bearbeitungen* (1863); *Novum Testamentum extra canonem receptum* (4 parts, Leipsic, 1874); *Messias Judæorum, libris eorum paulo ante et paulo post Christum natum conscriptis illustratus* (1869); *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (1875); *Die lehninische Weissagung über die Mark Brandenburg* (1875); *Die Ketzergeschichte des Urchristentums* (1884); *Judentum und Judenchristentum* (1886); *Hermæ pastor græce integer* (1887); *Libellus de aleatoribus inter Cypriani scripta conservatus* (Freiburg, 1889); *Acta apostolorum græce et latine* (Berlin, 1899); and *Ignatii Antiocheni et Polycarpi Smyrnæi epistulæ et martyria* (1902).

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HILL, ROWLAND: Popular English preacher; b. at Hawkstone Park (11 m. n.e. of Shrewsbury), Shropshire, Aug. 23, 1744; d. in London Apr. 11, 1833. He was educated at Eton and at St. John's College, Cambridge (B.A., 1769), where he came under the influence of the Methodists. For preaching in the open air in and around Cambridge without a license he was opposed by the authorities and frequently assaulted by mobs. Finally, in 1773, after he had been refused ordination by six bishops, he was ordained by the bishop of Bath and Wells to the curacy of Kingston, Somersetshire, but was subsequently denied priest's orders. Having come into an inheritance through the death of his father, Sir Rowland Hill, he built in 1783 Surrey Chapel, London. Here he preached to immense audiences almost up to the time of his death. Attached to the chapel were thirteen Sunday-schools, with an enrolment of over 3,000 children. In the summer Hill preached through the country, even visiting Scotland and Ireland, and attracting large crowds wherever he went. He was one of the founders of the Religious Tract Society and an active promoter of the interests of the London Missionary Society and of the British and Foreign Bible Society. He was an early advocate of vaccination, and published a tract on the subject in 1806. His principal work is *Village Dialogues* (London, 1801; 34th ed., 1839).

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HILLEL: Jewish rabbi in the time of Herod. He was called "the Elder" to distinguish him from other persons of the same name, and was descended from a poor Babylonian family which, as a later Jewish legend relates, traced its pedigree back to David. According to Siphrê on Deut. xxxiv. 7, he was forty years old when he emigrated from his native country to Palestine in order to devote himself in Jerusalem to the study of the law. His poverty compelled him to become a day-laborer. It was said that he used half of his wages to provide the fees for instruction under the most celebrated rabbis of his time. He distinguished himself not only by his zeal for knowledge, but also by his great patience and gentleness both in word and in deed. The "Sayings of the Fathers" and other sources have preserved many a beautiful sentence under the name of Hillel, and many examples of his noble deeds are recorded in the Talmud. But he can not be called a reformer; his

mode of thought was casuistic, and could in no way be compared to that of Jesus. The name of Hillel was little known among Christians until E. Renan in his *Vie de Jésus* (Paris, 1863) put him almost on a level with Jesus and called him his true teacher. A. Geiger and other rabbis, followed Renan. Delitzsch, however, in his monograph *Jesus und Hillel* (Erlangen, 1866) has convincingly shown that Hillel was overestimated and the unique importance of Jesus completely ignored by Renan and Jewish writers. The lack of even the most unimportant testimony is against the assumption that Jesus was influenced by Hillel. (H. L. Strack.)

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HILLER: A family of Württemberg poets and theologians.

1. Matthäus Hiller, Orientalist, was born at Stuttgart Feb. 15, 1646; d. at Königsbronn (45 m. e. of Stuttgart) Feb. 3, 1725. In 1677 he became assistant preacher in Herrenberg, 1685 preceptor in Bebenhausen, 1692 professor of Hebrew, 1698 of theology in Tübingen, 1716 abbot in Königsbronn. He wrote a Hebrew-Latin dictionary, also *De arcano kethib et keri* (Tübingen, 1692), *Onomasticum sacrum* (1706), and *Hierophyticon* (Utrecht, 1725).

2. Friedrich Konrad Hiller, councilor of the chancery and hymn-writer, was born at Unteröwisheim, near Bruchsal (12 m. n.e. of Carlsruhe), 1662; d. there 1726. He wrote 172 hymns which he edited under the title *Denkmal der Erkenntnis, Liebe und Lob Gottes in neuen geistlichen Liedern* (Stuttgart, 1711).

3. Philipp Friedrich Hiller, hymn-writer, was born at Mühlhausen-on-the-Enz (near Vaihingen, 15 m. n.w. of Stuttgart) Jan. 6, 1699; d. at Steinheim-on-the-Albuch (near Heidenheim, 22 m. n.n.e. of Ulm) Apr. 24, 1769. He was educated at Maulbronn and Tübingen, was private tutor in Nuremberg from 1729 to 1731, became pastor of Neckar-Gröningen in 1732, of Mühlhausen-on-the-Enz in 1736, and of Steinheim in 1748. In 1751 he almost completely lost his voice; and, being thus excluded from the pulpit, he devoted himself to hymn-writing. He put all the prayers of Johann Arndt's *Paradiesgärtlein* into the form of songs under the title *Johann Arndts Paradiesgärtlein von neuem angelegt* (4 parts, Nuremberg, 1729–31). Besides this work, he wrote more than a thousand hymns and religious songs which he published under the title *Geistliches Liederkästlein* (2 parts, Stuttgart, 1762–1767). He also composed a life of Jesus in Alexandrine verses (2 parts, Heilbronn and Tübingen, 1752); *Kurze und erbauliche Andachten bei der Beicht und dem heiligen Abendmahl* (Tübingen and Stuttgart, 1752); *Morgen- und Abendandachten nach dem Gebet des Herrn* (Stuttgart, 1785); finally a work in prose, *Neues System aller Vorbilder Jesu Christi durch das ganze Alte Testament in zwei Teilen* (Stuttgart, 1758–68). Hiller has become the favorite spiritual poet of Evangelical Württemberg.

(H. Mosapp.)

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HILLER, ALFRED: Lutheran; b. at Sharon Center, N. Y., Apr. 22, 1831. He was educated at Hartwick Seminary, N. Y., from which he was graduated in 1857. He then held successive pastorates in his denomination at Fayette, N. Y. (1857–58), and at German Valley, N. J. (1858–81). Since 1881 he has been professor of systematic theology in Hartwick Seminary. During the Civil War he was a delegate of the U. S. Christian Commission, and in the spring of 1865 organized the Army Church in the cavalry department at Nashville, Tenn. Theologically he adheres to "the doctrinal basis of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States."

HILLIS, NEWELL DWIGHT: Congregationalist; b. at Magnolia, Ia., Sept. 2, 1858. He was graduated at Lake Forest University (B.A., 1884) and McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago (1887). He then entered the Presbyterian ministry and held pastorates at Peoria, Ill. (1887–90), Evanston, Ill. (1890–94), and Central Church, Chicago, an independent church (1894–99). Since 1899 he has been pastor of Plymouth Congregational Church, Brooklyn. He has written *A Man's Value to Society* (New York, 1896); *Foretokens of Immortality* (1897); *Investment of Influence: Study of Social Sympathy and Service* (1898); *William Ewart Gladstone: Scholar, Statesman, Christian* (1898); *Great Books as Life-Teachers: Studies of Character, Real and Ideal* (1899); *Right Living as a Fine Art: Study of Channing's Symphony* (1899); *Influence of Christ in Modern Life* (1900); *Across the Continent of the Years* (1901); *David the Poet and King* (1901); *Faith and Character* (1902); *Master of the Science of Right Living* (1902); *The Quest of Happiness* (1902); *School in the Home: Debt Parents Owe their Children* (1902); *Building a Working Faith* (1903); *Success through Self-Help* (1903); *The Quest of John Chapman* (1904); and *Fortune of the Republic* (1906).

HILTALINGER, JOHANN (John of Basel, Johannes Angelus): Bishop of Lombez (a small town of France, department of Gers, 19 m. s.e. of Auch); b. at Basel c. 1315; d. at Freiburg 1392. He entered the Augustinian order and received the degree of master of theology at Paris in 1371. From 1371 to 1377 he was provincial in the Rhenish-Swabian province of the order. He again received this dignity in 1379, being general procurator in the mean time. At the outbreak of the Great Schism (see Schism), he sided with Clement VII., who made him general prior of the order in Sept., 1379. He developed a ceaseless activity in the service of Clement, particularly in the Upper Rhine

country. Even after his elevation to the see of Lombez in 1389 he remained Clement's confidential man on the Upper Rhine and continued to work at Freiburg for the curia of Avignon. He wrote, among other things, *Commentaria in libros sententiarum.* HERMAN HAUPT.

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HILTEN, JOHANN: Franciscan monk of Eisenach; b. in the diocese of Fulda before 1425; d. at Eisenach c. 1500. After he had studied in Erfurt and preached in Livonia, he entered the Franciscan monastery in Magdeburg. From 1477 he was kept a prisoner in the monasteries of Weimar and Eisenach. He studied the Bible diligently, as well as the prophecies of St. Bridget of Sweden and of his contemporary Johann Lichtenberger. He attacked ecclesiastical abuses, and on the basis of his studies of the Apocalypse predicted great revolutions in Church and State. He deplored the separation between clergy and laity and denied the claim of the pope to be the vice-regent of Christ. According to Myconius he put the decline of the papal power in the year 1514, according to Melanchthon in 1516. He extended the rule of the Turks in Europe, according to Myconius, from 600 to 1570; according to Melanchthon, he foretold that the Turks would rule as Gog and Magog in Germany and Italy in 1600; then he expected a reformation of Christianity and an annihilation of Mohammedanism. The last Holy Roman emperor, he said, would resign and restore his power to Christ; after the fall of Rome Antichrist would appear. He predicted the end of the world for 1651.

Hilten can not be regarded as a "forerunner of the Reformation," but he belongs to the number of those who longed for a reform of the Church and tried to keep alive this desire by prophecies. He went back to Scripture and deplored the contradiction between the claims of the hierarchy and the life of the Church and the Bible; but reformation he expected only by the fulfilment of the judgments of God predicted in the Apocalypse. He wrote commentaries on Daniel and the Apocalypse of which, however, only fragments came to the knowledge of the Reformers. (P. WOLFF.)

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HIN. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES, HEBREW.

HINCKS, EDWARD: Orientalist; b. at Cork Aug. 19, 1792; d. at Killyleagh (16 m. s.s.e. of Belfast), County Down, Dec. 3, 1866. He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin (B.A., 1811), and was appointed rector of Killyleagh in 1825. He resided there constantly till his death. Despite his seclusion and lack of books, he soon established a reputation of the first order as a pioneer in the field of cuneiform decipherment. His earlier work was on the Egyptian hieroglyphics, but later he turned his attention to Babylonian and Persian inscriptions and made many discoveries in this field. He enjoyed the distinction of having discovered simultaneously with Rawlinson the Persian cuneiform vowel-system (see INSCRIPTIONS II., § 3). The results of his studies are embodied in articles contributed to the *Dublin University Magazine*, to the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, and to the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*. He began an Assyrian grammar in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1866), but left no materials for its completion.

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HINCKS, EDWARD YOUNG: Congregationalist; b. at Bucksport, Me., Aug. 13, 1844. He studied at Yale College (B.A., 1866), Union Theological Seminary (1866–67), and Andover Theological Seminary, being graduated from the latter institution in 1870. He was pastor of the State Street Church, Portland, Me. (1870–81). He then spent a year in Europe (1881–82), and on his return to the United States was appointed Smith professor of Biblical theology in Andover Theological Seminary, a position which he held from 1883 to 1900. Since the latter year he has been professor of systematic theology in the same seminary. Besides having edited the *Andover Review*, he was a collaborator on the volumes, prepared by the editors of the *Andover Review*, entitled *Progressive Orthodoxy* (Boston, 1886) and *The Divinity of Christ* (1893).

HINCMAR OF LAON: Bishop of Laon; b. 830; d. 879. Through the influence of his uncle, Hincmar of Reims (q.v.), under whom he had received his education, he was made bishop of Laon in 858. Being of a violent temper, he soon refused obedience to his metropolitan, the more famous Hincmar, and even denied the jurisdiction of the state courts over the bishoprics. His violence is shown by the fact that during a temporary imprisonment at this time he laid an interdict upon his own diocese. After a long controversy he was finally deposed in 871 by the national synod of Douzy. He was then imprisoned by the king and deprived of his eyesight. A year before his death John VIII. allowed him a part of the episcopal revenues of the diocese of Laon and gave him permission to say public mass. His works, all of which had their origin in his controversies with his uncle and Charles the Bald, are printed in *MPL*, cxxiv. 979–1072.

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HINCMAR OF REIMS: Archbishop of Reims; b. about 806; d. at Epernay (115 m. e.n.e. of Paris)

Dec. 21, 882. At an early age he was sent to the monastery of St. Denis, where he was taught by Abbot Hilduin, whom he accompanied to Aachen, when he was called to the imperial court in 822. Hincmar's presence there became of the greatest importance for his future career, as he was here enabled to study practical politics at the fountain-head, and acquire diplomatic ability and political sagacity. Owing to political intrigues, Hilduin was exiled to Corbie, whither Hincmar followed him voluntarily. By his entreaties he induced the emperor to pardon Hilduin and restore to him the abbey of St. Denis, where Hincmar acquired a mass of information for which he would have found no time in later life. In acknowledgment of the services rendered to his father, Charles the Bald made him his councilor and recommended him for the archiepiscopal see of Reims, which had stood vacant since the deposition of Ebo in 835; and in 845 he was regularly elected and consecrated.

Life.

Thenceforth Hincmar's influence was decisive for almost four decades in Church and State. He was soon involved in the controversy on predestination, which had been started by Gottschalk (see GOTTSCHALK, 1.), and threatened to shake the foundations of the Gallican Church. Rabanus Maurus had summoned Gottschalk before a synod in Mainz in 848, and then delivered him over to Hincmar for punishment. At the Synod of Chiersey in 849 Hincmar condemned him a second time, but influential men from all sides defended the doctrine of Augustine. By scientific treatises and the summoning of various synods the archbishop attempted to subdue his opponent, but no agreement was reached, and both parties were finally worn out by the protracted dissensions. Hincmar was involved also in a controversy on the Trinity with Gottschalk, and again he conquered only with great difficulty the opposition of the adherents of Augustine.

Controversy with Gottschalk.

In the mean time there had arisen a still more dangerous struggle. After his deposition in 835, Ebo, his predecessor, had been reinstituted as archbishop in 840 on the death of King Louis, and had returned to Reims. Though he had to flee again at the advance of Charles in 841, he found time to consecrate several ecclesiastics and thus gained a number of adherents in the diocese of Reims. As Hincmar prohibited the performance of their functions, they started an agitation against him. Summoned before the Synod of Soissons in 853, they produced a writ of complaint, in which they tried to prove the legitimacy of Ebo's reinstitution on the basis of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals (q.v.), which here emerged for the first time as a source of canon law. The synod, however, declared the deposition of Ebo valid and the ordination of Hincmar legal. The friends of Ebo appealed to Rome, and Hincmar did likewise for the confirmation of the synodal decree. Benedict III. finally conceded the desire of Hincmar; but the dispute was not yet settled. Bishop Rothad of Soissons became the spokesman of the deposed clerics and defended their pseudo-Isidorian principles. Rothad was deposed and condemned to imprisonment in a monastery, but in his place there arose a more dangerous opponent in Nicholas I., the most powerful pope of that century. The struggle now assumed the most decisive and far-reaching importance, since it revolved around the papal sanction of the pseudo-Isidorian forgery. Nicholas summoned Rothad to Rome, where he arrived in 864, and succeeded in gaining in the pope the most powerful defender of the pseudo-Isidorian decretals. On the basis of these documents, the pope reinstituted Rothad in his office, and Hincmar was defeated in his struggle against the pseudo-Isidorian party. The deposed ecclesiastics of Reims who knew about this extraordinary forgery and undoubtedly had lent their hand to its compilation were encouraged by the success of Rothad, and under the leadership of Wulfad they brought their case before the pope. Nicholas induced Hincmar to resume his negotiations regarding their restoration. At the instigation of Hincmar, a synod at Soissons in 866 advocated such action, but Nicholas categorically demanded that Hincmar either acknowledge the legitimacy of their restoration or prove the legitimacy of their deposition. Hincmar was saved from this difficulty by the circumstance that the pope became less severe in his demands, as he needed the services of the archbishop in his struggles with the Eastern Church. In his conflict with Adrian II. (q.v.) he was successful. A new humiliation was heaped upon him when John VIII. conferred the dignity of the primacy of France upon Archbishop Ansegis of Sens, thus ignoring Hincmar, who had the first claim upon it.

Controversy with Ebo. The Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals.

Hincmar played a prominent part also in the sphere of politics. He was the most faithful councilor of the West-Frankish kings for more than three generations, and more than once he saved the kingdom from threatening downfall. He was likewise the acknowledged leader of the Gallican Church, whose national independence he tried in vain to uphold against the increasing power of Rome. He firmly defended the principle that the spiritual power take precedence over royal authority. In his theological views he was a child of his time. In learning he excelled his contemporaries, but he was without originality of thought. Driven away from Reims by the Normans a short time before his death, he found a refuge in Epernay. Of his literary works may be mentioned two treatises on predestination, which reveal his Semi-Pelagian views. These were occasioned by his controversy with Gottschalk. A treatise, *De una et non tria deitate*, was the outcome of his controversy on the Trinity with the same monk. His best literary performance, however, is his *Annales, 861-882*, continued by Flodoard (*MGH, Script.*, i., 1826, 452–515, and *Script. rer. Germ.*, 1883, 55–154; *MPL*, cxxv. 1203–1302). In his *Opusculum lv. capitulorum* he defines his attitude toward the pseudo-Isidorian decretals. He considered the Dionysio-Hadrianian codex as the exclusive source of canon

Hincmar's Activity in Politics and Writings.

law and felt more or less the fictitious make-up of the pseudo-Isidorian laws, although he was unable to prove it. (ALBERT FREYSTEDT.)

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HINDUISM.

I. The Brahmanistic Counterreformation and the Rise of the Hindu Sects.
  The Mahabharata and Puranas (§ 1).
  Krishna (§ 2).
  Sivaism (§ 3).
II. Modern Hinduism and the Unitarian Movements.
  Origin (§ 1).
  The Popular Religion (§ 2).

The name applied to the post-Buddhistic development of native religion in India.

I. The Brahmanistic Counterreformation and the Rise of the Hindu Sects: The elasticity of Brahmanism, which enabled it to survive the attacks of the pantheism of the Upanishads, carried it through the more open assaults of the great heretical leaders Buddha and Mahavira (see BRAHMANISM; BUDDHISM; JAINISM). The waning power of the older gods and the rise of a host of new divinities were not due to any influence of Buddha or Mahavira, but were apparently the result of contact with non-Aryan aboriginal tribes. Early Hinduism finds its chief literary monument in the great epic of India, the Mahabharata. This poem, the composition of which probably lasted from the fourth or fifth century B.C. to 500 A.D., shows a new force as the key-note of India's religion. This is found in asceticism, or self-immolation, which sways all powers of heaven and of earth. Out of this has arisen the distinctively Indian class of fakirs, professional religious mendicants, who represent the grotesque and outré sides of asceticism, and number perhaps two millions at the present. The only element of asceticism which is absolutely requisite to gain distinction as a fakir is the ability to endure terrific self-torture. The gods, to protect themselves, frequently sent celestial nymphs to seduce such ascetics as threatened the divinities by the power acquired through self-castigation, and the temptation was by no means always unsuccessful. Yet true religion might constantly be found both among the Brahmans and among the ascetics and hermits dwelling in the forest depths.

1. The Mahabharata and Puranas.

Beside the Mahabharata stand the Ramayana, an essentially Vishnuite poem, and the eighteen poems called Puranas, which are of comparatively recent date, the latest being composed perhaps as late as 1500 A.D. Unlike the epic, which is non-sectarian, the Puranas are avowedly written in honor of the deities who form the eponymous gods of the two great Hindu sects which characterized that period and have survived as active forces to the present day. The mythology of these minor epics still awaits thorough investigation and study, for in the poems lie a mass of legends of the gods which represent popular Brahmanism at a later period than the Mahabharata. Yet the great epic of India can not be dismissed without an allusion to what is, for Occidentals, its most famous episode, the Bhagavadgita, the "Divine Song" of Vishnuite Brahmanism. Before the great battle of Kurukshetra, which marks the culmination of the epic, the god Vishnu, acting as the charioteer of Arjuna, addresses the hero in a hymn proclaiming himself as the sole godhead. It is the Upanishad of Hinduism, but it differs from the early Brahmanic Upanishads in its teaching of salvation by "loving faith" (*bhakti*). Herein is sounded the key-note of Vishnuitic sectarianism which is to-day the most potent religious factor in India.

With the deity Vishnu is incorporated the human Krishna, and with reverence for the divine is combined love for the human to a degree known to no other religion excepting Christianity. Originally an earthly hero, Krishna becomes an incarnation of the Supreme God, the way being paved for this apotheosis by the avatars, or "descents," of the deity in the form of the fish, the tortoise, the boar, the man-lion, the dwarf, "Rama with the ax," "the moonlike Rama" (the hero of the Ramayana), and Krishna. This list is also extended to include Buddha, thus changing the opponent of Brahmanism to its friend, and Kalki, the messiah of Hinduism. According to later texts, the avatars are innumerable, and modern Vishnuites even include Christ in the series. The great incarnation, however, is that of Krishna, and about him have been woven countless legends. Some of these show so great a similarity to traditions concerning Christ, especially in the apocryphal New Testament, that many older scholars sought to trace the influence of the legends about Krishna in early Christianity; but it is now generally conceded that this view is erroneous. The dark side of Krishnaitic Vishnuism is its erotic tendency, which is fostered in the popular mind by the adventures of Krishna with the *gopis*, or milkmaids.

2. Krishna.

Side by side with Vishnuism was developed the rival sect of the Sivaites. Sivaism is preeminently the sect which encourages cruelest self-torture, though, on the other hand, it is marked, in the so-called "left-handed worship," by wild orgies and all manner of sexual excesses. The phallic aspect of the cult seems to be non-Aryan. It is, of course, a survival of the worship of the principle of fertility, personified usually by a nude woman who represents the Sakti, or female counterpart, of the male principle as it appears in the god.

3. Sivaism.

II. Modern Hinduism and the Unitarian Movements: The tendency toward monotheism, or

rather toward unitarianism, which is traceable in the latter portions of the Rig-Veda and, increasing steadily through the Upanishads and Vishnuite sectarianism, finds its culmination in the modern unitarianism of India. It is not impossible that this movement was aided by Mohammedanism. In a historical novel of the seventh century Bana portrayed King Harsha as presiding over a sort of religious conference attended by Brahmans, Buddhists, Jains, and other sectarians, and in the sixteenth century the Emperor Akbar proposed a religious composite made out of Hinduism, Mohammedanism, Zoroastrianism, Judaism, and Christianity. It was not until the early part of the nineteenth century, however, that a religion of such diverse elements, though with a distinctly Hindu basis, was able to sustain a permanent existence. In the year 1830 Rammohun Roy (q.v.) founded at Calcutta the Brahmo-Somaj (see India, III., 1), in which selections were read and expounded from the sacred books of all the great religions. He was followed by Devendranath Tagore (see Tagore, Devendranath) and by Keshub Chunder Sen (see Sen, Keshav Chandra), who developed the principles laid down by Rammohun Roy and advocated still more radical reforms. The Brahmo-Somaj is now one of the most important religious agencies of India among the cultured classes.

1. Origin.

Side by side with orthodox Hinduism and with such heretical sects as the Jains (q.v.) and the Sikhs (q.v.), there exists the religion of the people, both Aryan and non-Aryan. Here is found in richest profusion the worship of trees, serpents, animals, ghosts, both malevolent and benevolent, disease, and all the phenomena of nature, while totemism, fetishism, and animism each finds countless adherents.

2. The Popular Religion.

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HINSCHIUS, (FRANZ CARL) PAUL: German canonist; b. at Berlin Dec. 25, 1835; d. there Dec. 13, 1898. He was educated at the universities of Berlin and Heidelberg (J.U.D., Berlin, 1855) and then took up practical work as a lawyer's assistant, referendary, and assessor in his native city. In 1859 he established himself as privat-docent for canon and civil law. In 1860–61 he made a tour of Italy, Spain, France, England, Ireland, Scotland, Holland, and Belgium to collect material for a critical edition of the pseudo-Isidorian decretals, and in 1862 he visited Switzerland to collate the important *Sangallensis* manuscript of this work. In 1863 he was appointed extraordinary professor of canon, German, and civil law at the University of Halle, in 1865 in Berlin, in 1868 ordinary professor at Kiel, and in 1872 again at Berlin, where he lectured until the summer of 1898. He devoted himself zealously to the administrative affairs of the University of Berlin, and also took part in the practical activity of the Church as member of various synods, was member of the Reichstag for Flensburg-Apenrade 1872–78 and 1880–81, and member of the Prussian House of Lords for the University of Kiel 1871–72 and for the University of Berlin 1889 until his death. Under Falk he collaborated in the Prussian *Kultusministerium* 1872–76 in drafting the laws relating to ecclesiastical affairs, the so-called May laws, and laws concerning the legal status of private persons.

The first achievement of Hinschius was the edition of the pseudo-Isidorian decretals (Leipsic, 1863), the first critical edition. The principal work of his life, however, was his *Das Kirchenrecht der Katholiken und Protestanten in Deutschland* (5 vols. and one part of vol. vi., Berlin, 1869–97). It remains a fragment; of the Roman Catholic canon law the first main part, *Die Hierarchie und die Leitung der Kirche durch dieselbe*, lacks two chapters of completion, while the second main part (the rights and duties of church-members and ecclesiastical associations) and the system of Protestant canon law are lacking. The work is a scientific achievement of the first rank for the history of canon law and legal dogmatics, and will probably remain for generations the basis of Roman Catholic canon law. The work of Hinschius did not inaugurate a new period in the history of the science, but it brought a period to its culminating point. He was the first who, with the method of genuine historical criticism, depicted in a realistic and detailed manner the "process of amalgamation of late Roman, Germanic, and canonical views which is equally interesting for the history of law and for that of general culture." Other works of Hinschius are *Die Stellung der deutschen Staatsregierungen gegenüber den Beschlüssen des vatikanischen Konzils* (Berlin, 1871); *Die preussischen Kirchengesetze des Jahres 1873* (1873); *Die Orden und Kongregationen der katholischen Kirche in Preussen* (1874); *Das preussische Gesetz über die Beurkundung des Personenstandes und die Form der Eheschliessungen* (1874); *Das Reichsgesetz* (1875, 3d ed., 1890); *Die preussischen Kirchengesetze der Jahre 1874 und 1875* (1875); *Das preussische Kirchengesetz vom 14. Juli 1880* (1881); *Staat und Kirche* (Freiburg, 1883), which appeared in Marquardsen's *Handbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart*. All of these works reveal the author's view concerning the re-

lation of Church and State; viz., that the State should separate its affairs from the ecclesiastical sphere, but that it is called to regulate the mutual relations. He rejected the opposite system of the Roman Catholics for modern legislation. The Church does not stand outside of the State, but lives in the State as an institution of public law. But the State does not possess all privileges; it is under the ethical obligation to let the Church regulate its internal affairs independently and autonomically in so far as the state principle of the liberty of conscience and the recognition of other Churches and religious societies is not violated. If the law of the State collides with the statutes of the Church, the State is the final judge.

(E. Seckel.)

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HIPPOLYTUS, hip-pol'i-tus.

Facts of his Life in Literature and Tradition (§ 1).
Modern Additions to Knowledge of it (§ 2).
Exegetical Works (§ 3).
Polemical Works (§ 4).
Theological Position (§ 5).

Until the middle of the nineteenth century, Hippolytus was practically an unknown personality. Eusebius, indeed, names eight of his works and mentions the existence of a number of others (*Hist. eccl.*, vi. 22), but is unable to give the name of his see. Jerome makes the same confession of ignorance, though he gives the titles of more works (*De vir. ill.*, lxi.). A chronographer of the year 354 (*MGH, Auct. ant.*, ix., *Chron. min.*, i., 1891, pp. 74–75) asserts that in 235 Pontianus the bishop and Hippolytus the presbyter were exiled to Sardinia, that there he laid down his office, and that Antheros was ordained in his stead; a slightly different form appears in the *Liber pontificalis* (i. 24, ed. Mommsen). Pope Damasus (366–384) placed on his grave in the Tiburtine cemetery an inscription in verse which records his living in times of persecution, upholding the schism of Novatus, returning to the Catholic faith, and dying a martyr. Following this, Prudentius commemorates him among the martyrs (*Peristephanon*, xi.). Later Western tradition is almost purely legendary; in its Roman form it connects his martyrdom with that of Laurence. The legend of Portus, on the other hand, connects it with that of a number of local martyrs there, and even identifies him with one also called Nonnus. His writings were used by Ambrose, Jerome, and probably Tyconius; but all knowledge of the historical Hippolytus was lost. Eastern references to him grow altogether out of his works. Apollinaris of Laodicea quotes him on Daniel, calling him "the most holy bishop of Rome." Theodoret names him in connection with Ignatius, Polycarp, Irenæus, and Justin, and he is similarly mentioned by Leontius of Byzantium and the pseudo-Chrysostom. Thus the list of Eastern authors who name him goes on through Cyril of Scythopolis, Eustratius (c. 582), Jacob of Edessa, George, bishop of the Arabians, and Œcumenius (c. 1000), the last four of whom call him a martyr and bishop of Rome. Photius describes him as a pupil of Irenæus. In the fourteenth century Ebed Jesu knows of works of his which Eusebius and Jerome do not mention. Thus, although a Western writer, Hippolytus was widely and long read in the East because he wrote in Greek. Writings of his were wholly or in part translated into Syriac, Armenian, Coptic, Georgian, Arabic, and Old Church Slavic.

1. Facts of his Life in Literature and Tradition.

In 1551, in or near his burial-place on the Via Tiburtina, in Rome a marble statue was discovered (now in the Lateran Museum, the upper part of the body restored) which represents him sitting in a seat on both sides of which his Easter canon is carved, and a list of his writings on the curve connecting the left side with the back. The statue is dated in the third century by experts. The first lines of the inscription are illegible; the others name nine or ten works, to which two more were added later. [There is a plaster cast of this statue in the Union Theological Seminary, New York City.]

Hippolytus really, however, came into full historical light only after the discovery of the *Philosophumena*. Of this work the first book was known earlier than the rest, but the section from the fourth to the tenth was discovered in 1842 in Greece in a fourteenth-century manuscript, and all together was published at Oxford in 1851 by E. Miller as a work of Origen's. Duncker and Schneidewin then edited it carefully as by Hippolytus. The author speaks of having written a short treatise against heresies, as it is known from Eusebius that Hippolytus did; he is a Roman and a bishop; his words have had an effect upon Zephyrinus, and Callistus (Calixtus) has excommunicated Sabellius on his representations. Now there is no one but Hippolytus who answers to this description, and the result is confirmed by essential parallelism between this book and the admitted writings of Hippolytus. This conclusion accepted, the *Philosophumena* gives a more thorough insight into the author's life. It does not mention his relation to Irenæus, but presents him first in Rome, where he must have become a presbyter under Zephyrinus. According to Eusebius, Origen was in Rome during this pontificate, and Jerome speaks of his having been present at a sermon of Hippolytus. To Calixtus, the successor of Zephyrinus, Hippolytus was in determined opposition as to Christology and as to discipline (see Calixtus I.), and it came to an open breach of communion, which evidently continued under the succeeding popes. This agrees with the description of Hippolytus as a Roman bishop and the reference of Damasus to the Novatian schism. The fact of his having been a schismatic bishop of Rome accounts for the inability of Eusebius and Jerome to name his see, since he was not included in the lists of the Roman succession to which they had access. His identification with Nonnus and consequent description as bishop of Portus may spring either from his martyrdom by the sea or from his special popularity in Portus. He maintained his position until 235, when Maximin's persecution

2. Modern Additions to Knowledge of it.

banished him to Sardinia, together with Pontianus, the legitimate bishop; and on that "unwholesome island" he died.

3. Exegetical Works.

Hippolytus was a very fertile ecclesiastical writer. His exegetical work was specially extensive; only a few specimens of it, however, have been preserved entire, the "Antichrist" and the later commentary on Daniel, and of these only the former exists in the original (in three manuscripts of the tenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries; there is also an Old Church Slavic version of probably the eleventh century). The dependence of its content upon Irenæus is unmistakable. The Daniel commentary, once the most widely read of his works, is extant from book i. 29 in a manuscript of the tenth century found at Athos, and book iv. is also found in another of the fifteenth, while the whole is in the Old Church Slavic version, besides indirect tradition in the catenæ and portions in Syriac and Armenian versions. The book was written not long after a severe persecution, and thus can scarcely belong to the end of Hippolytus's life. A more rhetorical character belongs to the commentary on the Song of Solomon, of which fragments exist in the Old Church Slavic and some also in the Armenian. In the Georgian this commentary appears to have been preserved entire (Germ. transl. by Bonwetsch in *TU*, xxiii., part 2, 1903). Bonwetsch also edited Hippolytus's exegesis of the Blessing of Jacob and of Moses, and of the narrative of David and Goliath (*TU*, xxvi. 1a, 1904). The Greek of the Blessing of Jacob seems to be in existence at Athens. Fragments on Genesis are preserved in the catena of Procopius of Gaza, besides one by Jerome, one by Leontius, and three by Theodoret. A fragment discovered by Achelis in an Athos manuscript is the only evidence for the former existence of a commentary on Ruth. Theodoret gives citations from a work on Elkanah and Hannah, and one on the witch of Endor is mentioned both by the inscription and by Jerome. Of the treatise on the Psalms, probably not a complete commentary, the historical introduction is preserved in Syriac, and some fragments in Greek by Theodoret. Some fragments of that on the Proverbs are in the catenæ, and a few unimportant ones exist from those on Ecclesiastes and on parts of Isaiah and Ezekiel, while of that on Zechariah nothing remains. There are fragments, again, on Matt. xxiv. and xxv. 24 sqq., which have an eschatological bearing, as had also the commentary on the Apocalypse (of which genuine fragments are extant in Arabic), the "Chapters against Caius" (fragments published by Gwynne, *Hermathena*, vi. 397 sqq., 1888), and the treatise on the resurrection addressed to the Empress Mammæa (a few Syriac and and Greek fragments), mentioned in the inscription. Possibly some fragments of a commentary on the oracles of Balaam belong to Hippolytus. Theodoret has also preserved a portion of a discourse on the two thieves. On the other hand, the sermon on the raising of Lazarus (Greek and Syriac), is of doubtful authenticity, and still more questionable is that on the divine epiphanies, because both form and contents are unlike Hippolytus.

4. Polemical Works.

Of the polemical treatises, that against Marcion has entirely disappeared. The "treatise against All Heresies," which, according to Photius, contained thirty-two forms of error, from Dositheus to Noetus, was used as a source by the pseudo-Tertullian, Epiphanius, and Philaster, which at least determines the sequence of heresies treated in it. It is a question whether the extant homily against Noetus originally formed the close of this book or not. As he defended the Apocalypse against Caius, so he attacked the opponents of the Johannean writings in general in a treatise "On the Gospel and Revelation of John." Of the contents of this some idea may be gained from Epiphanius, *Hær.*, li., where Hippolytus is undoubtedly quoted, as in *Hær.*, xlviii. there are traces of his polemic against the Montanists. In the *Philosophumena*, or "Refutation of All Heresies," also he undertakes to show the origin of heresies from the older philosophies, his knowledge of which, however, according to Diels, was gained from inadequate extracts. The second, third, and beginning of the fourth books are lost; the remainder of the fourth deals with the astrologers. His treatment of the heresies is mainly confined to exposition without thorough polemic. His account of the Gnostic system is based partly on Irenæus and Tertullian; where he is independent of them he has been supposed by some critics to have trusted too much to forged documents—but forgery is unlikely in the case of so speculative a system as that, e.g., of Basilides. Against the pagans he wrote a treatise which seems from its variously given title to have dealt with the Platonic doctrine of the All and the First Cause; the extant fragment is eschatological. The work "On the Faith" attributed to Hippolytus is later than the Nicene Council; that "On the Method of the Vow" is more likely Aphraates'. The polemical treatise against the Jews, though no such work is mentioned in the inscription, and though its present form is possibly not all due to Hippolytus, yet has reminders of his work; and his having written against the Jews is rendered likely by the use of material from him in later anti-Jewish writings. Of several other works mentioned in various places scarcely anything more than the titles is known. That called "On Charismata" or "Apostolic Tradition on Charismata" (according to whether the inscription is here naming one or two works) may well have been incorporated in the "Teachings of the Holy Apostles on Charismata," and H. Achelis has made the attempt to determine exactly what part comes from Hippolytus. The "Canons of the Holy Apostles on the Election [of Bishops] by Hippolytus," which are parallel to the Apostolic Constitutions, viii. 4 sqq., are an extract from a primitive form of the Apostolic Constitutions, and according to Achelis and Harnack are based upon genuine canons of Hippolytus, of which a working-over exists in the Arabic "Canons of Hippolytus." Achelis thinks that Hippolytus wrote the "On Charismata" while still in the catholic communion, and that the assertion that an ignorant or immoral bishop was no true bishop had reference to Zephyrinus, while the canons were in-

tended for the governance of his schismatic community. If this be true, they are of considerable historical importance. Works on church discipline are mentioned also by Jerome, dealing with the propriety of fasting on Saturday and of daily communion. The chronological works of Hippolytus enjoyed no little esteem, as is shown by the carving on the statue of his Easter table for the years 222–233. The work called "Chronicle" in the inscription exists only in Latin adaptations, such as the *Liber generationis* and the so-called *Barbarus Scalageri*. The original form has been exhibited by A. Bauer.

5. Theological Position.

The theology of Hippolytus in general is summarized at the close of the *Philosophumena*. The Christian's boasted possession is the knowledge of the One God, creator and lord of all things. He alone, of his own free will, created eternally out of nothing first the four elements and then the rest out of them; all that is composed of them is separable and therefore mortal. By a process of thought God generated the Logos, who, conscious of the will and mind of his begetter, became the mediate operator of all that was done in the work of creation. As lord over all he made man, a compound of the four elements, neither God like the Logos nor yet an angel. God, being good, made nothing but good; man by his own will went further and created evil. Man received a law on the basis of his free will—first through just men, then through Moses and the prophets, but all under the administration and in the power of the Logos, who according to the command of God led men back from disobedience, not forcing them, but calling them to a free choice. At last the Father sent the Logos himself, who, taking a body from a virgin, put on the old man by a new creation; of the same nature as our own, because only so could he exhort us to follow him, he experienced all the sufferings that belong to human nature, so that men might hope to follow him also in his exaltation.

Hippolytus urges his readers to cling to "the inspired prophets, interpreters of God and the Logos," who have laid down the divine truth in the Scripture. The New Testament writings are designated equally with the Old as "divine scriptures," with "the fourfold gospel" at their head. The Epistle to the Hebrews is not included among the Pauline epistles, though Hippolytus uses it not infrequently; he also makes use of II Peter and probably of James. Only grace bestows understanding of the Scriptures, much in which is sealed, as to the devil, so to unbelievers. The personal distinction between the Father and the Logos is defended against Sabellius and Calixtus, as still earlier against Noetus; but Hippolytus repudiates the reproach of ditheism—the one God reveals himself in two persons, to whom the Spirit is added as a third, although no clear distinction is made between the Logos and the Spirit. Insight into the manner of the generation of the Logos is not permitted to us. But, though always the perfect Logos, he is not the perfect Son until, clothed with flesh as at once the Son of God and the Son of Man, he appears in the world. While the death of Christ is of special significance for redemption, Hippolytus lays particular emphasis on the completion of the knowledge of God already given through nature and history, but especially in the Law and the Prophets. Men are now enabled, by the same free will with which they sinned, to return to the following of God, and by their good works to win heaven. The Church is "the sacred assembly of those who live in righteousness . . . the spiritual house of God . . . rooted in Christ," who sanctifies all that believe in him. The water of life is given to the thirsty soul first in baptism, with its remission of sins and clothing with the Spirit; in the Eucharist Christ's body and blood are a pledge of immortality. But only those belong to the Church who keep the commandments; all others are "deprived of the Holy Spirit," "driven from the Church," or, if they belong to it externally, their damnation is all the greater. The Church suffers not less from unworthy Christians than from heretics. Thus Hippolytus was as much opposed to Calixtus for his lax discipline as for his monarchianizing theology. But, in spite of his approbation of asceticism and his enthusiasm for martyrdom, he opposes the new precepts of the Montanists, especially in regard to fasting. Against extravagant eschatological views also he takes a stand in the interest of Christian sobriety. In opposition to Caius, for whom "the binding of the strong man" had already taken place, Hippolytus sees the millennium still far in the future, though he makes the point that for the individual the hour of death is that of Christ's advent. But if his attitude toward this whole question is not that of a later age, neither is it quite the same as that of Irenæus, from whose primitive realism he makes a distinct departure—thus, as in other points (e.g., his attitude toward the Roman Empire), standing at a turning-point in theological and ecclesiastical development. (N. Bonwetsch.)

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HIPPOLYTUS, SAINT, BROTHERS or HOSPITALERS OF: A Roman Catholic congregation established in the City of Mexico by Bernardino Alvarez in 1585. They were entrusted with the care of a hospital erected in Mexico by Alvarez and dedicated to St. Hippolytus, whence their name—in its full form "Brothers of Christian Love of St. Hippolytus" (officially, *Congregatio fratrum S. Hippolyti*). The members of the congregation formed a monastic body with a constitution drawn up by their founder and approved by Sixtus V. The only vows were those of poverty and Christian love, and each brother might leave the order at will. The superior was termed "Major" and was elected by the twenty oldest brothers. The order increased steadily, but the privilege of resignation led to such disorganization that Clement VIII., by a brief of Nov. 1, 1594, bound the brothers to perpetual obedience and hospitality. Even this failed in its object, however, and in 1700 the procurator-general, Juan Cabrera, sought to introduce the rule of St. Augustine. Innocent XII. refused to permit this, but obliged the brothers to take the vow of chastity in addition to those of poverty, obedience, and hospitality. In the early part of the nineteenth century Clement XI. conferred on them the privileges of the mendicant orders. They were absorbed later in the Brothers of Charity, although they retained their distinctive brown habit. (O. Zöckler†.)

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HIRAM (Hebr. *Ḥiram, Ḥirom;* cf. Assyr. *Ḥirummu, Ḥuram;* in Phenician inscriptions, *Ḥrm*): A king of Tyre who was on friendly terms with David and Solomon and of a Tyrian metal-worker (I Kings vii.). The name is probably an abbreviation of *Aḥi-ram* ("My brother [i.e., God] is sublime"). King Hiram of Tyre, the dates of whose reign can not be exactly determined, was one of the most famous kings of Phenicia. Josephus (*Ant.* VIII., v. 3 and *Apion*, i. 17–18) gives extracts from Menander and Dius, who used older Phenician sources. Syncellus and Eusebius derived their information from Josephus. Later mythical tales in the writings of the Church Fathers, from Chætus, Theophilus, and Eupolemus, are of little value. According to Menander and Dius, Hiram the son of Abibal, during his reign of thirty-four years (he died at the age of fifty-four) enlarged and embellished his capital, erecting on the eastern side of the island a new part of the city. He caused the Tyrian sanctuaries to be covered with a roofing of cedar from the woods of Lebanon and erected a much admired golden column in the sanctuary of the "Olympian Jupiter" (cf. Herodotus, ii. 44), i.e., Baal the god of heaven (cf. Eusebius, *Præparatio evangelica*, ix. 34). His foreign policy was eminently resourceful and energetic. By a war he forced the inhabitants of Cyprus to resume the payment of the taxes which they had refused and maintained the hegemony of Tyre over Phenicia and the colonies.

Hiram put himself on a friendly footing with the new kingdom of Israel under David and Solomon (cf. II Sam. v. 11, I Kings v. 12 with II Chron. ii. 3). This, however, occasions a chronological difficulty. According to I Kings ix. 10, Hiram lived twenty-four years after the accession of Solomon; therefore, according to Menander, who says that he reigned thirty-four years, he can have ruled only during the last years of David's reign. This period would be still further restricted by the statement of Josephus that the building of the temple began only in the twelfth year of Hiram's reign (*Ant.* VIII., iii. 1; *Apion*, i. 18, 5), according to which Hiram reigned only seven or eight years contemporaneously with David. That David began the building of his palace only at a late period is contrary to II Sam. vii. 2, according to which the palace was completed before Solomon's birth. Either the account of Menander must be rejected, and to King Hiram a longer life and reign be ascribed, or the identity of the friend of David with the friend of Solomon must be denied, in which case the Biblical account has confused the famous Hiram with a less known king in the time of David, unless, as is possible, all the Tyrian kings bore the same name [or used it as a title].

II Sam. v. 11–12 discloses that the Tyrian king sought David's friendship for political and commercial reasons. For the building of the palace in Jerusalem he placed at David's disposal timber and workmen, which David accepted on account of the superiority of Phenician workmanship. For the same reason Solomon was eager to maintain the friendship with Hiram and, above all, to secure his aid in the building of the temple. Hiram, on his part, responded willingly to Solomon's overtures and promised to furnish the necessary persons and materials for the enterprise, in return for which Solomon provided the Tyrian court with grain, oil, and wine. Hiram also sent to Jerusalem a clever metal-worker whose name also was Hiram (according to II Chron. ii. 13, Huram-abi), who was the son of a widow of the tribe of Naphtali and of a Tyrian father. To this artist are ascribed the brazen masterpieces of the temple. In addition King Hiram furnished a considerable amount of gold, in exchange for which Solomon later assigned (I Kings ix. 10 sqq.) twenty cities in the neighborhood of Naphtali, where dwelt a population principally composed of heathens. The aid he gave in the voyages to Ophir (q.v.), for which he sent carpenters and seamen (I Kings ix. 26 sqq., x. 11, 22), was the result of careful prevision, since from his use of the harbor of Elath on the Red Sea, which was in the possession of Israel, he gained no little profit.

Later tradition asserts that Solomon married a daughter of Hiram, which is not improbable considering the close relations between the two courts and the presence of Sidonians in the harem of Solomon (I Kings xi. 1, 5). Other legends about Hiram are given by F. Movers (*Die Phönizier*, ii. 1, Bonn, 1841, pp. 338–339). His son Baleazar succeeded the great king on the throne. Hiram's grave is shown a little to the southeast of the city of Tyre, containing an immense sarcophagus which bears no inscription and offers no assurance of its authenticity.

A second Tyrian king bearing the name of Hiram lived in the time of Cyrus and reigned twenty years (551–532? B.C.) according to Menander (in Josephus, *Apion*, i. 21; cf. Herodotus, vii. 98; Movers, ut sup., ii.,pp. 466–467).

The name Huram was borne also by a Levite, I Chron. viii. 5. C. VON ORELLI.

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HIRSCH, EMIL GUSTAV: Jewish rabbi; b. at Luxemburg, Germany, May 22, 1852. He was educated at the University of Pennsylvania (B.A., 1872), the universities of Berlin (1872–76) and Leipsic (Ph.D., 1876), and the Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums, Berlin (1872–76). Returning to the United States, he was rabbi of Har Sinai Congregation, Baltimore, Md. (1877–78), and Adas Israel Congregation, Louisville, Ky. (1878–80), and since 1880 has been rabbi of Sinai Congregation, Chicago. He has been professor of rabbinical literature and philosophy in the University of Chicago since 1892, and in 1902 was Percy Turnbull Lecturer in Johns Hopkins University. He was one of the founders of the Jewish Manual Training School, Chicago, the Associated Jewish Charities, the Civic Federation, and other similar movements. He is well known as an orator, and in theology belongs to the advanced wing of Reformed Judaism. He has edited *Der Zeitgeist* (Milwaukee, 1880–83); *Hebraica* (in collaboration with W. R. and R. F. Harper and I. M. Price, Chicago, 1892–95); *The Reformer* (New York, 1886–92); and *The Reform Advocate* (Chicago, since 1892); besides being editor of the Biblical department of *The Jewish Encyclopedia*.

HIRSCHAU (HIRSAU): A Benedictine monastery, once famous, now in ruins, in the Black Forest district of Württemberg, 2 m. n. of Calw. For its reputed foundation in 645, by a widow Helicena, there is no evidence prior to a German document of 1534. Opinions are also at variance on the second founding of the monastery in 830; but it is erroneous to deny the existence of a monastery at Hirschau before 1065, since the fact is attested by the imperial brief of sanction, dated Oct. 9, 1075, by the papal bull of Urban II., Mar. 8, 1095, and by the Hirschau *Traditionenkodex;* and because excavations made in 1892 discovered the foundation-walls of a church traceable to the Carolingian era. Of this foundation, however, nothing is known except that Count Erlafrid of Calw, in 830, built a church in honor of St. Peter and the Armenian bishop Aurelius (d. 383), and filled the monastery with monks from Fulda. The new founding of the monastery emanated from a visit of Pope Leo IX., in 1049, to his nephew, Count Adalbert II. of Calw. In 1065 the first monks arrived from Einsiedeln, with Abbot Frederick as superior, who, in 1069 was deposed by Count Adalbert upon accusations by the monks. He was succeeded by William (1069–91), who had acquired a scholastic education in the monastery of St. Emmeram at Regensburg. His foremost aim at Hirschau was to emancipate the monastery from the patronage of Count Adalbert, and change the latter's relation to it into one purely protective. He gained both points in 1075. Thoroughly convinced of the need of a reform of the Benedictine Order in Germany, William devised his *Constitutiones Hirsaugienses* after the pattern of the Cluniac institutions. With the new monastic customs the monks now wore white robes, and instead of the old upper cloak (the *cuculla*), they donned the Cluny *froccus*, a woolen garment with wide sleeves, and, under it, a second garment, the ancient *scapulare*. For the severe winters of the Black Forest, William introduced the *stamineum*, a woolen shirt, and the *pellicium*, a sheepskin, worn under the outer garment. The monks also wore breeches (*femoralia*). The broad tonsure, as in vogue at Cluny, distinguished the Hirschau monks from the unreformed Benedictines. Strict silence was observed in the cloister. William also applied himself to the organization of lay brothers, who lived under the oversight of a special *magister*, and were subject to the cloistral discipline except that they observed an abridged office. The reform was not restricted to Hirschau. Along with the Swabian monastery of St. Blasien, Hirschau became a center of monastic reform, and many monasteries were founded as offshoots from Hirschau, or furnished with monks and abbots or reconstructed by it. Bishop Otto of Bamberg reformed the monasteries of his diocese with monks of Hirschau. The *Consuetudines Hirsaugienses* were widely introduced through northern Germany. Yet William did not succeed in establishing upon German soil a congregation after the type of Cluny. The sole bond of union that endured permanently was that of the confraternities, by means of which persons pledged themselves to common prayer for living and deceased members of the several monasteries.

Earlier History. Abbot William and his Reform.

William of Hirschau was also concerned in the conflict between emperor and pope. He belonged to the most loyal adherents of the Gregorian party of Germany. Likely enough, he had been won over to Gregory's cause on the occasion of his visit to Rome in 1075. In 1077 the opposition king, Rudolph of Rheinfelden, was at Hirschau; and in 1081 Gregory VII. turned to Bishop Altmann of Passau (q.v.) and William of Hirschau, to promote the election of a king devoted to the Apostolic See. The strictly moral and zealously devout

His Part in the Contest between Emperor and Pope.

abbot was moved to side with Gregory by interest in church reform and in the battle against licentiousness and simony, not because he desired the empire to be subjected to the world-rule of the papacy. Accordingly he did not hesitate, in a letter to the opposition king, Hermann of Luxemburg, to reproach in the severest terms the antiimperial bishops of Saxony, who were allied with the pope for political interests, on account of their ecclesiastical deportment, which was inconsistent with the reformatory requirements.

Decline after William's Death.

No sooner was Abbot William dead than the ecclesiastical and political influence of Hirschau began to decline. His successor, Gebhard (1091–1105), completely abandoned the thought of establishing a congregation; and Hirschau now ceased to be the opposition's headquarters in the investiture strife. Gebhard (d. 1107) received from the hand of the Emperor Henry V. the diocese of Speyer, and achieved a bad repute as bishop on account of his treatment of the dead body of the banished emperor, Henry IV. The period of the monastery's moral and economic degeneracy began after the death of Abbot Mangold (1157–65). In 1215 Emperor Frederick II. assumed the patronal administration of the monastery, which was vested thenceforth in the reigning emperor.

Second Period of Prosperity. The Protestant Reformation.

Not until Abbot Wolfram's day (1428–60) was Hirschau revived by his introduction of the Bursfelde rules (see Bursfelde, Congregation of) in 1457. The monastery now enjoyed a second season of prosperity, until in 1534 it was reformed along Protestant lines; when, as during the times of Abbot William, it again sent its reforming colonies to other monasteries. Abbot John II. (1524–56) suffered in the Peasants' War, in 1525, when the monastery was stormed and severely damaged. The same abbot had to endure an Evangelical "reading-master," sent to Hirschau in 1535, the same as to other monasteries. After proclamation of the Interim (July 22, 1548) Roman monks again returned; but after the victory by Maurice of Saxony over the emperor, Duke Christopher, on June 11, 1552, gave orders to his abbots forbidding the reception of novices, and prohibiting Roman worship. By his monastery decree in 1556, he instituted at Hirschau one of the four higher cloister schools of his territory, for the education of Evangelical clergymen.

Later History.

In the Thirty Years' War the monastery was occupied, in 1630, by the imperial troops, and the Protestant abbot, Albrecht Bauhof, had to yield. From 1630 to 1631 the monastery was occupied by the Roman Catholic abbot, Andreas Geist; and after the battle near Nördlingen, in 1634, the Catholics were able to hold the monastery till 1648. The last of the Catholic abbots, Wunibald Zürcher (1637–48), refused to acknowledge the duke of Württemberg as territorial sovereign, and claimed for his monastery immediate dependency on the empire. From the Peace of Westphalia (1648) Hirschau fulfilled its new and richly favored appointment as Evangelical cloister school till, on Sept. 20, 1692, the French general, Melac, burned the buildings. The cloister school was thereupon removed to Denkendorf. Only the transept of the monastery, a tower of St. Peter's Church of the eleventh century, and the Lady Chapel built in 1516 are still preserved.

G. Grützmacher.

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HIRSCHE, GEORG KARL: German Lutheran divine; b. at Brunswick April 19, 1816; d. at Hamburg July 23, 1892. He was educated at the Collegium Carolinum in Brunswick, then at Göttingen (1833–36). He studied under Lücke at Göttingen and was greatly influenced by him; he also heard Erdmann lecture on philosophy at Berlin (1836). In Nov., 1836, he took his first examination in theology at Wolfenbüttel, and his second in Aug., 1840. Hirsche taught in the public school at Holzminden (1841–46), and in Oct., 1846, he was chosen minister of the Marienkirche at Osnabrück. The choice was not approved by the government but, after tedious negotiations, it was confirmed in 1848. In 1858 he was appointed an ecclesiastical councilor to the duke of Brunswick, which office he held until 1863, when he again entered the ministry at Hamburg, being chosen pastor of the St. Nicholas Church there. He held this position until a few months before his death.

During his pastorate at Hamburg he devoted himself to a study of Thomas à Kempis and his book *De imitatione Christi*. These labors have made him known both to Protestants and Roman Catholics. His purpose was a double one: to restore the "Imitation of Christ" to its original form and secondly to prove that Thomas à Kempis was the author of the book. He succeeded in both these aims. He discovered from a manuscript in the library at Brussels that the original form of the book must have been in meter and rime. He then hunted through the other works of Thomas and the related literature in order to discover the thoughts which were peculiar to Thomas. This led him to a thoroughgoing investigation of the Brethren of the Common Life (q.v.), the results of which he published in the Herzog *RE* (2d ed., ii. 678–760). He drew from these investigations the conclusion that the Brethren of the Common Life

can not be regarded as forerunners of the Reformation. His studies on Thomas he gave to the world in his *Prolegomena zu einer neuen Ausgabe der Imitatio Christi* (3 vols., Berlin, 1873–94), and in his edition of the *De imitatione Christi* (1874).

CARL BERTHEAU.

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HIRSCHER, JOHANN BAPTIST: German Roman Catholic; b. at Altergarten, near Ravensburg (22 m. e.n.e. of Constance), Upper Swabia, Jan. 20, 1788; d. at Freiburg Sept. 4, 1865. He studied at Freiburg, and from 1812 to 1817 officiated as tutor at Ellwangen and Rottweil. In the latter year he was appointed professor of moral and pastoral theology at the University of Tübingen, and in 1834 he was called to Freiburg to fill a similar office, which he held until 1863. In 1839 he was elected a member of the cathedral chapter of the archdiocese of Freiburg. His works include: *Christliche Moral als Lehre von der Verwirklichung des göttlichen Reichs in der Menschheit* (Tübingen, 1835); *Die Geschichte Jesu* (1839); *Beiträge zur Homiletik und Katechetik* (1852); *Das Leben Mariä* (Freiburg, 1854); and *Die Hauptstücke des christlichen Glaubens* (Tübingen, 1857). Prior to and during the revolution of 1848 he was a member of the House of Representatives of Baden. His writings favored the introduction of certain changes, such as the admission of lay members to diocesan synods. His *Erörterungen über die grossen religiösen Fragen der Gegenwart* (3 vols., Freiburg, 1846–55) and *Die kirchlichen Zustände der Gegenwart* (Tübingen, 1849), are the most important of his writings of this period. (C. WEIZSÄCKER†.)

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HITCHCOCK, ROSWELL DWIGHT: Presbyterian; b. at East Machias, Me., Aug. 15, 1817; d. at Fall River, Mass., June 16, 1887. He was educated at Amherst (B.A., 1836), and after teaching for two years (1836–38) and studying in Andover Theological Seminary for a year (1838–39), was a tutor in Amherst College from 1839 to 1842. In 1844–45 he was in charge of a church at Waterville, Me., and from the latter year until 1852 was pastor of the First Congregational Church at Exeter, N. H., studying theology at Halle and Berlin in 1847–48. He was then professor of natural and revealed religion in Bowdoin College from 1852 to 1855, when he was appointed professor of church history in Union Theological Seminary. This position he held after 1880 after his election to the presidency of the same institution. In addition to editing *The American Theological Review* from 1863 to 1870; *Hymns and Songs of Praise* (in collaboration with Z. Eddy and P. Schaff, New York, 1874); *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (in collaboration with F. Brown, 1884); and *Carmina Sanctorum* (in collaboration with Z. Eddy and L. W. Mudge, 1885), he wrote *Life of Edward Robinson* (New York, 1863); *Complete Analysis of the Holy Bible* (1869 which supersedes West's work on the subject); *Socialism* (1879); and the posthumous *Eternal Atonement* (a collection of sermons, 1888).

HITTITES, THE.

Egyptian Accounts (§ 1).
Assyrian Notices (§ 2).
Biblical Mention (§ 3).
Hittite Monuments (§ 4).
Attempted Decipherment of Inscriptions (§ 5).
The People (§ 6).
Their "Empire"; Influence on Culture (§ 7).

The Hittites (Hebr. *Ha-Ḫitti, Ḫittim*, Septuagint *Chettaioi*, Egyptian *Ḫata*, Assyr. *Ḫatti, Ḫate*) were a people of disputed ethnological affiliations whose traces have been found over the territory lying between the western boundary of Assyria and the Ægean coast of Asia Minor, and between the Black Sea and the Egyptian border. Present interest centers in two points, historic and apologetic. The decipherment of Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptions and documents and the discovery of a considerable number of monuments and inscriptions, no doubt correctly attributed to this people, have led to the knowledge of an "empire" or an aggregation of kingdoms to which the name Hittite is assigned. The apologetic interest is due to the fact that at one time a few critics were disposed rashly to question the existence of such a people as was indicated in the Biblical texts.

1. Egyptian Accounts.

Thothmes III. (c. 1500 B.C.?) mentions the Hittites in his annals inscribed at Karnak as paying tribute to him, or at least as sending him presents on his great campaigns which took him as far as Mitanni (see ASSYRIA VI., 2, § 1), and as sending him tribute seven years later. In the Amarna Tablets (q.v.) they appear making their way aggressively down through Syria and Palestine. Thothmes IV., and Amenophis III. and IV. were frequently in conflict with them. Seti I. claimed to have defeated them under their leader Mutal, son of Mulsar and grandson of Saplil, though they had established themselves at Carchemish and at Kadesh on the Orontes. Rameses II. was in serious danger from them while besieging Kadesh, and his exploits in extricating himself there gave rise to the celebrated poem of Pentaur. He made a treaty of alliance with their king *Ḫata-sar* (a name which suggests, ungrammatically, "Ḫittite king" in Assyrian), son of Mutal, married Ḫata-sar's daughter, and Kadesh became the Hittite frontier. It is probable that the extension of Hittite power to the south was checked at this time not more by the Egyptians than by the people known later as the Philistines (q.v.). The impression given by the Egyptian inscriptions is that of a unified power, in contradistinction to the separate states which appear in Assyrian annals a century later, though this may be due to the uncertain knowledge possessed by the Egyptians and to their assuming ethnic affinity for all the inhabitants of the region in which the Hittites were their chief opponents.

The records of the Assyrians indicate that that power came into contact with the Hittites about 1400 B.C., if, as some suppose, Mitanni was a Hittite state. But long prior to this there appears the phrase "land of the Hittites" in Babylonian as-

trological inscriptions believed to belong about 2000 B.C. Mention of them by name occurs in the annals of Tiglath-Pileser I. (c. 1100 B.C.), at which time there appears to have been a number of Hittite states in northern Aramæa and Syria, *Kummuḥ* (see Assyria, VI., 2, § 1; 3, § 3) being the limit westward of which information is given in this source and this being under Hittite control. In the ninth century the conquests of Asshurnasirpal subjected Hittite kingdoms in the region named, as did those of Shalmaneser II. Sargon finally overthrew the Hittites and ended their career in the east by capturing Carchemish, the great center of their power in that region. The sum of the notices in Egyptian and Assyrian monuments would lead then to two conclusions. The first is that the Hittites were widely scattered north and northwest of the Syrian desert, their southern boundary being in Palestine at least as far south as Kadesh, their eastern frontier coincident with the western limits of Assyria, and their western limits at least as far west as Kummuḥ. The second is that they were an element of the pre-Hebraic population of northern Palestine.

2. Assyrian Notices.

With these conclusions the scattered notices in the Old Testament fully agree, except that they carry the Hittites still farther south to Hebron. Gen. x. 15 (J) connects them with the Canaanites as of Cushite stock. This is also the view of E (Ex. xxiii. 28, xxxiii. 2), with which P (Gen. xxiii. 3, 5, etc., xxv. 9, xxvi. 34–35, xxvii. 46, xlix. 29) and the writers closest to him (Ezra ix. 1–2; Ezek. xvi. 3) fully coincide, and also R and D in the Hexateuch (Josh. ix. 1, xi. 3). The passages in Samuel and Kings and their parallels in Chronicles reflect the Hittites either as an absorbed element of the population (I Sam. xxvi. 6; II Sam. xi., xii. 9–10) or as a power to be reckoned with outside Palestine (I Kings x. 29, xi. 1; II Kings vii. 6).

3. Biblical Mention.

The history of the modern discovery of Hittite monuments begins with 1736, when Otter found at Irviz in Asia Minor some peculiar hieroglyphic inscriptions. In 1812 Burckhardt found others at Hamath in Syria; in 1834 Texier discovered still more at Boghazkeui in northern Asia Minor, and in 1851 Layard found some Hittite seals at Nineveh. These and other isolated inscriptions were not connected until 1872, when W. Wright secured the Hamath inscriptions for the Imperial Museum at Constantinople. From that time these monuments have been found in considerable numbers from near the Ægean coast of Asia Minor along the old roads leading to Cappadocia and to Syria, and as far east as Carchemish and to the south as far as Babylon (in the latter place being of course spoils of war, among which is a splendid dolorite relief of the Hittite war-god wielding hammer and lightning bolts). They are collected partly in Perrot and Chipiez and more fully in Messerschmidt. The most recent researches have been conducted by Prof. Hugo Winckler at Boghazkeui, in Asia Minor, in 1906–08, one result of which has been the recovery of a large number of documents, a second is the identification of Boghazkeui with Arzaba (one of the leading Hittite cities between 1500–1100 B.C.), and a third is the assurance that the Hittites formed a large confederation of states under the leadership of a single king. The inscriptions, except the most recent, are in relief, not incised, thus agreeing in form with the oldest Aramean inscriptions, and they are boustrophedon (a discovery due to Dr. W. H. Ward in 1873). Their age is placed by Jensen between 1300 and 550 B.C. All are monolingual so far as known, except that called the boss of Tarkondemos, which is in Hittite and Assyrian, but is so brief that the cuneiform is of little use as an aid to decipherment. Two of the Amarna Tablets are in an unknown tongue, and may be Hittite.

4. Hittite Monuments.

Since these inscriptions are not in any strict sense deciphered, the information they afford is little, apart from the indications their situation gives concerning the region covered by Hittite action.

5. Attempted Decipherment of Inscriptions.

While for years Professor Sayce has been claiming to have deciphered parts of them, and others, as Conder and Jensen, make like claims, except in isolated cases no one of these concedes the claim of the others, and in general the assumed decipherments assign the language to different basal stocks. Ward holds the language to be Turanian, possibly Ural-Altaic; Conder declares it Ural-Altaic, with suggestions of a connection with the Akkadian; Campbell masses under the name Hittites a number of races and tribes; Halévy thinks he has proved the language to be Semitic; Jensen calls it "proto-Armenian," i.e., Indo-Germanic, and in his "decipherment" attempts to make out a connection with the Armenian (of which he naively acknowledges that he knows little), and charges his predecessors in the attempt to read the inscriptions with "wild logic," a charge which Messerschmidt retorts upon him with many exclamation-marks. Thus the Hittite people and language have been connected with both of the great families of nations and with the Turanian group, a fact which speaks eloquently of the obscurity in which the subject still lies. Professor Sayce in 1906 made the candid statement that decipherment of the inscriptions is yet unaccomplished. While shrewd deductions have been made, a few names read with general agreement, and in several cases, probably, fairly close approach to the meaning has been gained, these facts do not contradict the statement that the Hittite script is still a puzzle for the solution of which adequate material and clear clues have till the present been lacking. It now seems possible, however, with the very abundant material recovered from Boghazkeui, including treaties between the Hittites and the Mitanni, that a solution of the vexed problems will be reached. Thus it has been shown that a group of Indian deities is appealed to in the treaties referred to, the names Mitra, Indra, Varuna, and Nasatya being unmistakable. The indications given by the divine names are strengthened by dynastic and proper names of Iranian type. These facts suggest either Hindu-Aryan affinities or borrowing, the former much the more likely. Decided progress has been made in reading the records, and

the prospects for decipherment of inscriptions and therefore of more complete and accurate information are (1909) very bright.

On the Egyptian monuments the people are always figured as a yellow race, with very prominent protuberant noses and large nostrils, retreating forehead and chin and thick lips, high cheek bones, black hair and eyes. They are generally portrayed as beardless and as wearing the hair in a queue. They appear short in stature, but heavy in build. Since the Assyrians were not expert in drawing, as were the Egyptians, the Assyrian portraiture gives nothing additional. The monuments of the Hittites corroborate all the details afforded by the Egyptian portraiture except the color, which the nature of the remains does not indicate. But the men are everywhere portrayed as wearing high boots with the toes curling upward and even backward, and generally as wearing mittens with a separate stall for the thumb only. The raiment seems heavy and agrees with the items just given in suggesting the emergence of the people from a cold snowy climate. Along with this goes the fact that the region into which they spread favors their coming by a route between the Black Sea and the Caspian. The evidence points to a period between 1600 and 1300 B.C. as the time when perhaps they pushed their outposts southward till forced back by Egyptian and perhaps Philistine resistance, when they spread eastward toward the Ægean. Their centers were at Carchemish, Hamath, Kadesh on the Orontes, Senjirli, and Boghazkeui, while Hebron seems to have been their most southern point of settlement. The mention in the historical books of the Old Testament suggests that they constituted an element in the population of Palestine. Some points of their physiognomy seem to corroborate Jensen's contention that they were "proto-Armenians." On the other hand, the accounts of the many Assyrian campaigns in Armenia do not contain a single hint that the sturdy opponents of that power in the Armenian Mountains were of the Hittite race. This is the more decisive since the Assyrians were at the time in conflict with Hittites elsewhere. Moreover, other physiological characteristics, such as hair (especially the queue), and the high cheek bones seem to connect them with the Mongolian race.

6. The People.

The idea of a Hittite "empire" in the sense of a unified rule is not borne out by the historical indications, but what does appear is the appearance of confederation (see § 4 above). As invaders of southern Asia and opponents of Egyptian and later of Assyrian aggression, there was a power of reserve which with other marks suggests mutual support and a power of confederation which contrasts strongly with Semitic separativeness. The condition is something like that of the Philistines whose cities were under individual rule yet who acted together in case of aggressive campaigns. Their meaning for civilization is only secondary, through the Greek. They unquestionably influenced early Greek inscriptions and art—early Greek writing was boustrophedon. A Hittite seal in the possession of Dr. Ward is unmistakably allied to the Mycenæan seals and drawings. The lions of Mycenæ, the rope pattern of Greek adornment, the Greek sphinx, and some of the Greek deities are firmly held to be of Hittite origin. Dr. Ward suggests that not improbably they gave to the Greeks the last five letters of the Greek alphabet, a suggestion which does not seem to have been used in attempts at decipherment. See ASSYRIA; CANAAN, CANAANITES, § 7; CARCHEMISH.

7. Their "Empire"; Influence on Culture.

GEO. W. GILMORE.

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HITZE, FRANZ: German Roman Catholic; b. at Hannemicke, Westphalia, Mar. 16, 1851. He studied at Würzburg 1872–78, and then was chaplain of the German Campo Santo at Rome for two years. He was then appointed secretary of the Roman Catholic society *Arbeiterwohl* at Munich-Gladbach, and two years later was elected to the Landtag, going to the Reichstag in 1904. In 1893 he was appointed associate professor of Christian sociology at Münster, where he was promoted to his present position of full professor of the same subject in 1904. He has written: *Die soziale Frage und die Bestrebungen zu ihrer Lösung* (Paderborn, 1877); *Kapital und Arbeit und die Reorganisation der Gesellschaft* (1880); *Quintessenz der sozialen Frage* (1880); *Pflichten und Aufgaben der Arbeitgeber* (Cologne, 1888); *Wesentliche Bestimmungen des Gesetzes betreffend die Invaliditäts- und Altersversicherung* (Munich-Gladbach, 1889); *Schutz dem Arbeiter* (Cologne, 1890); *Normale Arbeitsordnung* (1891); and *Arbeiterfrage* (Berlin, 1898).

HITZIG, hit'siH, **FERDINAND:** German exegete and Old Testament critic; b. near Lörrach (28 m. s.s.w. of Freiburg), Baden, June 23, 1807; d. at Heidelberg Jan. 22, 1875. He studied theology at Heidelberg, Halle, and Göttingen, and became privat-docent at Heidelberg in 1829. He first at-

tracted attention by the two treatises, *Begriff der Kritik am Alten Testament praktisch erörtert* (Heidelberg, 1831) and *Des Propheten Jonas Orakel über Moab* (1831). From 1833 till 1861 he was professor of theology at Zurich. Here his upright character, commanding scholarship, and critical acumen won for him recognition, even among those who did not approve of his rationalizing tendencies. In 1861 he returned to Germany as professor of theology at Heidelberg.

Hitzig was remarkably productive, but whimsical. As in the cuneiform inscriptions he perceived an Indo-Germanic speech, similarly he sought to explain certain words of the Old Testament through the Sanskrit. Still more widely prejudicial to his scholarly standing was the constructive criticism which he professed, in contrast to the more negative attitude of De Wette. Thus he thought he could determine exactly the original condition of most of the Psalms from David's era down to the first century B.C. Another defect was his superficial view of revelation, which he assigned to faith (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 2 parts, Leipsic, 1869–1870; cf. vol. i., p. 82), the true God having been discovered "by means of a stronger power of thought." But despite these and other untenable views, Hitzig greatly advanced the exegesis of the Psalms (*Die Psalmen*, 2 vols., Heidelberg, 1835–1836; enlarged into a comprehensive commentary, 2 vols., Leipsic, 1863–65). Although he derived many a Psalm from Jeremiah's dungeon, and referred about half of all the Psalms to the Maccabean era, he can not be classed as a distinctly radical critic, even among his own contemporaries, seeing that he held the decalogue to be Mosaic.

Other works on the Old Testament by Hitzig are: *Der Prophet Jesaia übersetzt und ausgelegt* (Heidelberg, 1833), his best exegetical work; the Minor Prophets (Leipsic, 1838; 4th ed., 1881), Jeremiah (1841; 2d ed., 1866), Ecclesiastes (1847; 2d ed., 1883), Ezekiel (1847), Daniel (1850), and the Song of Songs (1855) in the *Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament; Die Sprüche Salomos* (Zurich, 1858); and *Das Buch Hiob* (Leipsic, 1874). His *Vorlesungen über biblische Theologie und messianische Weissagungen des Alten Testaments* were published at Carlsruhe, 1880.

A. KAMPHAUSEN.

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HIVITES. See CANAAN.

HOADLY, hōd'li, **BENJAMIN:** English bishop; b. at Westerham (15 m. s.s.e. of London), Kent, Nov. 14, 1676; d. at Winchester Apr. 17, 1761. He studied at Catherine Hall, Cambridge (B.A., 1696; M.A., 1699), where he was fellow (1697–1701) and tutor (1699–1701). After his ordination in 1701 he was lecturer at St. Mildred's, London, till 1711. Meanwhile he had received in 1704 the rectory of St. Peter-le-Poer, London. It was as an opponent of Edmund Calamy (q.v.) in the discussion regarding conformity at the beginning of the eighteenth century that he first established his reputation as a controversialist. In 1706 he began a controversy with Francis Atterbury (q.v.) on the interpretation of I Cor. xv. 19. Against Atterbury's view that Christians are compensated in a future world for their unhappiness in this, Hoadly took the ground that the greatest happiness in this life is attained by those who lead a Christian life. In 1709 he became the leader of the Low-church party in a controversy with Atterbury and other supporters of hereditary right and passive obedience. In recognition of his strenuous assertion of the "Revolution principles," particularly in his *Measures of Submission to the Civil Magistrate* (London, 1706) and *Original and Institution of Civil Government* (1709), parliament presented an address to Queen Anne in Dec., 1709, praying her to bestow some dignity upon him. Through the accession of the Tories to power Hoadly's preferment was indefinitely postponed, though he was presented by a private patron to the rectory of Streatham in 1710. In 1715 he was made a royal chaplain and elevated to the bishopric of Bangor. In 1716 he published his famous treatise, *A Preservative against the Principles and Practices of Nonjurors both in Church and State*, in which he attacked the divine authority of kings and clergy. On Mar. 31, 1717, he continued his attack in a sermon preached before the king on John xviii. 36, in which he denied pointblank that there is any such thing as a visible Church of Christ, and maintained that, since Christ was the only authoritative lawgiver, no one has the right to make new laws for Christ's subjects, or to interpret or enforce old laws, in matters relating purely to conscience. This sermon, which was at once printed by royal command, precipitated what is commonly called the Bangorian Controversy. The High-church party sought to proceed against Hoadly in convocation, but the king prevented this by proroguing that body on Nov. 22, 1717. This controversy, which raged for three years, produced more than 200 tracts by fifty-three different writers, and caused such intense excitement among all classes that for a time business in London was practically at a standstill. Hoadly's most important contribution to this controversy was *The Common Rights of Subjects Defended* (London, 1719). Among his more prominent opponents were Andrew Snape, Thomas Sherlock, and William Law (qq.v.). Hoadly was translated to the see of Hereford in 1721, to that of Salisbury in 1723, and to the rich see of Winchester in 1734. He was an aggressive Latitudinarian (see LATITUDINARIANS) and the recognized leader of the extreme Latitudinarian party in Church and State. He was the friend and admirer of Samuel Clarke (q.v.), and was almost in entire accord with Clarke's refined Arianism. Though his writings are heavy, dull, and devoid of originality, they did excellent service in their day for the cause of civil and religious liberty. Hoadly's works were edited by his son, John Hoadly (3 vols., London, 1773).

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1800, ii. 1–20, ib. 1887; J. H. Overton, *The Church in England*, ii. 203, 217–218, 227–229, ib. 1897; idem and F. Relton, *The English Church 1714–1800*, pp. 14–18 et passim, ib. 1906; *DNB*, xxvii. 16–21.

HOBART, ALVAH SABIN: Baptist; b. at Whitby, Ontario, Mar. 7, 1847. He was graduated at Colgate (then Madison) University in 1873 and Hamilton Theological Seminary in 1875. He has held pastorates at Morris, N. Y. (1874–78), Mount Auburn, Cincinnati (1878–85), First Baptist Church, Toledo, O. (1885–88), and Warburton Avenue Church, Yonkers, N. Y. (1888–1900). Since 1900 he has been professor of the English New Testament at Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa. He was chairman of the Board of the American Baptist Home Missionary Society in 1897–99, and has been the recording secretary since 1890. He has written *Life of Alvah Sabin* (Cincinnati, 1885); *Those Old-Fashioned Christians* (Philadelphia, 1895); *Gifts of the Spirit* (Chicago, 1898); and *Our Silent Partner* (New York, 1908). In theology he ranks as a semi-conservative.

HOBART, JOHN HENRY: Protestant Episcopal bishop of New York; b. in Philadelphia Sept. 14, 1775; d. at Auburn, N. Y., Sept. 12, 1830. He studied at Princeton (B.A., 1793) and was tutor there 1795–98, when he was admitted to holy orders. After having served parishes in Philadelphia, New Brunswick, N. J., and Hempstead, L. I., he became an assistant at Trinity Church, New York, in 1800. He was elected assistant bishop of New York in 1811, and bishop of New York and rector of Trinity in 1816. In 1821 he was appointed to the chair of pastoral theology and pulpit eloquence in the General Theological Seminary, New York, an institution that had been founded largely through his exertions. He also organized at Geneva, N. Y., an Episcopal college, which in 1860 changed its name to Hobart College. He was an eminently successful leader and organizer in his Church, a zealous advocate of episcopal ordination, and the author, or compiler, of a number of books that attained a wide circulation and contributed in a marked degree to the rapid growth of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America during the first half of the nineteenth century. His more important works are: *A Companion for the Altar* (New York, 1804); *Festivals and Fasts* (1804); *Essays on Episcopacy* (1806); *The Clergyman's Companion* (1806); *An Apology for Apostolic Order* (1807); *The Christian's Manual* (1814); and *Sermons on . . . Redemption* (2 vols., New York and London, 1824). His *Posthumous Works* were edited, with a *Memoir*, by W. Berrian (3 vols., New York, 1833).

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HOBBES, hebz, THOMAS: English philosopher; b. at Malmesbury, Wiltshire, Apr. 5, 1588; d. at Hardwick Hall (17 m. n.n.e. of Derby), Derbyshire, Dec. 4, 1679. He was educated at Magdalen Hall, Oxford (B.A., 1608), and upon his graduation was recommended to William Cavendish, afterward first earl of Devonshire, as tutor for his eldest son. This was the beginning of a lifelong intimacy with the Cavendishes. After the death of the second earl, his pupil and patron, he became tutor to the third earl of Devonshire, who in turn became his friend and patron. In his capacity as tutor Hobbes traveled extensively in Europe, meeting many distinguished people and forming friendships with Galileo, Mersenne, Gassendi, and others. In London he met Francis Bacon, Ben Jonson, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, John Selden, and William Harvey. At the beginning of the Long Parliament in 1640 Hobbes fled to Paris, where in 1646 he became mathematical tutor to the prince of Wales, afterward Charles II. His position in Paris having become difficult by reason of suspicions as to his orthodoxy, he returned to England in 1651, submitted to the new government, resumed his position in the household of his patron, and set about finishing his philosophical system. At the Restoration he received a pension of £100 from Charles II. He now engaged in several controversies, both religious and scientific. He attributed his exclusion from the founders of the Royal Society to the malignity of his opponents. In his later years he busied himself by translating Homer and writing in Latin verse his autobiography and an ecclesiastical history.

In epistemology and psychology Hobbes was a sensualist, in metaphysics almost a materialist, and in ethics a hedonist. The only source of knowledge, he maintains, is sensation, the only objects of knowledge are bodies, either natural or political, and the only end of action is self-interest. He regarded motion as the ultimate fact of existence, and self-love as the fundamental law of nature. His political philosophy, his greatest achievement, is based upon these general views. The State, as he argued in his best known work, *Leviathan*, is a contrivance for putting an end to the war of all against all, in the interest of the pursuit of happiness. That there may be no disturbing dissensions, the power of the sovereign must be absolute. This power is merely delegated to him, and is in no sense original or divine. Against Grotius, Hobbes maintained that the social compact is not between the sovereign and his subjects, but between the subjects to obey the sovereign. This absolutism gives rise to the distinctions of good and bad. Whatever the sovereign commands is good, whatever he forbids is bad. Hobbes proposed to remove the evils of sectarian animosity by completely subordinating the ecclesiastical to the secular authority, thus making religion dependent upon the whim of the absolute ruler. In 1666 his views were condemned by the House of Commons, and thereafter he was not permitted to publish anything relating to human conduct.

On account of his rationalistic treatment of religious doctrine Hobbes might well be called the second deist, just as Herbert of Cherbury has been called the first (see Deism). In his day he produced an intellectual ferment comparable only to that produced by Darwinism; and even till the middle of the eighteenth century Hobbism remained a term of reproach. Among his assailants were John Bramhall, Thomas Tenison, John Eachard, Ralph

Cudworth, Henry More, Richard Cumberland, and Samuel Clarke. Though in bad repute at home, abroad Hobbes stood higher as a thinker than any of his contemporaries. His associational psychology and hedonistic ethics were revived by the English utilitarians.

Hobbes's principal works are *De cive* (Paris, 1642; Amsterdam, 1647; Eng. transl., 1651); *De corpore* (London, 1655; Eng. transl., 1656); *The Elements of Law, Natural and Politic* (ed. F. Tönnies, 1889), which was originally published in two parts, *Human Nature, or the Fundamental Elements of Policy* (1650), and *De corpore politico, or the Elements of Law, Moral and Politic* (1650); *Leviathan, or the Matter, Form, and Power of a Commonwealth, Ecclesiastical and Civil* (1651; Lat. transl., Amsterdam, 1668; ed. A. R. Waller, Cambridge, 1904), his most important work; *Of Liberty and Necessity* (London, 1654); *Concerning Liberty, Necessity and Chance* (1656); and *Behemoth* (1679; ed. F. Tönnies, 1889), a history of the Civil War. Hobbes's *Opera philosophica* were published at Amsterdam in 1668, and his *Moral and Political Works* at London in 1750. The standard edition is that of Sir W. Molesworth, *English Works* (11 vols., 1839–45) and *Opera philosophica* (5 vols., 1839–45).

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HOBERG, GOTTFRIED: German Roman Catholic; b. at Heringhausen, Westphalia, Nov. 19, 1857. He was educated at Münster, Dillingen, and Bonn (Ph.D., 1885; D.D., Münster, 1886). He was privat-docent at Bonn in 1886–87, after which he was professor of Old Testament exegesis at Paderborn until 1890, when he was appointed professor of New Testament exegesis at Freiburg, being transferred to his present chair of Old Testament exegesis in 1893. He is a member of the papal committee on the Bible, and besides editing the *Theologische Rundschau für das katholische Deutschland* since 1894, has written *Ibn Ǵinnî de flexione libellus* (Leipsic, 1885); *Die Psalmen der Vulgata* (Freiburg, 1892); *Akademisches Taschenbuch für katholische Theologen* (3 vols., Paderborn, 1892–95); *Die Genesis nach dem Litteralsinn erklärt* (Freiburg, 1899); *Die älteste lateinische Uebersetzung des Buches Baruch* (1902); and an edition of the Hebrew text of Genesis, with the Vulgate (1908).

HOBSON, BENJAMIN LEWIS: Presbyterian; b. at Lexington, Mo., July 31, 1859. He was educated at Central University, Central, Ky. (B.A., 1877), Johns Hopkins University (1881–82), Union Theological Seminary, Va. (1882–83), Princeton Theological Seminary (1883–86), and the University of Berlin (1888–90). After holding Presbyterian pastorates at Springfield, Mo. (1886–87), and Crescent Hill Church, Louisville, Ky. (1891–93), he was appointed in 1893 to his present position of professor of apologetics in McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, Ill.

HOCHMANN (hōh'mān) **VON HOHENAU (HOCHENAU), ERNST CHRISTOPH:** Pietist; b. at Lauenburg (25 m. s.e. of Hamburg) 1670; d. 1721. He began the study of law at Halle, but was expelled in 1693 on account of his eccentric views. In 1697 he was at Giessen, where he lived in intimate association with Arnold and Dippel; in the following year he was a missionary to the Jews in Frankfort-on-the-Main, whence he was soon expelled on the occasion of a general persecution of the Pietists. After a short stay at Darmstadt, whence he was also expelled, he found a refuge at Berleburg on the estates of Count Wittgenstein. Here he lived a devotional and ascetic life and won the esteem and friendship of the ruling family of Wittgenstein, but his restless nature did not suffer him to remain very long in this secluded spot. In 1697 his unsteady wanderings through western, northern and southern Germany had begun; whenever a field of labor opened itself to him, he was expelled. This labor consisted in the nurture of an inner, living, and personal Christianity under an unchurchly and even antichurchly form. External churchliness and loyalty to a creed he considered not only insufficient, but evil, and he vehemently opposed churchdom and orthodoxy. The five main points of his doctrine are: baptism for adults only; the Lord's Supper only for the chosen disciples of Jesus; the possibility of a perfect sanctification on earth; the reign of the spirit, i.e., Christ alone is the head of the congregation, and no human magistrate may institute preachers and teachers; the magistrate belongs to the sphere of nature and is to be obeyed on civil and external matters, but not in things that are contrary to the word of God, to the conscience of the individual, or to the liberty of Christ. Hochmann found many adherents, especially at Crefeld, Duisburg, Mühlheim, Wesel, Emmerich, and other places in the Rhine region; later on, however, there occurred a split in his party on account of differences in regard to the validity of infant baptism.

(F. Bosse.)

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HOCHSTRATEN, JAKOB VAN. See Hoogstraten, Jakob van.

HODGE, ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER: American Presbyterian, son of Charles Hodge; b. at Princeton, N. J., July 18, 1823; d. there Nov. 12, 1886. He studied at Princeton, graduating from both the

college (1841) and the Princeton Theological Seminary (1847), and, after spending three years (1847–1850) in India as a missionary, held pastorates at Lower West Nottingham, Md. (1851–55), Fredericksburg, Va. (1855–61), and Wilkesbarre, Pa. (1861–1864). In 1864 he accepted a call to the chair of systematic theology in the Western Theological Seminary, Allegheny, Pa. Here he remained until in 1877 he was called to Princeton to be the associate of his father in the chair of systematic theology, to the full duties of which he succeeded in 1878. This post he retained till his death. At the time of his death Dr. Hodge was in the zenith of his powers. Every element that entered into his eminent reputation put on its best expression during the closing years of his life. He was public-spirited, and helped every good cause. He was a trustee of the College of New Jersey and a leading man in the Presbyterian Church. He was a man of wide interests and touched the religious world at many points. During the years immediately preceding his death he was writing, preaching, lecturing, making addresses, coming into contact with men, influencing them, and by doing so widening the influence of truth.

Hodge's distinguishing characteristic as a theologian was his power as a thinker. He had a mind of singular acuteness, and though never a professed student of metaphysics, he was essentially and by nature a metaphysician. His theology was that of the Reformed confessions. He had no peculiar views and no peculiar method of organizing theological dogmas; and though he taught the same theology that his father had taught before him, he was independent as well as reverent. His first book and that by which he is best known was his *Outlines of Theology* (New York, 1860; enlarged ed., 1878), which was translated into Welsh, modern Greek, and Hindustani. *The Atonement* (Philadelphia, 1868) is still one of the best treatises on the subject. This was followed by his *Commentary on the Confession of Faith* (1869), a very useful book, full of clear thinking and compact statement. He contributed some important articles to encyclopedias—Johnson's, McClintock and Strong's, and the Schaff-Herzog. He was one of the founders of the *Presbyterian Review*, to the pages of which he was a frequent contributor.

In the pulpit Hodge was a man of marked power. As he was not under the necessity of making fresh preparation every week, he had but few sermons, and he preached them frequently. They were never written; nor were they deliberately planned as great efforts. They grew from small beginnings and, as he went through the process of thinking them over as often as he preached them, they gradually became more elaborate and became possessed of greater literary charm. There are few preachers like him. To hear him when he was at his best was something never to be forgotten. It is possible to entertain different views of what a professor's function ought to be. According to one view a professorship means an opportunity for special investigation and leisurely research, the results of which are communicated in the lecture-room to men who desire knowledge. According to another view the academic lecture is intended to stimulate interest in the department to which it belongs. It is not intended to be a substitute for independent reading and that mastery of the subject which only independent reading can give. According to still another view the professor's business is to see that a certain definite body of instruction is safely and surely transferred from his mind to the minds of those who hear him. He is not only, or even chiefly, to present truth that men may receive if they choose; he is to see that they receive it. Hodge was a teacher of this type, and one of the greatest that America has ever produced. FRANCIS L. PATTON.

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HODGE, CASPAR WISTAR: American Presbyterian, son of Charles Hodge; b. at Princeton, N. J., Feb. 21, 1830; d. there Sept. 27, 1891. During his boyhood he enjoyed the companionship and instruction of Joseph Addison Alexander, who exercised a molding influence upon his life. He was graduated with distinction from the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University) in 1848, and from the Princeton Theological Seminary in 1853. He was ordained to the ministry Nov. 5, 1854, his first pastoral charge being the Ainslie Street Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn. In 1856 he was called to the pastorate of the Presbyterian Church in Oxford, Pa., and in 1860 he was called to the Princeton Theological Seminary as the successor of Dr. Addison Alexander in the chair of New Testament literature. He retained this position till his death.

Only those who came into close relations with Hodge knew how great a man he was. He was singularly modest and retiring. He was free from vanity and self-seeking. He gave himself to the work of his chair, and his permanent influence is to be found in the men whom he trained and who found in him inspiration for the work to which they had consecrated their lives. With theological students was he a great favorite as a preacher, but he was not what is usually called a popular preacher. He had a voice of marvelous richness, but he would never use it for oratorical effect. He preached apparently with the consciousness that the gospel message should make its appeal to men in majestic simplicity and that God's word did not need the aid of human art to give it power or beauty. He made no attempt to decorate the earthen vessel that contained the heavenly treasure—that the excellency of the power might be of God. His sermons were really studies in Biblical theology, and while they were beyond the grasp and abounded in distinctions that would escape the notice of an ordinary audience, they were model discourses for the seminary pulpit. They were university sermons of a high order. They were full of subtle thinking, but always practical. In these sermons the errors of the day were presented to the view of candidates for the ministry, not as though the preacher were a defender of the faith or a professed champion of orthodoxy, but as a Christian friend who would warn his hearers against evil tendencies that might cripple their work or weaken their faith.

Hodge's great work, however, was done in the lecture-room. He did not scatter his energies; his department was the New Testament, and he kept

rigidly to it. It is probable that the students carried more out of his class-room into the actual work of pulpit preparation than out of any other in the seminary. He was a reverent believer in the Bible as the word of God and in the doctrines of the Bible as they are formulated in the creed of his Church. He was honest, fair-minded, and firm. He knew the resources of the enemy and did not underrate them; but he also knew the argumentative resources of Christianity. The consequence was that his lectures strengthened faith and deepened conviction; and men who had no great critical sagacity themselves felt that they had been reenforced immensely by the fact that they had a man of Hodge's scholarship and judgment on the side of the Reformed theology. Hodge did not write for the press. His ideals were very high, and probably dissatisfaction with even his best work had something to do with his resisting all efforts to induce him to publish a book. FRANCIS L. PATTON.

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HODGE, CHARLES: American theologian; b. at Philadelphia Dec. 18, 1797; d. at Princeton, N. J., June 19, 1878. He matriculated at the College of New Jersey in 1812, and after graduation entered in 1816 the theological seminary in Princeton, having among his classmates his two lifelong friends, John Johns, afterward bishop of Virginia, and Charles P. McIlvaine, afterward bishop of Ohio. In 1822 he was appointed by the General Assembly professor of Biblical and Oriental literature. In 1822 he married Sarah Bache, great-granddaughter of Benjamin Franklin. Soon after he went abroad (1826–28) to prosecute special studies, and in Paris, Halle, and Berlin attended the lectures of De Sacy, Tholuck, Hengstenberg, and Neander. In 1825 he founded the *Biblical Repository and Princeton Review*, and during forty years was its editor and the principal contributor to its pages. In 1840 he was transferred to the chair of didactic theology, retaining, however, the department of New Testament exegesis, the duties of which he continued to discharge until his death. He was moderator of the General Assembly in 1846. Fifty years of his professorate were completed in 1872, and the event was most impressively celebrated on Apr. 23. A large concourse, including 400 of his own pupils, assembled to do him honor. Representatives from various theological institutes, at home and abroad, mingled their congratulations with those of his colleagues; and letters expressing deepest sympathy with the occasion came from distinguished men from all quarters of the land and from across the sea. Dr. Hodge enjoyed what President Woolsey, at the jubilee just referred to, hoped he might enjoy, "a sweet old age." He lived in the midst of his children and grandchildren; and, when the last moment came, they gathered round him. "Dearest," he said to a beloved daughter, "don't weep. To be absent from the body is to be present with the Lord. To be with the Lord is to see him. To see the Lord is to be like him." Of the children who survived him, three were ministers of the Gospel; and two of these succeeded him in the faculty of Princeton Theological Seminary, Dr. C. W. Hodge, in the department of exegetical theology, and Dr. A. A. Hodge, in that of dogmatics.

Life.

Dr. Hodge was a voluminous writer, and from the beginning to the end of his theological career his pen was never idle. In 1835 he published his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, his greatest exegetical work, and one of the most masterly commentaries on this epistle that has ever been written. Other works followed at intervals of longer or shorter duration—*Constitutional History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States* (1840); *Way of Life* (1841, republished in England, translated into other languages, and circulated to the extent of 35,000 copies in America); *Commentary on Ephesians* (1856); on *First Corinthians* (1857); on *Second Corinthians* (1859). His *magnum opus* is the *Systematic Theology* (1871–1873), of 3 vols. 8vo. and extending to 2,260 pages. His last book, *What is Darwinism?* appeared in 1874. In addition to all this it must be remembered that he contributed upward of 130 articles to the *Princeton Review*, many of which, besides exerting a powerful influence at the time of their publication, have since been gathered into volumes, and as *Selection of Essays and Reviews from the Princeton Review* (1857) and *Discussions in Church Polity* (ed. W. Durant, 1878) have taken a permanent place in theological literature. This record of Dr. Hodge's literary life is suggestive of the great influence that he exerted. But properly to estimate that influence, it must be remembered that 3,000 ministers of the Gospel passed under his instruction, and that to him was accorded the rare privilege, during the course of a long life, of achieving distinction as a teacher, exegete, preacher, controversialist, ecclesiastic, and systematic theologian. As a teacher he had few equals; and if he did not display popular gifts in the pulpit, he revealed homiletical powers of a high order in the "conferences" on Sabbath afternoons, where he spoke with his accustomed clearness and logical precision, but with great spontaneity and amazing tenderness and unction. Dr. Hodge's literary powers were seen at their best in his contributions to the *Princeton Review*, many of which are acknowledged masterpieces of controversial writing. They cover a wide range of topics, from apologetic questions that concern common Christianity to questions of ecclesiastical administration, in which only Presbyterians have been supposed to take interest. But the questions in debate among American theologians during the period covered by Dr. Hodge's life belonged, for the most part, to the departments of anthropology and soteriology; and it was upon these, accordingly, that his polemic powers were mainly applied.

Literary and Teaching Activities.

Though always honorable in debate, one would not gain a correct idea of his character through judging him only by the polemic relations in which his writings reveal him. Controversy does not emphasize the amiable side of a man's nature. Dr. Hodge was a man of warm affection, of generous impulses, and of John-like piety. Devotion to Christ was the salient characteristic of his

Character and Significance.

experience, and it was the test by which he judged the experience of others. Hence, though a Presbyterian and a Calvinist, his sympathies went far beyond the boundaries of sect. He refused to entertain the narrow views of church polity which some of his brethren advocated. He repudiated the unhistorical position of those who denied the validity of Roman Catholic baptism. He gave his sympathy to all good agencies. He was conservative by nature, and his life was spent in defending the Reformed theology as set forth in the Westminster symbols. He was fond of saying that Princeton had never originated a new idea; but this meant no more than that Princeton was the advocate of historical Calvinism in opposition to the modified and provincial Calvinism of a later day. And it is true that Dr. Hodge must be classed among the great defenders of the faith, rather than among the great constructive minds of the Church. He had no ambition to be epoch-making by marking the era of a new departure. But he earned a higher title to fame in that he was the champion of his Church's faith during a long and active life, her trusted leader in time of trial, and for more than half a century the most conspicuous teacher of her ministry. The garnered wisdom of his life is given in his *Systematic Theology*, the greatest system of dogmatics in our language.

Francis L. Patton.

Bibliography: His life was written by his son, A. A. Hodge, New York, 1880, and by F. L. Patton, Boston, 1888. Articles upon his life and work are by E. Bond, in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, xxx. 371 sqq.; T. Dwight, in *New Englander*, xl. 222 sqq.; J. W. Chadwick, in *The Nation*, xxxi. 381; cf. *London Quarterly*, ii. 56 sqq.

HODGE, RICHARD MORSE: Presbyterian; b. at Mauch Chunk, Pa., May 25, 1864. He was graduated from Princeton (B.A., 1886) and Princeton Theological Seminary (1889). He then spent an additional year in study at Princeton University, after which he held pastorates at Westminster Presbyterian Church, Milwaukee (1890–92), and Calvary Church, Riverton, N. J. (1893–95). From 1895 to 1898 he was dean of the Missionary Training School for Women, Fredericksburg, Va., and was then superintendent of the Bible Institute, Nashville, Tenn., for three years (1898–1901). Since 1901 he has been director of extension courses for lay students in Union Theological Seminary, and has also been lecturer in Biblical literature in Teachers' College, New York City, since 1902. He has prepared *Historical Atlas of the Life of Jesus Christ* (Wytheville, Pa., 1898) and *Historical Maps for Bible Study* (New York, 1906–07).

HODGSON, JAMES MUSCUTT: Scotch Congregationalist; b. at Cockermouth (23 m. s.w. of Carlisle), Cumberland, England, Aug. 18, 1841. He was educated at Glasgow University (M.A., 1862), Lancashire Independent College, Manchester (1862–1865), and Edinburgh University (D.Sc., 1882). After being pastor of the Congregational Church at Uttoxeter, Staffordshire, from 1866 to 1875, he was appointed professor of apologetics and the science and philosophy of religion in Lancashire Independent College, where he remained until 1894, since when he has been principal and Baxter professor of systematic theology in the Theological Hall of the Congregational Churches of Scotland, Edinburgh. In theology he is a liberal Evangelical. In addition to editing T. M. Herbert's *Realistic Assumptions of Modern Science Examined* (London, 1879), he has written *Philosophy and Faith : A Plea for Agnostic Belief* (Manchester, 1885); *Philosophy and Revelation: A Plea for Scientific Theology* (1888); *Facts and Ideas in Theology* (Edinburgh, 1894); and *Theologia Pectoris: Outlines of Religious Faith and Doctrine Founded on Intuition and Experience* (1897).

HODY, HUMPHREY: Anglican Biblical scholar; b. at Odcombe, Somersetshire, Jan. 1, 1659; d. while on a journey to Bath Jan. 20, 1707. He was educated at Wadham College, Oxford (B.A., 1679; M.A., 1682; B.D., 1689; D.D., 1692), where he obtained a fellowship in 1685. In 1690 he became chaplain to Stillingfleet, bishop of Worcester. For his support of the government in a controversy with Henry Dodwell regarding nonjuring bishops he was made domestic chaplain to Tillotson, archbishop of Canterbury, in 1694, and retained the position under Archbishop Tenison. In 1695 he was presented by Tenison to the rectory of Chartham, Kent, which he immediately exchanged for the rectories of St. Michael Royal and St. Martin Vintry, London. In 1698 he became regius professor of Greek at the University of Oxford, in 1701 rector of Monks' Risborough, Buckinghamshire, and in 1704 archdeacon of Oxford. To the controversy about convocation he contributed *Some Thoughts on a Convocation, and the Notion of its Divine Right* (London, 1699) and *A History of English Councils and Convocations, and of the Clergy's Sitting in Parliament* (3 parts, 1701). His reputation, however, rests upon his valuable work on the history of the text and translations of the Old Testament, *De bibliorum textibus originalibus, versionibus Græcis et Latina Vulgata, libri iv* (1705). The first book contains his earlier dissertation, *Contra historiam Aristeæ de LXX interpretibus* (Oxford, 1684), in which he had shown that the alleged letter of Aristeas concerning the origin of the Septuagint was a forgery. By his will he founded ten scholarships at Wadham College for the study of Greek and Hebrew.

Bibliography: The principal source for a Life is the account in Latin, chiefly from an autobiography in English, prefixed by S. Jebb to Hody's posthumous *De Græcis illustribus*, London, 1742. A biography is still lacking. Consult also E. Riehm, *Einleitung in das A. T.*, pp. 480 sqq., Halle, 1890; H. B. Swete, *Introduction to the O. T. in Greek*, p. 15, Cambridge, 1900; *DNB*, xxvii. 77–78.

HÖE VON HÖENEGG, MATTHIAS: Court preacher in electoral Saxony in the time of the Thirty Years' War; b. at Vienna Feb. 24, 1580; d. at Dresden Mar. 4, 1645. He was educated at the University of Wittenberg. At the age of twenty-one he became licentiate of theology and soon afterward lectured at the university. In 1602 he was appointed third court preacher in Dresden, but in 1603 was transferred to Plauen as superintendent apparently because he lacked tact in his intercourse with his older colleagues. His activity in Plauen (1604–11) was successful and beneficent, as he was removed from the court spirit which incited his

ambition. The elector continued to show him favor and allowed him, in 1611, to accept a call to Prague as director of the Evangelical churches and schools, with the condition that he would resign when his services were needed in Saxony. In 1613 John George I. called him to Dresden as first court preacher and he remained there until his death. After a five-years' struggle he succeeded in ousting his colleague, Hänichen, so that he could assert his influence without restriction. This influence he used over his well-meaning but narrow-minded ruler for the advantage of church and school. But he was not satisfied with the influence of a preacher and theologian; as a Protestant church ruler he tried to compete with the highest dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church. He became a politician to whom all parties paid their regards on account of his influence, but by his political activity he injured the interests not only of Saxony, but of the Evangelical cause in general.

The Catholic League as well as the Protestant Union sought the favor of the elector of Saxony. As Höe tried to retain the friendship of both Roman Catholics and Protestants, the elector wavered in his decision, and after the outbreak of the war attempted to mediate between the contending parties. Höe thought he could persuade John George to accept the crown of Bohemia, and his ambition was greatly disappointed when he learned that the Calvinist count palatine had been elected. The fact that Saxony now took the part of the Roman Catholic emperor and combated the Protestants must be attributed largely to Höe's mortified ambition and intrigues. His course incited the greatest resentment among his contemporaries, and he was accused of being responsible for the approaching disaster. The suspicions, expressed at the time, that Höe had been bribed by money from the imperial and papal party have not yet been silenced. However, his conscience was awakened by the persecution of Protestantism which was tolerated in Bohemia in contravention of all agreements, and he asked the interference of the emperor. No attention was paid to his entreaties, and his injured vanity made it easy for him to accommodate himself to the change of policy on the part of his sovereign, who by the Edict of Restitution and by the unexpected appearance of Gustavus Adolphus on German soil was forced to convene an assembly of Protestant estates in Leipsic in 1631, and to organize the Protestant league of Leipsic.

Of Höe's literary works may be mentioned his *Evangelisches Handbüchlein* (Leipsic, 1603; new ed., Dresden, 1871), in which he sought to show from Scripture that the Lutheran faith was truly catholic while the papal doctrine was erroneous and against the clear word of God. He also wrote a commentary on the Galatians (1605) with the special purpose of explaining the doctrine of justification in the Lutheran sense, a commentary on the Apocalypse, the result of thirty years' work, and numerous polemical treatises against the Calvinists, among them *Augenscheinliche Probe, wie die Calvinisten in 99 Punkten mit den Arianern und Türken übereinstimmen* (1621). He had a part in the *Decisio Saxonica* (1623) which settled the Christological controversy between the Tübingen and Giessen theologians (see CHRISTOLOGY).

(F. W. DIBELIUS.)

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HOEFLING, hō'fling, **JOHANN WILHELM FRIEDRICH:** German Lutheran; b. at Drossenfeld (a village between Kulmbach and Baireuth) 1802; d. at Munich Apr. 5, 1853. He was educated at the University of Erlangen, and in 1823 was appointed pastor at Würzburg. Four years later he was called to St. Jobst, near Nuremberg, where he officiated until 1833, when he was appointed to the chair of practical theology at the University of Erlangen. In 1852 he was elected chief councilor of the consistory of Munich. In 1835 Höfling published at Erlangen a treatise entitled *De symbolorum natura, necessitate, auctoritate et usu*, and in 1837 *Die liturgische Abhandlung von der Komposition der christlichen Gemeindegottesdienste*. His most important work, however, was his *Das Sakrament der Taufe* (2 vols., Erlangen, 1846–48), a work distinguished by its comprehensive, though condensed, formulation of Lutheran dogma, while his *Grundsätze evangelisch-lutherischer Kirchenverfassung* (1850) attracted much attention. He was one of the founders of the *Erlanger Zeitschrift für Protestantismus und Kirche*, and at the general synod held at Ansbach from Jan. 28 to Feb. 22, 1849, he represented the theological faculty of Erlangen, his ideas furnishing the basis for the suggestions offered by that synod concerning the future organization of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Bavaria. His *Liturgisches Urkundenbuch*, a fragment of a large work which he had planned, was edited after his death by Thomasius and Harnack (Leipsic, 1854).

(J. J. HERZOG†.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The "Memorial" was edited by Drs. Nägelbach and Thomasius, Erlangen, 1853.

HOEKSTRA, hūk'stra, **SYTSE:** Dutch theologian; b. at Wieringerwaard (32 m. n. of Amsterdam) Aug. 20, 1822; d. at Ellecom, province of Gelderland, June 12, 1898. He studied at the Mennonite seminary at Amsterdam, and became a professor there in Feb., 1857, after having spent several years in the Mennonite ministry. He held this professorship till June, 1892. After 1877 he was also professor of theology at the University of Amsterdam. He was one of the most eminent exponents of the modern theological school of Holland. In numerous exegetical and critico-historical treatises on Biblical subjects, in *ThT*, and in his *De benaming "De Zoon des Menschen"* (Amsterdam, 1866) he showed himself a versatile scholar and an incisive investigator, while in several popular works and in his sermons he unfolded for educated laymen the character and the foundation of Christian belief. In *Bronnen en Gronslagen van het godsdienstig geloof* (1864); *De Hoop der Onsterflijkheid* (1867); *Gedachten over het Wezen en de Methode der godsdienstleer* (*ThT*, vi.) he did the same for the theologian, in the belief that he was leading men back to "the faith of man in himself, in the truth of his own being." With this formula he expounded the hypothesis that the cos-

mical order is such as to guarantee the realization of man's highest personality, seeing that, whereas man is continuously threatened by this order, he has actually emerged from it. Thus he espoused an anthropocentric-teleological, or ethical, idealism, under which religion was characterized as a matter of the heart, not positively demonstrable in a logical sense, but still defensible, and quite as indestructible as science in its particular domain. Thanks to this idealism, the path of religious philosophic thought in modern theological Holland, that lay partly circumscribed by the intellectualism of J. H. Scholten (q.v.), partly by the empiricism of C. W. Opzoomer (q.v.), was cleared for more diversified and more fruitful studies.

Hoekstra's important advances in his critical and Christological views, together with his constant veneration of Christianity as the most perfect form of the religious consciousness, may distinctly be seen from a comparison of his earlier writings *De Weg der Wetenschap op godgeleerd en wijsgeerig gebied* (1857) and *De Zondeloosheid van Jezus* (1862), with his later *Wijsgeerige godsdienstleer* (2 vols., 1894) and *Christelijke geloopleer* (2 vols., 1898).

Hoekstra likewise wrote a work on doctrinal ethics (3 vols., 1894) and a history of ethics (2 vols., 1896). If in *De Ontwikkeling van de Zedelijke idee* (1862) he conceded an independent origin of morality, it nevertheless appears from his treatises on the relation between religion and morality, utilitarian morality (cf. *ThT*, ii. 117 sqq., and 390 sqq.), and his exposition of the consciousness of duty in *Gronslag van het besef van onvoorwaardelijken plicht* (1873), as also from his vindication of indeterminism in *Vrijheid in verband met zelfbewustheid, zedelijkheid en Zonde* (1858), that his main object was to maintain that the moral consciousness, on its potential side, has likewise its roots in a metaphysical principle, in the ideal nature of spiritual personality, in which case it can but serve to confirm the belief in the reality of a supersensuous cosmic order.

I. Molenaar.

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HOELEMANN, hō″le-man, **HERMANN GUSTAV:** Professor at Leipsic; b. at Baude (near Grossenhain, 19 m. n.n.w. of Dresden), Saxony, Aug. 8, 1809; d. at Leipsic Sept. 28, 1886. He studied at the Royal School at Neissen and, from 1829, at Leipsic, where, in 1832, he became privat-docent in the philosophic faculty. Before long, however, he turned wholly to theology, and in the winter of 1834–35 he delivered his lectures on the Epistle to the Philippians, later printed as a commentary (Leipsic, 1839). After teaching for ten years in the gymnasium at Zwickau, he returned to Leipsic, where, from 1861, he ranked as honorary ordinary professor. His lectures, generally delivered in Latin, treated various writings of the Old and New Testament. He also directed a Hebrew society, which he subsequently affiliated with the *Societas exegetica Lipsiensis*. The most important of his writings not already mentioned were the *Bibelstudien* (4 series, Leipsic, 1859–75). In all his writings and lectures he adhered firmly to the older dogmatic concept of inspiration.

Theodor Ficker.

Bibliography: *Allgemeine lutherische Kirchenzeitung*, 1886, no. 46; *Sächsisches Kirchen- und Schulblatt*, 1886, no. 46.

HOENNICKE, hūn′ni′ke, **GUSTAV:** German Protestant; b. at Heiligenstadt (48 m. n.w. of Erfurt) Sept. 11, 1871. He was educated at the universities of Tübingen, Halle (Ph.D., 1897), and Berlin (lic. theol., 1900), and since 1901 has been privat-docent for New Testament exegesis at the latter university. Theologically he is a pupil of Bernhard Weiss. He has written *Studien zur altprotestantischen Ethik* (Berlin, 1902) and *Chronologie des Lebens des Apostels Paulus* (Leipsic, 1903).

HOFACKER, LUDWIG and **WILHELM:** Two brothers, both popular and influential preachers of Württemberg. The elder, **Ludwig,** was born at Wildbad (29 m. w. of Stuttgart) Apr. 15, 1798; d. at Rielingshausen, near Marbach (12 m. n.n.e. of Stuttgart), Nov. 18, 1828. He studied at the seminaries of Schönthal and Maulbronn, and in 1816 at the seminary in Tübingen. Here, in his eighteenth year, he experienced a sudden conversion. He became vicar in Plieningen and Stuttgart, and in 1826 preacher at Rielingshausen.

His younger brother, **Wilhelm,** was born at Gärtringen (21 m. s.w. of Stuttgart) Feb. 16, 1805; d. in Stuttgart Aug. 10, 1848. He was educated at Stuttgart and (1823–28) the University of Tübingen. He was more versatile than his brother, and his open mind enabled him to appreciate various theological tendencies. After his examination he became for eight months the substitute of his brother, who had fallen ill, and after his death was regular pastor for the same length of time. In 1830 he became repetent at Tübingen, in 1833 dean at Waiblingen, and in 1835 dean at St. Leonard's in Stuttgart, where he developed a far-reaching activity in church and school affairs. He was broader than his brother, but less powerful. Ludwig's sermons bear the stamp of his personal experiences and convictions. They are powerful and original, but the range of thought is narrow. Everything centers in sin and grace. His strength is in depicting the corruption of sin and preaching repentance. He does not argue or reason, but addresses himself immediately to the conscience and feeling; he is intent upon immediate conversion. His sermons lack all exegesis; whenever the text fits into his one and only theme of sin and grace he uses it, but otherwise it is for him only a means to an end. Wilhelm Hofacker's sermons are also based upon the experience of grace, but they show the repose and harmony of a more steady Christian development, united with a more rounded education. But Wilhelm, no less than his brother, emphasizes the doctrine of atonement. The grace of the Savior of sinners is his one and all-absorbing theme; he is also intent upon awakening and converting, but conversion is for him a gradual process. He does not penetrate the innermost heart

of the sinner with the same force as Ludwig, but he knows how to depict the condition of the heart with greater psychological skill in its more delicate nuances. Ludwig Hofacker's sermons were exceedingly popular and have been sold in hundreds of thousands of copies (42d ed., Stuttgart, 1892; *Ausgewählte Predigten*, ed. F. Bemmann, Leipsic, 1892). Wilhelm's sermons, ed. Kapff, appeared in the 3d ed. at Stuttgart, 1880.

(Robert Kübel†.)

Bibliography: A. Knapp, *Ludwig Hofackers Leben*, Calw, 1895; there is a sketch of Wilhelm Hofacker's life in Kapff's edition of his sermons, ut sup.; *Wilhelm Hofackers Leben*, by his son Ludwig, appeared Stuttgart, 1872.

HOFFBAUER, CLEMENS MARIA. See Liguori, Alfonso Maria de.

HOFFMAN, EUGENE AUGUSTUS: Protestant Episcopalian; b. in New York City Mar. 21, 1829; d. there June 17, 1902. He was educated at Rutgers College (B.A., 1847), Harvard (1847–48), and the General Theological Seminary, from which he was graduated in 1851. He was missionary at Elizabethport, N. J. (1851–53), rector of Christ Church, Elizabeth, N. J. (1853–63), St. Mary's, Burlington, N. J. (1863–64), Grace, Brooklyn, N. Y. (1864–69), and St. Mark's, Philadelphia (1869–79). In 1879 he was elected dean of the General Theological Seminary, a position which he retained until his death. In this dignity his personal means and his executive ability enabled him to reestablish the seminary on a firm foundation and practically to reorganize it. His rectorates were equally energetic and beneficial, churches being established at Millburn and Woodbridge, N. J., while he was at Christ Church, and the first working men's club in the United States being founded by him at St. Mark's. He was the author of *Free Churches* (New York, 1856); *The Eucharistic Week* (1870); and *Genealogy of the Hoffman Family* (1899).

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HOFFMANN, ANDREAS GOTTLIEB: German Protestant Semitic scholar; b. at Welbsleben, near Magdeburg, Apr. 13, 1796; d. at Jena Mar. 16, 1864. He was educated at the gymnasium of Magdeburg and the University of Halle (Ph.D., 1820), where he became privat-docent in 1822. There he lectured on Oriental languages, especially on Arabic, and received calls to Königsberg and Jena. He chose the latter and was active there until his death, becoming senior of the theological faculty and of the academic senate. His lectures on Jewish antiquities were most popular, but he also taught church history, Old and New Testament isagogics, exegesis of the Old Testament, and Semitic and Hindu languages, though his main strength lay in Hebrew and Syriac. His *Grammatica Syriaca* (Halle, 1827; Eng. transl. by B. H. Cowper, *The Principles of Syriac Grammar*, London, 1858) was based on that of Michaelis. Other important works are *Entwurf der hebräischen Alterthümer* (Weimar, 1832); *Das Buch Henoch* (2 parts, Jena, 1833–38), translated from the English and Ethiopic; *Commentarius philologico-criticus in Mosis benedictionem, Deut. XXXIII.* (Halle, 1823). Besides his original works, he edited and translated much, and wrote numerous articles for periodicals and encyclopedias.

(G. Frank†.)

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HOFFMANN, CHRISTOPH. See Friends of the Temple.

HOFFMANN, DANIEL: German Lutheran theologian; b. at Halle 1540; d. at Wolfenbüttel, Brunswick, 1611. About 1558 he studied at Jena. He was called by Duke Julius of Brunswick in 1576 to Helmstedt at the opening of the university as professor of ethics and dialectics, and in 1578 was transferred to the theological faculty. He became the most influential adviser of Duke Julius in the affairs of the churches and the university; he opposed the rise of the Philippists (q.v.) and humanists in Helmstedt, but at the same time assumed a peculiar position toward foreign Lutheran theologians, especially since he rejected the doctrine of ubiquity, and thus helped to separate the Lutheran State Church of the duchy of Brunswick from those Lutherans who accepted the Formula of Concord. In 1589 Duke Julius died, and the new duke, Henry Julius, immediately appointed the humanist J. Caselius and several of his friends as professors, who soon won such an influence that Hoffmann could assert his theological predominance only with great difficulty. He was especially incited against Caselius and his followers in 1597 by a ducal rescript in their favor, forbidding the public teaching of Ramus' philosophy as contradicting the statutes of the university. Adherence to Ramus meant likewise rejection of the study of Aristotle as pagan and dangerous to faith. Hoffmann and his adherents saw in the ducal prohibition of Ramism an attack on Christianity, and Hoffmann answered in a treatise consisting of 101 theses. Several colleagues of Hoffmann, especially Caselius himself, saw in the theses of Hoffmann a criticism of their academic labors. Again and again conferences were arranged to settle the dispute, even the sovereign was appealed to, but all attempts at reconciliation failed because of Hoffmann's violence and obstinacy. The petty university quarrel of Hoffmann is of theoretical and historical importance, because it is on the one side an echo of the medieval conflict between nominalism and realism, and, on the other side, a prelude of the later conflict between rationalism and supranaturalism. Because of the controversy Hoffmann was deposed and expelled from Helmstedt in 1601, but he was rehabilitated in 1603.

(Paul Tschackert.)

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HOFFMANN, HEINRICH: German Protestant; b. at Magdeburg Mar. 24, 1821; d. at Halle May 20, 1899. He studied theology at Berlin and Halle. For several years he was prevented by ill health from taking up pastoral work, but in 1852 he accepted a call to Berlin as assistant at the Church of St. Matthew. In 1854 he was called to the Neumarkt parish, Halle, where he labored till his retirement in 1895. He was particularly successful

in meeting the difficulties due to the strong following of the Friends of Light (see FREE CONGREGATIONS IN GERMANY, § 1), and later to the rapid increase in the population of his parish. He reapportioned the parish, increased the number of clergy, and erected the splendid new Church of St. Stephen. His theology was Christocentric on a Lutheran basis. He excelled as a pulpit orator and, besides many single sermons, published several collections that have been frequently reprinted. To be mentioned are: *Zwölf Festpredigten* (Halle, 1862); *Der Heilsweg* (1864); *Sünde und Erlösung* (1873); *Unterm Kreuz* (1884); *Kreuz und Krone* (1891); *Die Bergpredigt* (1893); *Eins ist Not* (1895); and *Die letzte Nacht und der Todestag des Herrn Jesu* (1898).

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HOFFMANN (HOFMANN), MELCHIOR: German mystic and Anabaptist; b. at Schwäbisch-Hall (35 m. n.e. of Stuttgart), Württemberg, toward the end of the fifteenth century; d. at Strasburg about 1543, He was a leather dresser by trade; in the pursuit of his calling he went to Livonia and, in 1523, advocated there the doctrines of Luther and of the Wittenberg Reformation.

Earlier Preaching.

With this teaching Hoffmann blended a strain of mysticism that later assumed predominance in his beliefs. He is the type of the untrained lay preacher of the Reformation period who, by sheer force of religious fervor, vehemence of speech, and directness of appeal, presented a formidable competition to the educated clergy. The lack of preachers of the latter type in Livonia made Hoffmann's success the more emphatic. Driven from Wolmar in the autumn of 1524, he made Dorpat the scene of his labors, where an attempt on the part of the archiepiscopal authorities to seize him led to an iconoclastic uprising (Jan. 10, 1525). Hoffmann's activity was regarded askance by a faction of the Reformers, but he succeeded in obtaining a letter of approval from Luther and Bugenhagen, and with augmented authority engaged in a feud with the official clergy, against whom he upheld the divine nature and origin of the preacher's mission, advocating also a prophetic interpretation of the Scriptures. Forced finally to leave Dorpat, in 1526 he became preacher among the Germans of Stockholm. There he published a commentary on Dan. xii. which, with other writings, revealed a growing departure from the Lutheran position. The dogmas of justification and predestination were still retained, but eschatological ideas came into the foreground, centering in a belief in the speedy approach of the end of the world. With much labor he evolved his own scheme of the Last Day, and passed from the attitude of preacher to that of prophet, whose mission was to announce the coming of the Lord. The year 1533 was set for the end of things.[1]

In 1527 Hoffmann left Stockholm for Holstein. There he preached for two years openly at odds with Luther. Frederick I. of Denmark, however, after subjecting his doctrines to a test, permitted him to continue his mission labors, and assigned Kiel as his special field. As the result of a prolonged controversy with Armsdorf at Magdeburg and with the Sleswick preacher Marquard Schuldorp, in the course of which Hoffmann formally abjured the Lutheran theory of the Lord's Supper, Frederick I. ordered a public disputation to be held at Flensburg (Apr. 8, 1529), at which the Lutheran party was represented by Bugenhagen. Hoffmann expounded, not without skill, his conception of the Lord's Supper, the kernel of which was that the bread is not the body of Christ but is a seal, sign, and memorial of the body of the Savior. In receiving the bread the communicant through faith receives the Word, and with it the spiritual body of Christ, into his heart. The origins of his doctrine are to be found in the early form of the Lutheran doctrine and in Carlstadt; the principal sources, however, are in his own mystical thought. He attempted, too, to distinguish between his theory and that of Zwingli.

Doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

Banished from Denmark as a result of the disputation, Hoffmann arrived at Strasburg, where at first he was welcomed by Butzer on account of his opposition to Luther, but soon lost favor.[2] During 1529 and 1530 he issued a number of writings the most important of which, an interpretation of Revelation, reveals his doctrine in completely developed form. The history of the Church is divided into three periods: the first extended from the Apostles to the establishment of the power of the papacy; the second was marked by the unrestrained might of the papacy; the third, beginning with the Reformation, was marked by the final revelation and the substitution of the Spirit for the letter. Two witnesses of the final day were to appear and were to fall before the power of the papacy united with the followers of the letter; then was to follow the disappearance of truth, the destruction of the spiritual Jerusalem by the Turks, and the final appearance of Christ. Hoffmann now drew nearer to the Anabaptists, for whom he demanded in 1530 the exclusive possession of a church in the town. Hoffmann was arrested and compelled to leave Strasburg, but his experiences only hastened his entrance into the ranks of the Anapabtists, to whom he brought enthusiasm and courage at a time when their power in South Germany was already broken. The impetus which he lent to the movement was not without appreciable influence in preparing the way for the excesses of John of Leyden (see ANABAPTISTS, II., § 2; MÜNSTER, ANABAPTISTS IN.) From 1530 to 1533 he appeared alternately in East Friesland and in the Strasburg region. His labors were the most important factor in transplanting Anabaptist doctrines from the south to the north of

Joins the Anabaptists.

[1] In his eschatology, which was not marked by originality, Hoffmann followed the Franciscan Spirituals, the Taborites (see HUSS, JOHN, HUSSITES), Nicholas Storch, and others.
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[2] On his way to Strasburg, in cooperation with Carlstadt he propagated anti-Lutheran views in East Friesland, where Lutheranism and Zwinglianism were in open conflict. There he gained an influence that was momentous in consequences.
A. H. N.

Germany, where Emden became the center of his activity. In East Friesland he published his most important work, the *Ordonnantie Gottes*, the basic principle of which is the bond that exists between God and man. Toward the end of 1530 he went to Holland, where the Anabaptist teachings had already been disseminated by Jan Volkertszoon. The preaching of the two established an Anabaptist community in Holland which exercised a historic influence in later times.

In 1533 he came once more to Strasburg. It was the year set for the final catastrophe, and Strasburg was to be the new Jerusalem. In May the authorities caused him to be arrested, in which act he saw but the fulfilment of his own prophecies. Before his judges he asserted that he had never preached opposition to authority, and disavowed whatever was illegal in Anapabtist teaching. Yet it was quite apparent that, however submissive to authority he may have been, the effect of his teachings was revolutionary. In June Butzer and other leaders of the Strasburg Church disputed with him on his doctrine of the body of Christ (he maintained that the material body of the Savior was not derived from the virgin, but that the eternal Word had been made flesh in the womb of Mary by a special act of God), the freedom of the will, and infant baptism. Hoffmann held fast to his views, so that even the passing of the date fixed for the destruction of the world did not shake him. The number of "Melchiorites" in Strasburg, on the lower Rhine, in Westphalia, and in Holland continued to grow. While he was personally irreproachable in character, his chiliastic hopes inspired the outrages of the fanatics of Münster who, until the capture of that city, possessed his hearty sympathy. Kept under restraint by the authorities, Hoffmann refused to abjure his millennial expectations, though in his later years he showed himself more in sympathy with the Strasburg Church. The Melchiorites remained a separate faction among the Anabaptists for some time, and spread as far as Holland and England, but in Germany disappeared ultimately among the other Anabaptist parties. The influence of Hoffmann may be traced in the writings of Menno Simon and other Anabaptist writers. See Anabaptists, II., § 2. (A. Hegler†) K. Holl.

Later Years.

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HOFFMANN, (LUDWIG FRIEDRICH) WILHELM: Court preacher in Berlin and general superintendent of the Brandenburg consistory; b. at Leonberg (8 m. w.n.w. of Stuttgart), Württemberg, Oct. 30, 1806; d. at Berlin Aug. 28, 1873. He was educated at the seminaries of Schönthal and Tübingen, and in 1829 became vicar of Heumaden, near Stuttgart, but three years later was appointed a lecturer in the seminary of Tübingen. The following year he was made vicar at Stuttgart, and went to Winnenden in 1834 as deacon, where, together with the physician Zeller, he was active in the sanitarium at Winnenthal. In 1839 he was called to Basel as inspector of missions, and there reorganized the educational institutions, expanded the missionary territories of Basel in Asia, Africa, and North America, and reformed the missionary meetings of his congregation, increasing their interest by lectures on geography, history, and ethnology. At the same time he lectured at the university. From Basel he went to Tübingen as professor and superintendent of the seminary. In 1852 Frederick William IV. appointed him court preacher, and soon afterward made him general superintendent of the Brandenburg consistory. For two decades he held this position, for which his theological convictions, in which he was an adherent of Bengel, especially adapted him, since he regarded the union of the Lutheran and Reformed confessions as an indispensable requirement of the time. Here, too, he carried out the king's plan for the organization of a *Domkanditatenstift*, in which theological students should be enabled to continue their studies, gain practice in sermons and catechesis, and do practical work among the congregation of the cathedral. Among Hoffmann's numerous literary works special mention may be made of the following: *Missionsstunden und Vorträge* (3 vols., Stuttgart, 1847–53); *Missionsfragen* (Heidelberg, 1847); *Die Epochen der Kirchengeschichte Indiens* (Berlin, 1853); *Die christliche Litteratur als Werkzeug der Mission* (1859); and *Deutschland einst und jetzt im Lichte des Reiches Gottes* (1868). He also reedited Johann Albrecht Bengel's *Erklärte Offenbarung Johannes* and, in collaboration with Heim, a preacher in Stuttgart, published *Erbauliche Auslegung der grossen Propheten nach Auszügen aus den Schriften der Reformatoren*. He likewise wrote a refutation of the *Leben Jesu* of David Strauss (Stuttgart, 1836), who had been his fellow student at Tübingen, and for thirteen years was the editor of the *Baseler Missionsmagazin*, besides being the author of numerous sermons and reports of missionary activity. (R. Kögel†.)

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HOFFMANN, RICHARD ADOLF: German Protestant; b. at Königsberg June 22, 1872. He was educated at the universities of Königsberg and Halle, and after being assistant to Prof. A. H. E. Klöpper from 1893 to 1897, became in the following year privat-docent for New Testament exegesis and dogmatic theology at Königsberg, and professor of New Testament exegesis in 1907. He has written *Die Abendmahlsgedanken Jesu Christi* (Königsberg, 1896) and *Das Markusevangelium und seine Quellen* (1904).

HOFFMANNITES. See Friends of the Temple.

HOFFMEISTER, hef-mai'ster, **JOHANNES:** Augustinian; b. at Oberndorf (43 m. s.w. of Stuttgart), Württemberg, c. 1510; d. at Günzburg (30 m.

w.n.w. of Augsburg) Aug. 21 or 22, 1547. It is uncertain where he received his education, and when and where he entered the Augustinian order. About 1527 he lived in Mainz, and was designated as an Augustinian when he was matriculated at the University of Freiburg, Dec. 15, 1528. From 1533 he was prior in the monastery of the imperial city of Colmar. The monastery was much demoralized, and Hoffmeister took great pains to effect better conditions. The Evangelical faith threatened to enter its doors, and the prior inflicted the severest punishments upon monks who deserted their faith. He perceived that deficiency in preaching was one of the great causes of the decline of the Roman Catholic Church, and by his own example attempted reforms. In 1542 he became provincial of the Augustinians in the Rhenish-Swabian province. There were only eleven monasteries left, with less than forty monks, and Hoffmeister tried his best to keep them from the Lutheran heresy. In the mean time his efficiency and activity in preaching had become known. He was called to preach in the cathedral of Worms during the session of the diet in 1545. Shortly after his return to Colmar, the emperor summoned him to take part in a colloquy at Regensburg. But he was little adapted for peaceful negotiations, and religious disagreement was intensified by personal differences and mutual lack of respect. During his sojourn in Regensburg Hoffmeister preached in the cathedral, and at the solicitation of the emperor continued his activity there even after the colloquy. In 1546 he was appointed vicar-general over all Augustinian monasteries of Germany; but his main interest was devoted to the politics of the emperor. After his activity in Regensburg he preached for two months at Munich. On Jan. 15, 1547, he went to Ulm, and a few months later to Dillingen. Shortly before his death the emperor called him to the Diet of Augsburg, but he died on the way thither.

Hoffmeister's first published work was *Dialogorum libri duo, quibus aliquot ecclesiæ dogmata Lutheranorum et verbis et sententiis roborantur* (Freiburg, 1538), in which he tried to show that the "innovators" not only disagreed among themselves, but that they defended the Roman doctrines by some statements in their writings. A second treatise, written in still more vehement language, was directed against Luther's Schmalkald Articles, *Wahrhafftige Entdeckung und Widerlegung deren Artikeln die M. Luther auff das Concilium zu schicken und darauff beharren fürgenommen. Mit vorgesetzter Anzeig wer das Concil fliehe oder hindere* (Colmar, 1539). The Council of Colmar, although it was Roman Catholic, confiscated the publication because it feared serious trouble in consideration of the growing Evangelical sentiment; but Hoffmeister was not discouraged. The colloquies at Hagenau, Worms, and Regensburg induced him to treat the Augsburg Confession as he had done the Schmalkald Articles. In this way originated his treatise, *Judicium de articulis confessionis fidei anno MDXXX Cæsar. M. Augustæ exhibitis, quatenus scilicet a Catholicis admittendi sunt aut reiiciendi* (published after his death, Mainz, 1559; German, Constance, 1597). In the hope of winning the Protestants by a real betterment of conditions which he expected from the council, Hoffmeister made at times sweeping concessions, and with great frankness expressed himself on the conditions of his Church. Another polemical treatise of Hoffmeister is entitled *Canones sive claves aliquot, ad interpretandum sacras Bibliorum scripturas* (Mainz, 1545). He also published *Loci communes rerum theologicarum* (Ingolstadt, 1547), a comprehensive compilation of passages from the Church Fathers, which has been frequently edited, and several series of sermons.

(T. Kolde.)

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HOFMANN, JOHANN CHRISTIAN KONRAD: German Protestant; b. at Nuremberg Dec. 21, 1810; d. at Erlangen Dec. 20, 1877. He was educated at the universities of Erlangen (1827–29) and Berlin (1829–32), devoting himself chiefly to theology and history. After teaching several years at the gymnasium in Erlangen, he became repetent in the theological faculty of the university, where he first became entirely absorbed in the study of the Bible and where the questions to which he devoted the best part of his life began to occupy him. These were especially the doctrine concerning the inspiration of the Bible, prophecy, and fulfilment. In 1838 he established himself as privat-docent, at the same time keeping his position at the gymnasium. In 1841 he was appointed professor at the university; the following year he accepted a call to Rostock. Although the number of his hearers was here considerably smaller, a new field of activity opened itself—in union with Kliefoth, Karsten, and Wichern, he labored zealously in the field of home missions. He remained at Rostock until 1845, when he was recalled to Erlangen, and it was chiefly through his proficiency and his working in harmony with his colleagues that a new period of prosperity for the university dated from this time. His interest in missions increased in the land of his birth; he became committee member of different missionary societies and member of the General Synod of Bavaria, and took part in the editorship of the *Zeitschrift für Protestantismus und Kirche*. He was also interested in political affairs, and represented Erlangen and Fürth at several sessions of the Bavarian parliament. But he did not lose sight of the main purpose of his life, his career as professor and writer. He lectured on a great number of books in the New Testament, on hermeneutics, propædeutics, and ethics, the secret of his success lying in the fact that he confined himself in a consistent, clear, and precise manner to the subject-matter and pretended to be nothing but an interpreter of Scripture.

Among Hofmann's first publications were two historical works—*Geschichte des Aufruhrs in den Sevennen* (Nördlingen, 1837) and *Weltgeschichte für Gymnasien* (1839; 2d ed., 1843). His first effort in theology was *Die siebenzig Jahre des Jeremias*

und die siebenzig Jahrwochen des Daniel (Nuremberg, 1836). The seventy weeks of Daniel he counts in the order 62+1+7; the 62 extend from 605 to 171 B.C.; the single week, from 171 to 164 B.C.; the other seven mark the intervening period before Christ's coming. In his *Weissagung und Erfüllung im Alten und Neuen Testament* (2 parts, Nördlingen, 1841–44) he brought prophecy into closest connection with history, and treated it as an organic whole. History itself is prophecy; and each period contains the germ of the future, and prefigures it. The entire Scriptural history is a prophecy of the final and eternal relation between God and man. The incarnation marks the beginning of the essential fulfilment; for Christ is the new man, the antitype of the old; but it marks only the beginning of this fulfilment; for the head is only the realization of the intended perfect communion with God, when it is joined with the body of believers. Prophecy in the Old Testament becomes ever richer and richer in its forms, but points only to one goal—the God-man. He is then, in turn, the starting-point for new prophecy and hope; his appearance being the prefigurement of the final glorification of the church of believers. The permanent worth of this work consists in the proof that the Old and New Testaments are parts of a single history of salvation; displaying the gradual realization of redemption for the race. Hofmann's second great work, *Der Schriftbeweis* (3 parts, Nördlingen, 1852–56; 2d ed., 2 vols., 1857–60), is an attempt to prove the authenticity and divine origin of Christianity from its records by using the Biblical record as one organic whole. He started from the idea that, to understand Christianity, it was necessary only to develop the simple fact that makes men Christians, or the communion of God with man mediated by Christ. He starts with the new birth, and with him all is historical. The work aroused opposition. The author had denied the doctrine of vicarious atonement, and the charge of denying the atonement altogether was made against him. To this he replied in *Schutzschriften* (5 parts, 1856–59). His other works were *Die heiligen Schriften des Neuen Testaments* (9 parts, 1862–81); *Theologische Ethik* (1878); *Encyklopädie der Theologie* (Nördlingen, 1879); *Biblische Hermeneutik* (1880). (A. Hauck.)

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HOFMANN, RUDOLPH HUGO: German Lutheran; b. at Kreischa (10 m. s. of Dresden) Jan. 3, 1825. He studied at the University of Leipsic 1843–47, and after being afternoon preacher in the university church at Leipsic in 1850–51 and pastor at Störmthal, near Leipsic, in 1851–54, was professor in the Fürstenschule at Meissen until 1862. In 1862 he was appointed associate professor of practical theology at Leipsic, and four years later became honorary full professor, while since 1871 he has been active professor of the same subject. He is also a privy ecclesiastical councilor and a cathedral canon, and in theology is an Evangelical Lutheran. He has written *Das Zeichen des Menschensohns am Himmel* (Leipsic, 1849); *Das Leben Jesu nach den Apokryphen* (1851); *Symbolik* (Leipsic, 1856); *Die Lehre vom Gewissen* (1866); *Predigten gehalten in der Universitätskirche zu Leipzig* (1869); *Schulbibel* (Dresden, 1872); *Zum System der praktischen Theologie* (Leipsic, 1875); *Predigten über das Vaterunser* (1881); *Die freien christlichen Liebestätigkeiten und die Gemeinde* (1884); *Rechtfertigung der Schule der Reformation gegenüber ungerechtfertigten Angriffen* (1889); and *Galiläa auf dem Oelberg* (1896).

HOFMEISTER, hof-mai'ster (Gr. *Oikonomos*), **SEBASTIAN:** Swiss Reformer; b. at Schaffhausen 1476; d. at Zofingen (25 m. s.e. of Basel) Sept. 26, 1533. He became a Franciscan friar in Schaffhausen, and then went to Paris and studied classical languages and Hebrew for five years. In 1520 he returned to his native city, and in the same year became lector in the monastery of his order at Zurich and entered into close friendship with Huldreich Zwingli, whose influence upon him became decisive. He was removed to Constance and thence to Lucerne, and at the latter place began his reformatory activity. After having been accused of heresy and expelled from the town, he returned to Schaffhausen, where he became preacher of the principal church. He attacked the ecclesiastical abuses so forcibly that he won over a great number of the citizens to his cause, while at the same time he excited the opposition of another and stronger party.

In Jan., 1523, Hofmeister took part in the religious colloquy between Zwingli and Faber, vicar-general of Constance, at Zurich, and was one of the presidents in the second disputation at Zurich in Oct., 1523, against the Anabaptists. The Romanists sent Erasmus Ritter of Bavaria to Schaffhausen to oppose Hofmeister's activity, but Ritter took the part of the Reformer. In 1525, however, Hofmeister had to leave the city. He became preacher in Zurich after abandoning his antipedobaptist views, but in 1526 appeared again in Grisons as leader of an important religious colloquy at Ilanz. In 1528 he went to the disputation at Bern, where, upon the recommendation of Zwingli, he was retained and employed as professor of Hebrew and catechesis. But after a few months he went to Zofingen as preacher. For the cause of the Reformation in Switzerland he wrote *Ein treuwe ermanung an die Strengen, Edlen, festen, frommen und weisen Eidgenossen, das sich nit durch ire falschen propheten verfürt, sich wider die lere Christi setzend* (1523).

(E. Blösch†.)

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HOFSTEDE, PETRUS: Dutch theologian; b. at Zuidlaren (10 m. s.s.e. of Groningen), province of Drenthe, Apr. 16, 1716; d. at Rotterdam Nov. 27, 1803. He studied theology at Groningen and Franeker, and in 1739 became preacher at Anjum, in the province of Friesland. Then he was appointed preacher in Steenwijk and in Oost-Zaandam, until

in 1749 he received a call to Rotterdam. In 1770 he became also *professor honorarius* at the university and lectured on church history and archeology.

In 1767 there appeared at Paris a political novel *Bélisaire*, by J. F. de Marmontel, in which the author defended not only entire freedom of religion, but preached the doctrine that it is of no consequence what a man believes if he only lives in a virtuous manner. The work caused a sensation, and after being translated into Dutch in 1768, was attacked by Hofstede in his *De Belisarius van den Heer Marmontel beoordeeld* . . . (Rotterdam, 1769). He calls Marmontel a Pelagian naturalist, because he admits the truth of revelation, but denies its necessity for salvation; because he taught that all virtuous pagans are saved; and because, according to his view, reason is entirely sufficient for salvation. He appealed to Scripture against Marmontel and undertook to prove that a closer investigation would leave little of the virtues of those pagans who have been praised most. Hofstede's work appeared in three editions in one year, and a German translation was published in Leipsic and Wesel. Being attacked by liberal theologians, especially by the Remonstrants, for statements concerning the sins of Socrates and other pagans, he now found it necessary to combat with all his powers the views of the Liberals. He contributed considerably to *De Nederlandsche Bibliotheek*, an orthodox periodical, founded in 1774. His principal work is *Byzonderheden over de Heilige Schrift* (3 parts, 1766–75), in which he shows himself a keen exegete, a good scholar, and a capable archeologist. In *Godsgeleerde en Geschiedkundige Verhandeling over het klein getal der egte Martelaars* (appended to the second part of his *Byzonderheden*) he tried to prove that in the first centuries as well as in later times there were few who revealed the true character of a martyr. In *Oost-Indische kerkzaken* (2 arts, 1779–80) he developed a good plan for presenting Christianity to the inhabitants of the East-Indian colonies.

(S. D. van Veen.)

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HOFSTEDE DE GROOT, PETRUS: A founder of the Groningen school of theology (see Groningen School); b. at Leer, in East Friesland (38 m. e. of Groningen), Oct. 8, 1802; d. at Groningen Dec. 5, 1886. He was educated at the University of Groningen, and in 1826 he became preacher of the Reformed congregation in Ulrum, province of Groningen. In 1829 he was appointed professor at Groningen as successor of Clarisse. With his colleagues, J. F. van Oordt and L. G. Pareau, he founded the Groningen School (q.v.), and edited the periodical *Waarheid in Liefde*, to which he contributed numerous articles of a scientific and devotional nature.

Although De Groot adhered to the reality of the facts of salvation and laid all emphasis upon the person, the work, and the life of Christ, looking upon him as the center of universal history, he was nevertheless in open contradiction with the doctrine of the Church in important articles of belief. He qualified the doctrine of the absolute inspiration of the Bible, denied the divinity of Christ and the atoning power of his blood, and rejected the dogma of the Trinity. The orthodox party protested against his teachings, but the synod took the part of De Groot, and the number of his adherents among preachers and members of congregations increased steadily. The orthodox opposition, however, also became stronger and stronger. It can not be denied that the Groningen School paved the way for "modern theology," but De Groot was not able to follow it like some of his associates. He was too mystically inclined to find peace in its intellectualism, and his conservative spirit rebelled against its destructive criticism; but the influence of the modern tendency increased in such a way that many of his disciples and adherents forsook him. In this way De Groot was brought into closer contact with the orthodox.

Of his numerous works may be mentioned *Epistula ad Hebræos cum Paulinis epistolis comparata* (Utrecht, 1825) and *De Clemente Alexandrino, philosopho Christiano* (Groningen, 1826). He re-edited Hugo Grotius' *Adnotationes in Novum Testamentum* (9 parts, Groningen, 1826–34). The fruits of his studies in church history were: *Geschiedenis van de Broederenkerk te Groningen* (Groningen, 1832) and, in his old age, *De oud-katholieke beweging in het licht der Kerkgeschiedenis* (Groningen, 1877). Of text-books he published *Institutio Theologiæ naturalis sive disquisitio philosophica de Deo hominisque cum Deo coniunctione* (Groningen, 1834; 4th ed., 1861); *Institutiones historiæ ecclesiæ Christianæ* (Groningen, 1835; 2d ed., 1852, under the title *Lineamenta historiæ ecclesiæ Christianæ*); *Overzicht der Bijbelsche en Kerkelijke Godgeleerdheid* (Groningen, 1856). With Pareau he published *Encyclopædia theologi Christiani* (Groningen, 1840; 3d ed., 1851), and *Compendium dogmaticæ et apologeticæ Christianæ* (Groningen, 1840; 3d ed., 1848). For a larger circle of readers he published *Voorlezingen over de geschiedenis der opvoeding des menschdoms door God tot op de komst van Jezus Christus* (2 vols., Groningen, 1846; 3d ed., 1855), to which, in 1885, was added a third part under the title *Gods openbaring de bron van Godsdienst en Wijsbegeerte voor het menschdom* (2d revised ed., 1885). He expounded the principles of the Groningen School in *De Groninger Godgeleerden en hunne eigenaardigheid* (Groningen, 1855; Germ. transl., Gotha, 1863). In reply to Isaak da Costa's attack on the Groningen School he wrote *De berichten omtrent de Groninger Godgeleerde School van I. da Costa toegelicht* (Groningen, 1848). His views on "modern theology" are found in his works *Over moderne theologie* . . . (2d ed., Groningen, 1863) and *De moderne theologie in Nederland, volgens de hoofdwerken harer beroemdste voorstanders* (Groningen, 1870; Germ. transl. by W. Krafft, Bonn, 1870). (S. D. van Veen.)

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medeleden van de Maat-Schappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde, pp. 237–309, Leyden, 1887 (contains list of works).

HOGE, MOSES DRURY: Presbyterian; b. at Hampden Sidney, Va., Sept. 17, 1818; d. at Richmond, Va., Jan. 9, 1899. He was educated at Hampden Sidney College (B.A., 1839) and at Union Theological Seminary, Va. (then also at Hampden Sidney), from which he was graduated in 1843. He was a tutor in Hampden Sidney College (1839–43), and after being assistant pastor to W. S. Plumer at the First Presbyterian Church, Richmond, Va. (1843–45), founded the Second Presbyterian Church in the same city in 1845, of which he was pastor until his death. He rendered important service as a member of a committee to prepare a hymnal long used in his denomination and to revise its Directory of Worship, and in 1888 was chairman of a committee appointed by his Assembly to confer with a similar committee of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America regarding cooperation. In theology he held to the inerrancy of the Scriptures and to strict Calvinism as set forth in the Westminster standards. From 1854 to 1859 he was one of the proprietors and editors of *The Central Presbyterian* (Richmond). A volume of his sermons was edited by his daughter under the title *The Perfection of Beauty* (Richmond, 1903).

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HOHENALTHEIM, hō'h''en-ālt'hīm, **SYNOD OF:** An assembly of Sept. 20, 916, in the Church of St. John *apud Altheim in pago Retia*, i.e., the present Hohenaltheim, south of Nördlingen, in Bavaria. The names of the bishops who were present are not preserved; the Saxon bishops kept aloof, but as those present considered themselves as a *generalis synodus*, it is probable that the bishops of the three remaining tribes appeared in full number. King Conrad did not take part, but the pope was represented by Bishop Peter von Orte. The purpose of the synod was to a certain extent political since the bishops in the interest of the kindgom united themselves against the rebellious leaders of the tribes in South Germany. Another aim was to strengthen the episcopate, which was menaced on many sides. Measures were adopted to protect church property, and to safeguard clerics and bishops against accusations of laymen and against unlawful insults by rebellious leaders. A set of resolutions aimed at the reform of the Church. In the political sphere the synod did not attain its purpose, as the attitude of King Conrad was as unfavorable afterward as before, but a great part of its resolutions entered into the collections of canon law. (A. Hauck.)

Bibliography: The acts of the synod are preserved in a manuscript from Freising, now at Munich, and printed in *MGH, Leg.*, ii. 1 (837), 554–661. Consult Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, iv. 578–587; Hauck, *KD*, iii. 13 sqq.

HOHENLOHE, hō'h'en-lō'h''e, **ALEXANDER LEOPOLD FRANZ EMMERICH, PRINCE OF:** German Catholic; b. at Kupferzell (37 m. n.e. of Stuttgart), Württemberg, Aug. 17, 1794; d. at Vöslau (19 m. s.s.w. of Vienna) Nov. 17, 1849. His scientific and theological education at Vienna, Bern, and elsewhere was frequently interrupted. In 1815 he was ordained subdeacon and became domiciliarus at Olmütz. In 1816 he was ordained priest and undertook a journey to Rome which seems to have decisively influenced him. After his return to Germany he lived at Munich, and in 1819 went to Bamberg, preaching and writing and everywhere finding popular response and esteem. In 1821 he appeared at Würzburg where he made a great sensation as preacher, and it was here that he met Martin Michel, a Franconian peasant, who performed miraculous cures by means of prayer. Prince Alexander himself wrought miracles, but yet he had so many failures that his whole undertaking had to be restricted. He retired to Austria and in 1825 was made canon at Grosswardein in Hungary, in 1829 grand provost, and in 1844 bishop of Sardica *in partibus*. Driven from Hungary by the revolution of 1848, he went to Innsbruck, in 1849 to Vienna, and finally to Vöslau. Of his numerous writings may be mentioned his *Lichtblicke und Erlebnisse aus der Welt und dem Priesterleben* (Regensburg, 1836). (Paul Tschackert.)

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HOLBACH, hōl''bāH', **PAUL HENRI THYRY, BARON D':** French philosopher; b. at Heidelsheim (13 m. e.n.e. of Carlsruhe), Baden, 1723; d. in Paris June 21, 1789. At an early age he went to Paris, where he resided till his death. As he was a man of wealth and a good host, he was able to make his house the meeting-place of the most eminent thinkers of the time. Among his friends were Condorcet, Diderot, Helvétius, D'Alembert, and Rousseau. Holbach was himself one of the cleverest and most influential men of the group of freethinkers that assembled about him. He had much in common with the English deists and translated into French many works of deistic writers. He was one of the Encyclopedists (q.v.), and is known particularly as the champion of naturalism, or Materialism (q.v.). Adopting the current egoistic and sensualistic ethics of the period, he opposed Christianity and all positive religion as an impediment to the pursuit of happiness. Of his numerous antireligious and materialistic works, which were printed in foreign countries and published anonymously, all have now passed into oblivion except one, the famous *Système de la nature* (2 vols., London [Amsterdam], 1770; Eng. transls., *Nature and her Laws*, 2 vols., 1820; *The System of Nature*, London, 1884), which has been called the Bible of materialism. It should be added that in his personal life Holbach was better than his books. Despite his theories he was a man of the most unselfish benevolence. He was an egoist and materialist in the interest of humanity. See Deism, II., § 2.

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HOLINESS OF GOD.

Etymology of the Hebrew Term (§ 1).
Holiness in Objects (§ 2).
Holiness in the People (§ 3).
The Primitive Content of "Holiness" (§ 4).
Ethical Content of "Holiness" (§ 5).
Holiness as Transcendence (§ 6).
Usage in the New Testament (§ 7).
In Theology (§ 8).

The word used in the Hebrew of the Old Testament for "holiness" is *ḳadhesh*, while "holy" is expressed by *ḳadhosh*, both connected with the denominative verb *ḳadhash*. The efforts to trace the origin of the idea from the etymology have not been satisfactory. It has been connected (by Fleischer, Delitzsch, and Baudissin) with a root *ḳadhadh*, "to cut off, to separate," and so appears to have a purely negative connotation. But the word itself does not tell from what or for what the separation takes place, leaving more exact definition to be made by the limiting expressions. Another derivation proposed (especially by Dillmann, on Isa. vi. 3 and in his *Alttestamentliche Theologie*) is from a root found in Arabic and Ethiopic, *ḳada*, "to be pure, clear" (Assyrian *ḳuddushu*, "brilliant"; cf. Hebr. *ḥadhash*, "new, shining"). This derivation has the advantage over the other that etymologically it gives a positive as against a negative sense which applies easily to deity and to divine things. Yet it is to be remembered that holiness in the Old Testament is not necessarily conjoined with the idea of brilliance. In the historical usage of the Old Testament *ḳadhosh* has always a religious sense, and a better knowledge will be gained from examination of the historical usage than from investigation of etymological possibilities. Such an examination involves the double question, what holiness means as applied to things and persons and as applied to God.

1. Etymology of the Hebrew Term.

Objects, times, and the like are called holy when they belong to God, are devoted or dedicated to him, are then no longer "profane or common," and so are excluded from ordinary use. Examples of such things are the temple, the tabernacle, and their belongings, the Sabbath and festivals, and heaven as God's dwelling-place (Lev. vi. 9 sqq., xix.; Isa. lviii. 13, lvii. 15). In such cases the idea of separation is consequent upon the holiness of the things; holiness is primary, separation is secondary. The relation of the notion to persons is well exemplified in Num. xvi. 5, 7. Priests and priestly persons are holy doubtless because they belong to God; but in this passage a weightier circumstance enters than mere external relationship—there is involved personal quality. Whoever belongs to God must have the essential character which accompanies such relationship. This is brought out in relation to the Nazirite in Num. vi. 5 sqq., and with especial clearness in I Sam. xxi. 6 in connection with the gift of the shewbread to David. So, according to Lev. xxi. 5 sqq., it is expected of the Levite that his relation to deity and the consequent holiness will affect and govern his external relations—he will not make himself impure by contact with a corpse, by shaving his head, or by taking other than a virgin as his wife. Another kind of holiness is stated in Isa. iv. 3, where those remaining in Jerusalem are holy, but because the "filth" of the women is washed away and Zion's blood-guiltiness is done away. The underlying fact here, too, is not mere relationship to deity, but ethical quality is implied (cf. Isa. i. 26).

2. Holiness in Objects.

The same idea comes out in relation to the people as a whole in Num. xvi. 3, in that they are holy just as the priests are holy (verse 5). They belong to God, who dwells among them; they are in a connection of special nearness to him, are his possession, and have the right of approach to him (cf. Ex. xix. 4 sqq.), and consequently are under certain obligations to exhibit ethical or religious qualities. Holiness here, therefore, implies a condition and a demand; it involves both cultic and ethical requirements (Lev. xix. 2, "Ye shall be holy: for I the LORD your God am holy"). This is the point of view of the entire Holiness Code in Lev. xi. sqq., especially xi. 44–45, which gives expressly both external ritual and ethical duties. Thus the double conception of holiness comes to light. On the one side Israel, as exemplifying the holiness of God, is not to touch or deal with certain impure things, and is to keep certain observances; on the other, Israel is to honor father and mother, to do righteousness, to practise charity and eschew evil. So in Ex. xix. 5–6 it appears that if Israel keeps the commands of God it will be God's possession and a kingdom of priests and a holy people, showing the underlying conception of character as belonging essentially to the idea. And this is rooted in the thought of the possession by God of the people which is to be holy. The conception of separation is, therefore, throughout only secondary.

3. Holiness in the People.

The term *ḳadhosh* in its application to God, however, implies throughout, both etymologically and historically, a negative sense. If things and persons are not in themselves holy, but are so because they belong to God, holiness as applied to him must involve what is essential to his attributes as deity and what is worthy of him. But just what this involves is not stated in the Old Testament in any simple formula which is good for all steps in the development which the idea certainly underwent. In early times in the mind of the people the holiness of God implied something fearful and unapproachable; in the height of the prophetic age, the content was strongly ethical; in the law and whatever was connected with it the transcendence of God came out as the motive of the ritual and service. The earlier and popular notion comes out in such passages as Lev. x. 2–3; I Sam. vi. 20, where the idea of God is that of a power who by destruction punishes those who by coming near to him invade his holiness. To such a being access can be had only through painstaking preparation and care. The inclusion of this idea in the late Priest Code proves only how tenacious the idea was.

4. The Primitive Content of "Holiness."

But this is only one side of the thought. As soon as God came to be conceived as an ethical being, *ḳadhosh* came to have an ethical content, not because in itself it meant "pure," but because it was applied to deity to whom that quality was at-

tributed. So Amos (ii. 6–7) speaks of the unethical dealings of Israel as acts which profane the holy name of Yahweh. The "holy" name of Yahweh is his name and his being as God of Israel and of the world, and since this being is regarded as ethical in essence, the conception of holiness is that of ethical purity. When, then, in Amos iv. 2 God swears by his holiness, it does not mean by his majesty; and when, in vi. 8, he swears by himself he must swear at least by his ethical majesty and sublimity. Similarly, in Hos. xi. 9 God is represented as asserting the difference between himself and man as the ground why he will not utterly destroy Ephraim. This ethical content must exist also in the passage Isa. vi. 3 sqq., where the prophet as a sinful man fears lest he be consumed by the holy God, because as a sinful man he has come near to the ethically pure and sublime Being. The idea of the unapproachability of God remains, but it is spiritualized and totally changed. So in the speech of the seraphim a difference is expressed in the words "holy" and "glory" (*kabhodh*); the first expresses the essence of God's being, the second the external manifestation of His holiness. Similarly the prophet speaks of the "Holy One of Israel" when he wishes to express the inner essence of God as related to Israel, while, as suggested by Ps. xviii., the expression "glory of Israel" is available to convey the idea of his external manifestations. Yet the two ideas of holiness and glorification are brought together in Lev. x. 3, in which God is sanctified to the priests and glorified to the people. The people see the glory of Yahweh, the priests have closer access and know more of his essential character.

5. Ethical Content of "Holiness."

When Israel began to express the idea of God in an emphatic exposition of his ethical and spiritual character, the growth of the notion of holiness in this sense became more extended. This took form in the idea of transcendence and sublimity, and is found especially in Ezekiel and the Priest Code expressing itself not merely in the ethical, but also in the cultic and ceremonial purity of mankind. It is this thought which dominates the legal provisions, that Israel is to exemplify the holiness of God. And the sense of the sin of man enhanced the emphasis upon the transcendence and supermundane essence of deity and the recession of deity to a distance from man. So it is at this point that the idea of separateness reenters. And the separateness of Israel from the Gentiles but mirrors that of God from the world, viewed in this aspect (Lev. xx. 26). But the ethical remains dominant. Dishonoring of parents is forbidden, not because to do it is heathen, but because it is unethical. The same point of view comes out in Ezekiel, though not with the same emphasis. Thus in xxxvi. 25 sqq. the purification from all defilement and the renewing of the heart through the spirit of God is the essence of the sanctifying activity of God.

6. Holiness as Transcendence.

A review of the entire case as presented in the Old Testament makes evident that it is not a proper conclusion to assert that the idea of the holiness of God is but one side of his essential being; rather it is the comprehensive designation for the total content of the divine Being in his relation to the external world. So that the "holiness" of God expresses all that is implied in the word *kabhodh*, "glory"; while the latter expresses in particular the divine majesty. The development of the thought therefore shows first an extension from the popular idea of unapproachableness to that of sublimated ethical purity which sinks again to a partial expression of externalized or transcendental separation. (R. Kittel.)

Several words are used to convey the idea of holiness in the New Testament—*hagios*, *hagnos*, and derivatives from these. *Hagiazein* signifies to cause to share in God's holiness, whether the act is referred to God or to men. *Hagiasmos* designates either the process of making holy (I Thess. iv. 3; I Pet. i. 2) or the result of this process (Rom. v. 22, vi. 19; Heb. xii. 14). *Hagiosunē* stands for the holy character which corresponds to the gospel (II Cor. vii. 1; I Thess. iii. 13), also for the inner spirit of Jesus (Rom. i. 4). *Hagiotēs* describes either the holy character of man (II Cor. i. 12) or of God (Heb. xii. 10). *Hagnos*, from the same root as *hagios*, in the New Testament as in classical Greek refers to chastity (Tit. ii. 5; I Pet. iii. 2), to sincerity (II Cor. xi. 2–3) or freedom from defilement (Phil. iv. 8; I Tim. v. 22; Jas. iii. 17). *Hagios* like *hagiazein* has reference either to God or to some aspect of his creation, especially men, as objects of God's electing and redeeming grace. In general holiness is applied (1) to God. It represents his ethical purity and perfection manifested in reaction against sin, but also in cleansing and finally redeeming those whom he elects (Luke i. 49; John xvii. 11; I Pet. i. 15–16). (2) Since holiness is the essential characteristic of God, the same is true of the Spirit of God. He is holy, as the principle of the divine self-communication (I Cor. ii. 10; Mark xi. 13), the permanent principle of the new life (Mark i. 8; Rom. xv. 16; Tit. iii. 5), and of special divine gifts (Luke i. 15, 35, 67). (3) Jesus as holy occupies a unique relation to God (Mark i. 24; Luke iv. 34; John vi. 69; Acts iv. 30), and in virtue of an act of self-dedication (John xvii. 19) he stands in a peculiar relation to men, partly with reference to his name or mystic union with him, and partly as the cause of their sanctification (I Cor. vi. 11, i. 2; Eph. v. 26; Heb. ii. 11). (4) Holiness is also applied to men who are called to share the holiness of God (John xvii. 17; I Cor. i. 2; II Cor. vii. 1; Eph. i. 4); or they are designated simply as holy or saints (Mark vi. 20; Luke i. 70; Eph. i. 1, iii. 5; Rev. xiii. 10), or there is here the characteristic term for Christians in general (Acts ix. 13, xx. 32; I Cor. xvi. 1). It is also the description of those who are set apart for the service of God (cf. John x. 36). (5) The term has further to do with persons and things set apart as already belonging to God ("the name," Luke xi. 2; "blood of the covenant," Heb. x. 29; "Christ as Lord," I Pet. iii. 15), or as associated with God for an ethical end ("every creature," I Tim. iv. 5; "vessels unto honor," II Tim. ii. 21). (6) Finally it concerns objects which derive their character from their relation to God, as a given place (Matt. xxiv.

7. Usage in the New Testament.

15; Acts xxi. 28), city (Rev. xxi. 2), law (Rom. vii. 21), the Scriptures (Rom. i. 2), calling (II Tim. i. 9), covenant (Luke i. 72), and nation (I Pet. ii. 9). From the foregoing, it is evident that while the idea of holiness in the New Testament follows lines already clearly marked in the Old Testament, it is characterized by a distinctive difference. It is, e.g., finally emancipated from all ceremonial associations. As applied to God, it is no longer as in contemporary Judaism connected with transcendence in the sense of exaltation and aloofness from the world and men. Its sole reference is as in Hos. xi. 9 to the inner essence of the nature of God, whether God is thought of as a personal being or in relation to men. It is true that holiness as the designation of God is far less frequent in the New than in the Old Testament and the term holiness is giving place to that of love, but this does not justify the contention of Ritschl that its meaning in the New Testament is lacking in clearness and that it is not valid for Christianity (*Justification and Reconciliation*, iii. 255, Edinburgh, 1900). No tension is affirmed as between holiness and love; holiness is rather the essential quality of love viewed in relation to the inner side of God's character as perfect consistency with the ethical ideal of personality. As applied to men, holiness is also freed from all ceremonial content and refers only to their God or Christlike character and deeds.

8. In Theology.

In theology, the holiness of God has several references—an immanent predicate of his nature, a transitive attribute of activity, which, moreover, sustains a particular relation to love in the doctrine of the atonement. As an immanent predicate of the divine Being, it designates the inmost and fundamental essence of God in which all other properties are embraced and from which all activities originate. Something of its etymological significance has always clung to it; God is supramundane, exalted, incorruptible, absolutely unique. In comparison with the defects and impurity of the world, he is the perfectly pure and spotless One. Holiness in God is the "infinite beauty and excellence of his nature" (Jonathan Edwards, *Essay on the Trinity*, ed. G. P. Fisher, p. 97, New York, 1903), "the perfect agreement of the divine willing with the divine being" (G. Thomasius, *Christi Person und Werk*, i. 137, Erlangen, 1856), "Conformity to his own perfect nature" (W. G. T. Shedd, *Dogmatic Theology*, i. 362, New York, 1888). On account of this inner essential excellence, God is the absolutely good Being; from this fact springs his ethical sovereignty; here too is found the principle which determines his redemptive activity. Holiness is also a transitive attribute of God. In this sense it was defined by Baier as the "rectitude of the divine will in virtue of which he wills all that is just and good in accordance with his eternal law." Quenstedt held that it is the "supreme, faultless purity in God which demands from his creatures a corresponding purity." According to Schleiermacher it is the "legislative divine causality in human life." Holiness is that attribute in God by which in all his relations to moral beings he maintains and realizes his ethical perfection. Thus "he is the one unconditioned Law of the good, the Power which both must and does react against the evil" (F. A. B. Nitzsch, *Dogmatik*, p. 415, Freiburg, 1902). It is therefore directed not merely to the conquest and eradication of sin, but to the creation and perfection of the highest good and the kingdom of God. So far as holiness involves the consistency of God's holy action with reference to men, it is designated as Righteousness (q.v.). Since the Reformation, holiness has been conceived with special regard to love: holiness the fundamental attribute of God, love conditioned and limited by it. Thus, it has been affirmed that God may be merciful but he must be just. Mercy may exist under conditions which preclude its expression; holiness, never, since the very existence of holiness is dependent on its being exercised. Mercy is therefore optional, but justice is necessitated. The significance of this conception of the relation of holiness to love appears in the doctrine of the atonement, where the application of mercy—once justice is satisfied—is limited to those whom God has chosen (Calvin, *Institutes*, III., xxiii. 11; J. Owen, *Works*, "Dissertation on the Divine Justice," x. 483–624; W. G. T. Shedd, *op. cit.*, i. 218–219, 319–390; A. H. Strong, *Systematic Theology*, i. 296, Philadelphia, 1907). Holiness and love have also been related to each other as distinct attributes of God, but yet not as implying conflict or requiring reconciliation. God's action in redemption thus equally expresses both qualities, and each of these is as fundamental as the other. The distinction between holiness and love, however, except so far as love is regarded as primarily emotional in content, is hard to maintain and in the discusion tends to fade out (W. N. Clarke, *Christian Theology*, pp. 83–93, New York, 1898). The reason for this is not far to seek. If love is regarded as the supreme designation of God in the New Testament (I John iv. 16), we shall find in the history of the idea of God the explanation of what would otherwise not be clear. Holiness, God's elevation above the world, his ethical absoluteness, his persistent reaction against sin, and as such the moral ideal of his people's life, was the earlier form of the idea of God (Lev. xx. 2). Later, both experience and reason yielded up that wider interpretation of the character of God in relation to men which is registered in the term "righteousness." In Jesus' consciousness, however, appears the full disclosure of the divine nature and will; the Fatherhood of God lays bare the hidden depths of God's being. The association of the terms "holy" and "righteous" in Jesus' prayer in the upper room as descriptive of "Father" is in the highest degree significant (John xvii. 11, 25). Instead, therefore, of being left behind in Christianity (cf. A. Ritschl, *Justification and Reconciliation*, iii. 255), or regarding it as antagonistic to love, "holiness" and "righteousness" are the earlier yet integral forms through which God was leading his people to the perfect knowledge of himself as love. It is an anachronism in the doctrine of the atonement to set holiness over against love, as having to be satisfied ere love can come to expression. On the other hand, to express the divine purpose of love to set

men free from sin, the term " holy love " states the essential truth (cf. T. Haering, *Der Christliche Glaube*, pp. 217–219, Calw, 1906).

C. A. Beckwith.

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HOLL, KARL: German Protestant; b. at Tübingen May 15, 1866. He studied at the university of his native city (Ph.D., 1889), and, after being an assistant in the preparation of the edition of the Church Fathers by the Berlin Academy of Sciences for two years, became privat-docent at the University of Berlin in 1896. In 1898 he was made titular professor at the same university, but resigned in 1900 to accept the position of associate professor of church history at Tübingen, returning to Berlin in 1907 as full professor in the same subject. He has written *Die Sacra Parallela des Johannes Damaszenus* (Leipsic, 1896); *Enthusiasmus und Bussgewalt beim griechischen Mönchtum* (1898); *Fragmente vornicänischer Kirchenväter aus den Sacra Parallela* (1899); *Amphilochus von Ikonium in seinem Verhältnis zu den grossen Kappadoziern* (Tübingen, 1904); and *Modernismus* (1908).

HOLLAND.

I. Protestant Churches.
1. The Reformed Church.
2. The Christian Reformed Church.
3. The Lutheran Church.
4. Baptists.
5. Remonstrants.

II. The Roman Catholic Church.

III. The Jansenist Church.

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The kingdom of Holland (or the Netherlands), on the western border of Continental Europe, has an area of 12,650 square miles and a population (1905) of 5,591,701, of whom about three-fifths are Protestants. The conversion of the Netherlands was begun under Dagobert I. (628–638), continued by Willibrord (q.v.), and completed by Charlemagne toward the end of the eighth century. The inhabitants now enjoy full religious liberty. The adherents of the several sects have equal civil and religious rights and privileges, and enjoy complete freedom of administration in everything relating to their religion and its exercise. The several religious bodies, save the Christian Reformed Church, and a new body called "The Reformed Churches" (1892), which refuse such aid, are subsidized by the state. In the northeastern parts of the country Protestantism prevails, in the southern parts Roman Catholicism, while in the central parts both these forms are fairly well represented. During the last century there has been a slow but steady increase of Protestants and Jews, and a corresponding decrease of Roman Catholics.

I. Protestant Churches.—1. The Reformed Church (Nederlansch Hervormde Kerkgenootschap): This body took its rise at the beginning of the Reformation. Its doctrines and polity began to be formulated as early as 1566, and after passing through successive revisions took a form at the Synod of Dort (1619), which lasted with unimportant changes for a couple of centuries. It was not, however, until the Peace of Westphalia (1648) that the Reformed religion became the recognized religion of the country. Its adherents constituted the national church. In the interval between 1795 and 1816 the national church suffered greatly from lack of support. All income from the state was cut off, and the clergy were reduced to the greatest straits. When William I. became king in 1816 he called a general synod (the first since the Synod of Dort in 1619) and offered to support the Church if it would accept a constitution modified to suit his views. The Church yielded, and the older strictly Presbyterian form of government was greatly modified and made bureaucratic. General synods have been held yearly since 1816, but they consist of less than twenty members; and in all the higher church assemblies administrative boards direct all ecclesiastical affairs. This change in the government then met with no opposition except from the classis of Amsterdam, the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth volumes of whose minutes (1790–1816) are filled with memorials, protests, and petitions relating to the changes then occurring in the government of the Church. The constitution, finally accepted in 1816, is still the basis of the existing church-order, since it gave shape to " The General Regulations of the Reformed Church " made in 1852. But, while these latter gave to that body greater independence than was possessed by the articles of 1816, it was still hampered by many conditions. These conditions were annulled in 1870. In 1857, under the influence of the Liberals and the Romanists, the government banished religious instruction from the schools; and in 1876 it changed the theological faculties in the universities into faculties of comparative religion; but funds were granted to the National Synod for special theological instruction. But, when rationalists secured these professorships, the orthodox party established a Free Reformed University at Amsterdam in 1880. The same party has secured free schools all over Holland in which Evangelical religion is taught.

The Reformed Church embraces a large portion of the Reformed elements in the country, including the Walloons, the English Presbyterians, and the Scotch congregations. The congregations are divided into forty-four classes (or presbyteries), and these are subdivided into 148 smaller groups, called rings, or circuits, for convenient conferences. There are ten provincial synods, and a Walloon Commission. There is one general synod, which consists of only nineteen members, thirteen of whom are ministers, and six are elders. The choice of these is made by the provincial synods, the members of the latter being elected by the classes. The classical assemblies are the characteristic feature of the organism of the Church. They

meet yearly for the election of officers and the consideration of such topics as are presented to them by the synod. While in the other assemblies the ministers are twice as many as the elders, the classes are composed of all the ministers within the bounds and an elder from each congregation. The local congregations are governed by their consistories, consisting of an equal number of elders and deacons. Since 1867 the members of the consistory have been chosen by a college of representatives, the latter being chosen by the whole body of adult members, except those supported by the poor funds. It is this participation of the members in the elections which has brought the Church back to orthodoxy. In 1898 the Church had 1,348 churches and 1,606 ministers. The Walloons or French congregations are mostly composed of the descendants of the refugees driven by persecution from France and Flanders; but as these gradually blended with the Netherlanders their numbers decreased. While in 1815 they had thirty-five churches and forty-seven ministers, in 1898 they had only sixteen churches and twenty-four ministers. There have been in all between thirty and forty British Presbyterian churches in Holland and Belgium, not to speak of English Congregational and Episcopal churches and Quaker meetings. Of the Presbyterian churches only those of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Middelburg remain; and these, as well as the Walloon churches, are now included in the Reformed Church. The management of church property was directed for a time by decrees of William I., issued in 1819 and 1833, but these decrees were annulled in 1869. Since that time most of the congregations have placed themselves under a " Committee of Control," while the others are independent.

From the beginning of the independence of Holland the ministers were generally trained at the state universities, where theological faculties were constituted for that purpose; yet a course in the universities was not obligatory. The law of 1877 released the faculty from the duty of teaching the theology of the confessions, while in each university two professors, nominated by the synod of the Reformed Church, are charged with the duty of lecturing on dogmatic and practical theology. During the entire period of the Dutch Republic the classis of Amsterdam was the great agency of Holland, and largely of all Continental Europe, for carrying on mission work among twenty colonies as well as among the heathen. Her *deputati ad res exteras*, as exhibited by their minutes and correspondence, show an amount of work in this line almost appalling. But neither foreign nor domestic missions are now carried on by the Church or its officers, as such; yet the subject of missions has grown in interest during recent years. Besides the Moravian Society, which has long labored in the West Indies, there was for many years only the Netherlands Missionary Society, founded in 1797. But in 1881 no less than ten missionary societies existed for sending missionaries to non-Christian countries. There is also one society laboring especially among the Jews. The number of the church members in the Dutch missions is about 100,000. They have 200 schools attended by about 14,000 scholars. The public schools of Holland are now confessionless, but there are hundreds of private parochial schools supported by Protestants or Roman Catholics. Two considerable associations have been formed, one in 1860 and another in 1877, to support and extend such schools. Evangelistic work is carried on by several associations of believers. Activity in this direction, as well as other philanthropic work, for example, work for homeless children, for fallen women, for the blind, etc., is ever on the increase; but the desirable cooperation of all the religious bodies is yet wanting.

2. The Christian Reformed Church (Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerken): At the general synod of 1816 (see above) a slight, though important, change in the subscription form for candidates gave occasion for a great controversy. The question arose whether the standards of doctrine were authoritative *because* they agreed with the Word of God, or *so far as* they agreed therewith. The synod of 1835 gave the right to every candidate to decide this for himself. This, it was believed, gave liberty for the introduction of all manner of error, as well as for its propagation. Royal mandates also often interfered with the internal affairs of the Church. The " New Regulations " adopted in 1816 and the administrative committees then formed controlled everything. With the deposition of one of the Evangelical ministers, De Cock, because he would not conform in certain matters, a crisis came in 1834, and the Evangelical party came into conflict with the authorities, and a secession was resolved upon. The movement was supported by Da Costa and Groen van Prinsterer, although they never left the old Church. It was embarrassed, however, by an ancient law, forbidding the assembling together of more than twenty persons, outside the recognized churches, for public worship. In 1836 a royal decree, repeated in 1841, confirmed this law, yet it pointed out a way by which new congregations could be legally constituted. The seceders organized the Christian Reformed Church, declaring that they did not wish to secede from the Church, but only from the bureaucratic administrative committee. Large multitudes soon joined them. In 1836 their first synodical meeting was held. Revivals followed the purer preaching of the Word, and new churches were organized; but many fines and imprisonments followed. The result was that emigration was determined upon by several pastors with their entire flocks. These began to come to America about 1846, settling in Michigan and other States of the Middle West. After half a century these pilgrim Dutch churches, partly under their own name and partly under the Reformed Church in America, now number about 400 (see Reformed Churches). New decrees in Holland, in 1849, 1852, 1868, abrogated all restrictions. The separated churches at length secured a legal standing, except that they received no support from the state. These churches adhere to the doctrine and discipline of the Synod of Dort, and thus stand in agreement with the Reformed Church in America. Their general synod meets triennially. In 1854 they established their theological school at Kampen; and in 1879 arrangements were also made for higher education by the founding of

the Free University of Amsterdam. This thriving seceder Church in Holland had 276 churches in 1860 and 400 in 1900. It has exerted a most happy influence upon the old Reformed Church by reviving the power of the Reformation faith in that body.

In 1892 a union was effected between the Synod of "The Christian Reformed Church"—with the exception of a small protesting body—and a certain Provisional Synod of "Dutch Reformed Churches," known as the "Doleerende Kerken," originating in 1886, and claiming to be the successors in doctrine of the Synod of Dort of 1619. These united bodies style themselves the Reformed Churches in the Netherlands ("de Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland"). They have more than 700 churches and represent one-tenth of the entire population. This new body at once gave notice to all other Reformed or Presbyterian churches, in all lands, of its formation, its doctrine and polity, and invited correspondence and exchange of delegates. The Reformed Church in America at once entered into correspondence with this body, and appoints delegates regularly to its triennial general synods.

3. The Lutheran Church: The Reformation in Holland started simultaneously with, but independently of, the Lutheran Reformation in Germany; but Lutherans soon penetrated also into Holland. This form of Protestantism, however, was always of minor importance in that country. The first congregation was at Woerden, which adopted the Augsburg Confession in 1566. In 1605 a union was effected among seven Lutheran ministers, who agreed on a system of faith and a liturgy. This union developed by 1612 into the so-called "Lutheran Brotherhood," which held conventions once in five years. The last Lutheran synod under the Republic met in 1696. In 1818 King William I. gave a new organization to the Evangelical Lutheran Church. This was modified in 1855 and again in 1859, so as to render the Church independent of all state control. Since 1819 their synod has held annual meetings, consisting of fifteen members, eight of whom are ministers. Each local church is governed by a consistory. At first their ministers were all educated in Germany, but in 1816 a Lutheran seminary was founded in Amsterdam. Like all other Protestant bodies, this church was affected, more or less, by the rationalism of the period. A reaction began about 1791, and a rupture occurred between the rationalists and those who insisted on returning to the old confessions and liturgy. An "Old Lutheran Church" finally obtained legal standing in 1835, and further legal confirmation in 1866. Its affairs are directed by an assembly of seventeen members, nine of whom must be ministers. Candidates for the ministry were at first instructed in different schools in Amsterdam, but since 1877 in the University of Amsterdam, where a Lutheran minister teaches theology. The sharp differences between the two bodies gradually subsided, and in 1874 they were reunited. The Evangelical Lutheran Church is divided into the seven districts of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague, Utrecht, Haarlem, Groningen, and Hertogenbosch, and numbers at present forty-nine congregations and nine mission congregations, with sixty-one active ministers. The seminary of this body is connected with the University of Amsterdam. The Revived (Hersteld) Evangelical Lutheran Church has at present eight congregations with eleven active pastors. All these congregations are free to call their pastors and are independent in government. There are also churches styled the Evangelical Brotherhood at Zeist and Haarlem, and German Evangelical churches at The Hague, Rotterdam, and Amsterdam.

4. Baptists: This body is often called Mennonites from Menno Simons (q.v.). They rejected infant baptism. For a time they had no central organization, and hence several divisions existed among them, but these were harmonized in 1650. Doctrinal differences subsequently sprang up. The orthodox took the name of Zonists, and the liberals that of Lamists. The names were derived from the armorial bearings of their respective localities; but in 1801 the two divisions reunited. One special feature of this Church is its confessional freedom. There is no common standard of doctrine. Whoever makes a sincere confession of sin, and promises to lead a righteous life, is admitted to membership, without regard to his views of the person and work of Christ. As a rule, only regularly educated persons enter the ministry, but there is also a class of "exhorters." In 1811 a General Society was formed for the encouragement of theological education and for the support of the ministry among the poorer congregations. At the same time they enlarged the curriculum of their seminary, which was founded in 1731. They had in 1898 116 congregations. All the congregations have perfect freedom in calling ministers and are independent in government. See Mennonites. [There are in the Netherlands several Baptist churches of the Anglo-American type. A. H. N.]

5. Remonstrants: This body, dating from about 1618, in regulations revised in 1879 set forth the aim of the body to be "to further the Christian life on the basis of the Gospel, while at the same time holding fast to freedom and toleration." The control of the body is vested in an assembly which meets annually. It is composed of the professors, all the ministers, delegates from the congregations, and a few others. A permanent committee of five members executes the resolutions of the assembly, and supervises the administration. But this body is gradually declining. The Church of Rotterdam is their principal church, having about 600 members. They have freedom in making calls and are independent in government. See Remonstrants.

II. The Roman Catholic Church: At the time of the Reformation the Netherlands belonged to the bishopric of Utrecht. In 1559 this was made an archbishopric. After the death of Ferdinand Schenk van Toutenberg in 1580, the last archbishop, the ecclesiastical affairs of Holland were administered by apostolic vicars. From 1717 onward papal legates took control. They were called vice-superiors and dwelt at Cologne or Brussels. Since 1840 Dutch ecclesiastical affairs have been under a papal internuncio at The Hague, and three apostolic vicars, located at Hertogenbosch, Breda, and Limbursch. The overthrow of the State Church in 1796 led to renewed activity among the Romanists. The

hierarchy was reestablished in 1853, with a great increase of priests. Many of the priests are engaged in schools and administration. In the reconstituted hierarchy Holland forms one province, divided into five dioceses, namely, the archbishopric of Utrecht, with suffragans at Haarlem, Hertogenbosch, Breda, and Roermond. Each diocese has a chapter, consisting of a dean and eight canons, who are the bishop's council and who meet monthly. In case of vacancies they name three persons, from whom the pope selects the successor. Each diocese has a seminary for priests, under the bishop, who names all the professors.

III. The Jansenist Church: For an account of this body the reader is referred to the article JANSENIST CHURCH IN HOLLAND.

IV. The Jews: The number of Jews in Holland was not large until Holland had gained her independence. They came principally from the Iberian Peninsula and Germany. After the Union of Utrecht in 1579 Jews of Spain and Portugal fled to Holland, became strong supporters of the House of Orange, and received from it corresponding protection. The Portuguese Jews in Holland were richer and more refined than the German Jews, but the latter were far more numerous. Between these two bodies there was at first but little intercourse; but the German Jews gradually increased in wealth and culture, while the Portuguese Jews in their affluence either stood still or retrograded. There were also some differences in their ritual and ceremonies, and in the pronunciation of the Hebrew language. These circumstances tended to prevent close relationship at first; but in 1814 a union was effected, and rabbinical vacancies were thenceforth filled from either nationality.

The German Jews incorporated their brethren, who were already settled in the Netherlands, with themselves, and subsequently many other Jewish refugees from eastern Europe. All these collectively now constitute the Netherlandish Israelite Society. The German Jews began to enter Holland in considerable numbers about 1615; and although they were never so highly esteemed nor had enjoyed such privileges as the Portuguese Jews, yet their congregation at Amsterdam, established in 1636, is the central congregation of Jews in Holland. Their petition in 1648 to be allowed to build a synagogue was at first refused. But their ranks were so largely increased during the two or three decades following that permission was granted them, and (in 1671) they erected a great synagogue in Amsterdam, which stands to this day. In this they are all united to form one great congregation. Political equality was not secured by them until 1796. The first decree for the management of their affairs was issued in 1808. This made one supreme consistory over all German Jews in Holland. When the country became a French province in 1813 this consistory was for a time subordinate to the central Jewish consistory at Paris; but in 1816 William I. appointed "A General Commission of Advice" for all Jews in the kingdom. A definite organization was not attained until 1870. The affairs of the Netherlandish Israelite Society are now in the hands of a central board, which meets annually, while a permanent committee of three sitting in Amsterdam attends to current business. The Portuguese Jews were permitted to build a synagogue at Amsterdam as early as 1597. Others were soon built, including one at The Hague. Their school, established at Amsterdam in 1639, developed into a rabbinical seminary, and still exists. Since 1870 their affairs are managed by a central board. The society at The Hague has one rabbi, while that at Amsterdam has a college with three associates. In 1900 the number of Jews in Holland was 103,988. Of these, 64,748 were Holland Jews, 5,645 were Portuguese Jews.

E. T. CORWIN.

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HOLLAND, HENRY SCOTT: Church of England; b. at Ledbury (13 m. e. of Hereford), Herefordshire, Jan. 27, 1847. He studied at Balliol College, Oxford, (B.A., 1870), and was senior student at Christ Church, Oxford, from 1870 to 1885, and theological tutor in the same college from 1872 to 1885. In 1883–84 he was honorary canon of St. Petroc in Truro Cathedral and examining chaplain to the bishop of Truro in 1883–1904. He was commissary to the bishop of Brisbane from 1885 to 1903, and has been examining chaplain to the bishop of St. Andrews since 1893, and to the bishop of Oxford since 1901. Since 1884 he has been a canon of St. Paul's Cathedral. In addition to editing *Commonwealth* since 1899 and contributing *Faith* to Charles Gore's *Lux Mundi* (London, 1889), and *Church and State* to the same theologian's *Essays in Aid of the Reform of the Church* (1898), as well as *The Obligation of Civil Law* to J. E. Hand's *Good Citizenship* (1899), he has written *The Apostolic Fathers* (London, 1878); *Four Addresses on the Sacrifice of the Cross* (1879); *Logic and Life, with Other Sermons* (1882); *Good Friday Addresses at St. Paul's Cathedral* (1884); *Christ or Ecclesiastes* (1887); *Creed and Character* (1887); *On Behalf of*

Belief (1888); *Memoir of Madame Jenny Lind-Goldschmidt* (in collaboration with W. S. Rockstro; 2 vols., 1891); *Pleas and Claims for Christ* (1892); *God's City and the Coming of the Kingdom* (1894); *Old and New* (1900); *Personal Studies* (1905); and *Vital Values* (1906). A selected collection of his writings was edited by J. H. Burn under the title *Helps to Faith and Practice* (London, 1900).

HOLLATZ (HOLLATIUS), DAVID: 1. Lutheran dogmatician; b. at Wulkow, near Stargard (21 m. e.s.e. of Stettin), in Pomerania, 1648; d. at Jakobshagen (15 m. e. of Stargard) Apr. 17, 1713. He studied at Erfurt and Wittenberg, and became preacher at Pützerlin near Stargard in 1670, at Stargard in 1681 (in 1683 also conrector), rector in Colberg in 1684, and pastor in Jakobshagen in 1692. His principal work is his *Examen theologicum acroamaticum* (Rostock—afterward Stockholm—and Leipsic, 1707; 7th and 8th eds. by Romanus Teller, 1750 and 1763). The work is the last of the strict Lutheran systems of dogmatics. Hollatz knows Pietism, but does not mention it, although he refutes mysticism. The system is divided into *quæstiones*, which are explained by *probationes;* these are followed by *antitheses*, against which the different *instantia* are brought forward. Hollatz also published *Scrutinium veritatis in mysticorum dogmata* (Wittenberg, 1711); *Ein gottgeheiligt dreifaches Kleeblatt* (*Leidender Jesus*) (1713); a collection of sermons; and other works.

2. Grandson of the preceding, preacher at Güntersberg, near Zachau, in Pomerania from 1730 till his death, June 14, 1771. He wrote devotional books which were much read, often translated, and are still being edited and republished (e.g., *Gebahnte Pilgerstrasse nach dem Berge Zion*, Basel, 1866; *Evangelische Gnadenordnungen*, Basel, 1894; Eng. transl., *The Order of Evangelical Grace in the Economy of Salvation*, London, 1838; *Verherrlichung Christi in seinem theueren und unschätzbaren Blute*, Basel, 1894). After a controversy between Hollatz and S. J. Baumgarten of Halle the orthodox looked upon him with disfavor. He steadily receded more and more from the church doctrines and adopted the views of the Moravians, among whom he found greater sympathy. His *Sämtliche erbauliche Schriften* were published in 2 parts at Görlitz, 1772–73, and Frankfort, 1782.

(P. Wolff.)

HOLLY, JAMES THEODORE: Protestant Episcopal missionary bishop of Haiti; b. at Washington, D. C., Oct. 3, 1829. His parents were colored Roman Catholics, and he was educated at Washington, New York, Buffalo, and Detroit. At the age of twenty-one he became a convert from the Roman Catholic to the Protestant Episcopal Church, and after being associate editor of *The Voice of the Fugitive* at Windsor, Ont., from 1851 to 1853, and principal of a public school in Buffalo, N. Y., in 1854, he was ordered deacon in 1855 and ordained priest in the following year. He was then rector of St. Luke's, New Haven, Conn., for five years (1856–61), after which he was a missionary at Haiti (1861–74). In 1874 he was consecrated bishop of Haiti. He was also consul of Liberia at Port-au-Prince, Haiti, from 1864 to 1874.

HOLMES, ROBERT: English Biblical scholar; b. in London 1748 (baptized at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields Nov. 30); d. at Oxford Nov. 12, 1805. He was educated at Winchester College, and at New College, Oxford (B.A., 1770; M.A., 1774; B.D., 1787; D.D., 1789). In 1770 he obtained a fellowship in New College, and subsequently the college rectory of Stanton St. John's, Oxfordshire. He was Bampton lecturer in 1782, and in 1783 he succeeded John Randolph as professor of poetry. He received prebends in Salisbury Cathedral (1790), Hereford Cathedral (1791), and Christ Church, Oxford (1795). He was elected fellow of the Royal Society in 1797, and was made dean of Winchester in 1804. He published his Bampton lectures, *On the Prophecies and Testimony of John the Baptist, and the Parallel Prophecies of Jesus Christ* (Oxford, 1782), and several theological tracts and sermons. Most of these writings were included in *Treatises on Religious and Scriptural Subjects* (1806). His great work, however, was his collation of the text of the Septuagint, *Vetus Testamentum Græcum cum variis lectionibus* (5 vols., 1798–1827; see Bible Versions, A, I., 1, § 2). In this important undertaking, to which he devoted the last seventeen years of his life, Holmes was assisted by many scholars in the libraries throughout Europe, and supported financially by the delegates of the Clarendon Press. After his death the work of editing the 142 manuscript volumes of collations, which had been deposited in the Bodleian Library, was completed by James Parsons. During the progress of the work annual reports were published, which are of bibliographical interest.

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HOLOFERNES. See Apocrypha, A, IV., 8.

HOLSTE (HOLSTENIUS), LUCAS: German convert from Protestantism to Roman Catholicism in the seventeenth century; b. at Hamburg 1596; d. at Rome Feb. 2, 1661. He was educated in his native city and after 1617 at Leyden, making special studies of the old geographers, and showing a predilection for Platonic and Neoplatonic philosophy. Disappointed by his failure to attain a position as teacher in Hamburg, he went in 1622 to England and in 1624 to Paris, where he was made librarian of President de Mesmes, and under Jesuit influence adopted the Roman religion. The change has been explained as due to ulterior motives, but Holste himself ascribed his conversion to personal conviction resulting from his philosophical and theological studies. In 1627 he established himself in Rome, where he found a protector and friend in Cardinal Francesco Barberini, nephew of Urban VIII., and received a canonry in St. Peter's. Innocent X. made him librarian of the Vatican, and Alexander VII. a consultor of the Congregation of the Index. He helped to convert prominent Protestants, and was sent to give instructions to Queen Christina of

Sweden before her reception into the Church of Rome. His literary undertakings, which were of such a comprehensive nature that he could not finish them before his death, were of great importance for the *Liber pontificalis*, *Liber diurnus pontificum Romanorum*, the older martyrologies and monastic rules (*Codex regularum etc.*, 3 vols., Rome, 1661), papal briefs and acts of councils (*Collectio Romana veterum aliquot historiæ ecclesiasticæ monumentorum*, 1662). (E. Henke†.)

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HOLSTEN, KARL CHRISTIAN JOHANN: Theologian of the Tübingen School; b. at Güstrow (100 m. n.n.w. of Berlin), Mecklenburg, Mar. 31, 1825; d. at Heidelberg Jan. 26, 1897. He was educated at Leipsic, Berlin, and Rostock (Ph.D., 1853), and became teacher of religion, German, and Greek in the Rostock gymnasium (1852), remaining in this position until 1870. Through his writings on the Pauline theology he attracted the attention of the leaders of the theological Reformatory movement in Switzerland, and was called in 1870 to the University of Bern. Besides his duties as professor he rendered great services to the development of the school-system in that city. In 1876 he accepted a call to Heidelberg, where he held the chair of New Testament theology until his death.

Holsten's literary and academic activity lay chiefly in the sphere of Pauline theology, of the synoptic Gospels, and philosophy of religion. Like Pfleiderer, he traced the history of primitive Christianity to a pantheistic basis. In the original congregation there were countercurrents of two forms of consciousness. After Jesus had awakened in Peter the spirit of the inwardness of the law and of indifference to its external forms, he preached the Gospel of salvation from sin through the death of Christ, and, in like manner, Paul successfully taught justification through the death of the Messiah. But under the influence of James there arose an anti-Pauline and Judaistic Gospel. James counteracted the influence of Peter and the original apostles, and suppressed even the gospel of Paul, until with his death and the destruction of Jerusalem there came again into prominence the freer spirit of the original Gospel which binds to the law in its inward form, but loosens from its ritual bonds. Our Synoptic Gospels correspond to these three tendencies, and are, therefore, to be considered as *Tendenzschriften*. The original Gospels of Peter, Paul, and James, corresponding to our canonical Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, have been lost. Within thirty years after the death of Jesus all consciousness of the historical facts of Christ's life had disappeared, and its representation was now made serviceable to dogmatic purposes by violating history. Our canonical Gospel of Matthew represents the Gospel of Peter and is based upon an anti-Pauline and Judaistic Gospel; it originated from a reaction of the Jewish Christianity of Peter against the anti-Pauline Judaism of James. Our Gospel of Mark forms the counterpart of the Gospel of Matthew in being based entirely upon the views of Paul. After the authority of Evangelical history had been shaken by these two different tendencies, Luke tried to establish it anew. We have therefore: (1) primitive Petrinism, which is related to Paulinism as being free from law, without drawing the last consequences; (2) Paulinism; (3) anti-Pauline Judaism under James (until about the year 70); (4) the restitution of non-legal Petrinism, especially in the beginning of the second century. The principal works in which Holsten laid down these views are *Das Evangelium des Paulus* (Berlin, 1880); *Die drei ursprünglichen, noch ungeschreibenen Evangelien. Zur synoptischen Frage* (Carlsruhe and Leipsic, 1883); and *Die synoptischen Evangelien nach der Form ihres Inhaltes* (Heidelberg, 1885). The principal work of Holsten in the field of philosophy of religion is his *Ursprung und Wesen der Religion* (Berlin, 1886). The influence of Schleiermacher which pervades all his works shows itself especially here, where he found the basis and essence of religion in feeling. (Mehlhorn.)

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HOLTZMANN, HEINRICH JULIUS: German Protestant; b. at Carlsruhe May 17, 1832. He was educated at the universities of Heidelberg and Berlin, and, after being a pastor in Baden from 1854 to 1857, became privat-docent at Heidelberg in 1858. Three years later he was appointed associate professor and was advanced to a full professorship in 1865. In 1874 he accepted a call to Strasburg as professor of New Testament exegesis, a position which he retained until 1904, when he became professor emeritus. In theology he is one of the leading representatives of the critical school. Among his writings special mention may be made of his *Kanon und Tradition* (Basel, 1859); *Die synoptischen Evangelien, ihr Ursprung und geschichtlicher Charakter* (Leipsic, 1863); *Geschichte des Volkes Israel und die Entstehung des Christentums* (in collaboration with G. Weber; 2 vols., 1867); *Kritik der Epheser- und Kolosserbriefe auf Grund einer Analyse ihrer Verwandschaftsverhältnisse* (Leipsic, 1872); *Die Pastoralbriefe, kritisch und exegetisch behandelt* (1880); *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirchenwesen* (in collaboration with R. Zöpffel; 1882); *Lehrbuch der historischkritischen Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (Freiburg, 1885); *Lehrbuch der neutestamentlichen Theologie* (2 vols., 1896–97); *R. Rothes speculatives System* (1899); *Gesammelte Predigten* (Carlsruhe, 1901); *Die Entstehung des Neuen Testaments* (Halle, 1905); and *Das messianische Bewusstsein Jesu* (Tübingen, 1907). He likewise contributed the volumes on the Apocrypha and the New Testament to C. C. J. Bunsen's *Bibelwerk* (2 vols., Leipsic, 1866, 1869), on John, the Synoptic Gospels, Acts, the Johannine Epistles, and Revelation to the *Hand-Kommentar zum Neuen Testament*, which he edited in collaboration with R. A. Lipsius, P. W. Schmiedel, and H. von Soden (Freiburg, 1889, 1890, 1891; 3d ed. of the Commentary on the Johannine writings, Tübingen, 1908), and assisted K. Budde in editing *Eduard Reuss' Briefwechsel mit seinem Schüler und Freunde Karl Heinrich Graf* (Giessen, 1904).

HOLTZMANN, OSKAR KARL ADOLF: German Protestant; b. at Stuttgart Oct. 20, 1859. He was educated at the universities of Strasburg, Göttingen, and Giessen and at the theological seminary at Friedberg from 1877 to 1883, and after a year as pastor at Bickenbach was provisional teacher at the seminary of Algau in 1884–86 and director of the high school at Gross-Gerau in 1886–88 and a teacher at the grand-ducal gymnasium at Giessen in 1888–89. In the latter year he became privatdocent at the University of Giessen, and in 1890 was appointed to his present position of associate professor of New Testament exegesis in the same institution. He has written *Das Johannes-Evangelium untersucht und erklärt* (Darmstadt, 1887); *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte* (Freiburg, 1895); *Leben Jesu* (Tübingen, 1901; Eng. transl., *Life of Jesus*, Edinburgh, 1904); *Religionsgeschichtliche Vorträge* (Giessen, 1902); and *War Jesus Ekstatiker? Eine Untersuchung zum Leben Jesu* (Tübingen, 1903).

HOLY COAT: An ancient garment preserved at Treves, and held to be the "coat without seam" of John xix. 23. This coat was regarded by the Church Fathers after Tertullian as a symbol of the indivisible Church, but was believed by them to be no longer in existence. The earliest trace of the belief that the Holy Coat was at least partially preserved occurs in an Arabic life of the Egyptian monk Shnudi of Athribe (d. 451); but the real development of the tradition is medieval. The legend assumes two chief forms, according to whether the Holy Coat is regarded as gray or brown. The former is the older. According to it, Christ wore at his crucifixion a gray "coat without seam," which his mother had woven for him in his infancy, and which had increased with his stature. After the crucifixion Herod gave it to a Jew who, unable to remove the blood stains, threw it into the sea, where it was swallowed by a whale. Meanwhile Orendel, or Arendel, son of the Christian king Eygel of Treves, had been shipwrecked near Palestine and had been forced to enter the service of a fisherman. The two took the whale, and for thirty gold guldens, the sum for which Judas had betrayed Christ, and which the Virgin had sent Orendel, the prince purchased the Holy Coat, which rendered him invulnerable and invincible. Orendel became king of Jerusalem. In obedience to an angelic revelation, he returned to Treves and rescued his father from his enemies, but was soon obliged to seek the Holy Land to fight for the Holy Sepulcher. At the command of an angel, he left the Holy Coat at Treves. Another version of this type of the legend makes the Emperor Constantine take the place of Orendel, while the Jew is represented by Pilate until Veronica reveals to the emperor the means of gaining the Holy Coat.

In the second recension of the legend of the Holy Coat, which gradually became the one officially held at Treves, the knightly element is replaced by clerical figures. To this cycle, which is probably of later origin than the one described above and apparently developed after the eleventh or twelfth century, belongs the tradition that the Holy Coat was brought to Treves by a Christian maiden who had received it from a Jew in payment for a year's wages. In another recension the Empress Helena sends or gives the Coat to Treves, and a bishop, Agricius, receives or transmits it. Yet as late as the beginning of the twelfth century Abbot Theofried of Echternach, when writing to Archbishop Bruno of Treves, though mentioning a Holy Coat, describes it as having been brought from Safed, in Palestine, to Jerusalem, where it had remained. After 1132, however, the Holy Coat of Treves was frequently mentioned as a genuine relic.

Besides Treves and Safed, other places are said to contain the Holy Coat, as Galathea, near Constantinople, San Iago de Compostella, St. John Lateran at Rome, and a Franciscan monastery in Friuli. There are, indeed, no less than twenty rivals to the Holy Coat of Treves, the most formidable being that at Argenteuil, near Paris, which can boast in its favor a brief of Gregory XVI. (Aug. 22, 1843). The Holy Coat of Treves is described as five feet one and one-half inches long, and reddish-brown in color, consisting, according to some, of fine linen, and according to others, of fine muslin. It was first made an object of public veneration and pilgrimage in 1512. It was then exhibited frequently, especially in 1515 (when Leo X. issued a bull defending its authenticity), 1531, 1545, etc., evoking the anger of Luther. It was again exhibited in the seventeenth century, particularly in 1653, but the French invasions of the eighteenth century forced it to be taken for a considerable time to Ehrenbreitstein and in 1792 to Augsburg, where it remained until 1810, when it was brought back to Treves and venerated by more than 200,000 pilgrims. In 1844 it was exhibited by Bishop Arnoldi and venerated by 1,100,000, many miraculous cures being reported. Opposition to this led to the German Catholic movement of Ronge and Czerski (see GERMAN CATHOLICISM). Despite attacks on the authenticity of the relic, including more or less skepticism from Roman Catholics, Bishop Korum, with the sanction of Leo XIII., exhibited the Holy Coat in 1891, when it was venerated by nearly 2,000,000 pilgrims.

(O. ZÖCKLER†.)

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HOLY FAMILY, SISTERS or DAUGHTERS OF THE. See GENEVIÈVE, SAINT, ORDERS OF, 2.

HOLY FIRE. See Easter, I., 4, § 3.

HOLY GHOST. See Holy Spirit.

HOLY GHOST, ORDERS AND CONGREGATIONS OF THE: I. Hospitalers of the Holy Ghost: The oldest of the religious associations named after the Holy Spirit was founded at Montpellier about 1198 and confirmed on May 23, 1198, by Innocent III. In 1204 the order was placed in control of one of the most important hospitals in Rome, and after the pontificate of Honorius III. this became the mother house of the Italian, English, and Hungarian branches of the order, while Montpellier remained the center for France and the neighboring countries. The brothers added to the usual three monastic vows that of voluntary service to the poor. They were distinguished by a white linen cross with twelve points, worn on the left side of their black habit, which resembled that of the Augustinian canons. The order began to decline during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; and in France, where Cardinal Archbishop Polignac of Auch (d. 1741) was its last general, it completely disappeared before the outbreak of the Revolution. The last remnant of the order, the hospital and monastery of Santo Spirito in Sassia at Rome, was suppressed by Pius IX.

Many Roman Catholic hospitals assumed the name of the Holy Spirit without belonging to the order, especially in northern Germany, although several in southern Germany and Switzerland, as at Memmingen, Wimpfen, Pforzheim, Rufach, Neumarkt, and Bern, were true branches of the order.

For the **Hospital Sisters of the Holy Ghost,** see Hospitalers.

II. Among medieval and modern congregations of the Holy Ghost six deserve special mention:

1. The Canons of the Holy Ghost were founded about 1430 by the Venetian Canon Andreas Bondimerio (patriarch of Venice 1460–64) and three other clerics. Though confirmed by Martin V., they attained merely local importance, and were suppressed by Alexander VII. in 1656.

2. The Priests of the Holy Ghost, or **Mulotists,** were founded in 1703 by Louis Maria Grignon de Montfort (d. 1703), and received their rule from his successor, René Mulot. Their object was the education of young ecclesiastics, and their mother house was situated at St. Laurent-sur-Sevon.

3. A Benedictine Congregation of the Holy Ghost arose early in the eighteenth century in the diocese of Augsburg through the secession of eight South German Benedictine monasteries, and was confirmed with certain privileges by Benedict XIII. in 1725.

4. The Daughters of the Holy Ghost (*Filles du Saint Esprit*) originated in St. Brieuc, Brittany, in 1706, and spread through most of the dioceses of that province. Their objects are the instruction of girls and works of charity, and they are now said to possess more than a hundred institutions.

5. The Sisters of the Holy Ghost, or Sisters of the Heart of Jesus and of Mary of the Holy Ghost, form a female congregation for conducting poor schools. They were established at Tours in 1805 by the Abbé Bourignon with the aid of a number of ex-Carmelite nuns.

6. The Fathers of the Holy Ghost (*Pères du S. Esprit*), or the Congregation of the Fathers of the Holy Ghost and the Immaculate Heart of Mary, popularly known as the "Black Fathers" (*Pères noirs*) from their habit, were established by a Jewish convert, Jacob Libermann (baptized as François Maria Paul Libermann; b. in Alsace 1804; d. at Paris 1852), by the union of two missionary congregations. The first of these was the congregation of the Holy Ghost, founded at Paris in 1709 by Père Desplace and suppressed during the French Revolution, but revived in 1816; the second was the Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, founded by Libermann himself in 1841 for negro missions. The first general was Libermann, and since his death the "Black Fathers" have rivaled the "White Fathers" of Cardinal Lavigerie in their missionary zeal, not only in the French colonies of Africa, but also in the Portuguese, Dutch, and English districts. They are active likewise in Mauritius, Trinidad, Haiti, and Australia, while their seminary in Paris trains missionaries for the French colonies in India and South America. They are represented in Portugal, Ireland, and the United States (Pennsylvania, Arkansas, Michigan, and Wisconsin), and after being expelled from Germany in 1872 were permitted to return in 1895. In the latter country they have a seminary in the former Premonstratensian abbey of Knechtsteden and exercise the supervision of the shrine of Drei Aehren in Alsace-Lorraine, besides conducting the French *Séminaire du Cœur Sacré de Marie* in Rome.

III. Two knightly orders of the Holy Ghost likewise require mention. In Whitsuntide of 1352 Queen Joanna I. of Naples founded the *Cavalieri di Santo Spirito del Retto Desiderio.* The knights, whose number was restricted to sixty, received a rule based on that of St. Basil and approved by Clement VI. Their emblem was an intricate love-knot (whence they were often called *Cavalieri del nodo*), which was replaced after some distinguished feat of arms by a dove, as a symbol of the Holy Spirit. The order became extinct before the end of the fourteenth century.

A French *Ordre du Saint Esprit* was established on Dec. 31, 1578, by Henry III. The order was intended to honor the feast of Whitsuntide and to revive the prestige of the knights of St. Michael. The king himself was the grand master, and all the members were required first to be knights of St. Michael. The number was restricted to 100, and included all princes of the royal family, four cardinals, four French bishops, and the high almoner of the king. Membership carried with it important privileges, and also certain religious obligations. The order retained its prestige during the four following reigns, and Louis XVI. conscientiously observed its religious requirements. It was dissolved by a decree of the French National Convention, and has been replaced since the reign of Napoleon I. (except for a brief revival by Louis XVIII.) by the Legion of Honor.

(O. Zöcklerꝛ.)

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On III.: Ersch and Gruber, *Encyklopädie*, lvi. 263–285 (contains list of the older literature); Helyot, Germ. ed., viii. 471 sqq.; *KL*, v. 218; L. H. Martin, *Hist. de la France*, ix. 473–475, 17 vols., Paris, 1855–60.

HOLY GHOST AND US SOCIETY: A sect founded in 1893 by the Rev. Frank W. Sandford, having central headquarters at Durham, Me. The immediate neighborhood is named Shiloh, where a vast frame building houses the community. The front towers are used as watch- and prayer-towers; and dormitories, Bible-school rooms, a dining-room, etc., occupy the remainder of the structure. The founder of the sect was born in 1862 in Bowdoin, Me., was educated at Bates College and Cobb Divinity School, Lewiston, Me. He was pastor of Free Baptist churches in Great Falls, N. H., and Topsham, Me., having but moderate success in these fields. In 1893, at a convention of his denomination held at Ocean Beach, Me., Sandford announced that he had received certain divine revelations, the chief purport of which was that he was commanded to preach the Gospel to all the world before the "coming of the end." The structure at Shiloh was projected by reason of an alleged vision commanding him to "arise and build." He preached absolute community of goods, requiring those who should form the community to turn in all their earthly possessions. Of the business he took entire charge, every legal title being in his own name.

The local community numbers about 300, though it was at first larger. Of these the majority are women and children. Proselyting stations have been established at various points, but have not flourished. Camp-meetings are held on the coast islands of Maine every summer, and bands of the sect, led by Sandford, have made tours of the world on vessels owned by the community. Several actions, civil and criminal, have been undertaken against Sandford by the local authorities, for cruelty, disregard to health laws, and other causes.

The beliefs of the sect are strongly chiliastic. A great catastrophe of fire, falling mountains, and other cosmic judgments soon to destroy the earth and its inhabitants comprise much of the preaching. Sandford claims to be Elijah, preaching in preparation for this judgment. There is insistence on baptism by immersion as prerequisite to salvation, and no prior baptism is accepted as valid. The Apocalypse, Daniel, and the judgment pictures in the Synoptic Gospels are interpreted literally. Great emotional excitement pervades the meetings. Miraculous healings are affirmed, credence in which has not been shaken with the community by an epidemic of smallpox, including several fatal cases, that prevailed there in 1903. The sect is apparently waning.

W. C. Stiles.

HOLY OFFICE, CONGREGATION OF THE: The department of the papal government which is charged with the direction of the Inquisition (q.v.). It was established by Paul III. in 1542, and has among its officers twelve cardinals, a commissary, and a number of theologians and canonists who act in an advisory capacity. The pope is *ex officio* prefect of the congregation, and on solemn occasions he may preside in person.

HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE: The designation of the German-Italian empire established by Otto I., the Saxon king, who was crowned in Rome by Pope John XII. Feb. 2, 962. The "Holy Roman Empire" was at the best an ideal rather than an accomplished fact. The Roman empire, by reason of its almost world-wide dominion and its tendency under the better rulers to promote universal peace and well-being, had made a great and lasting impression upon the Teutonic peoples, and it was natural that, when the seat of empire had been transferred to the East and when at last the empire had lost its grip upon the great and rapidly developing West, the first western ruler whose dominion seemed to justify imperial pretensions should seek to revive the title of Emperor of the Romans. At the close of the eighth century the authority of the Eastern Empire in Italy had reached the vanishing-point. The Frankish predecessors of Charlemagne from Clovis onward had professed the Catholic faith and had cooperated with the bishops of Rome in extending the dominion of the papal church so as to be conterminous with Frankish conquest as the most effective means of civilizing barbarian peoples and reconciling them to Frankish rule. The Lombards held a large part of Italy and imperilled the autonomy of the Church and its authority over what was claimed as the donation of Constantine or the patrimony of Peter (see Papal States). Charlemagne (q.v.) protected the Roman See against Lombard aggression, received the imperial crown at the hands of the pope, and completed with the Roman See an offensive and defensive alliance; and, while he committed himself to the protection of the Roman Catholic Church and the promotion of its interests throughout his vast domain to the exclusion of all other forms of religion, he entertained no thought of surrendering any part of his monarchical authority, and to the last legislated as freely in ecclesiastical as in civil matters and required obedience from ecclesiastical no less than from civil functionaries. The empire of Charlemagne came nearer to the realization of the idea of a Holy Roman Empire than did any subsequent imperial administration. The origin of the name is obscure. It is found in no early documents. A certain sanctity was attached to the old Roman empire whose head was the recipient of divine honors. That it should be applied to the dominion of a Christian sovereign who aspired to universal civil dominion and who professed an earnest desire to bring about the universal acceptance of the religion of Christ might have been expected.

Origin and Name.

It is not probable that the idea of the Holy Ro-

man Empire in its fully developed form was ever conceived or entertained by pope or emperor. Popes and emperors were for the most part practical men who were beset with practical difficulties and who made use of whatever means were available for the gaining of practical ends. If the pope dreamed of ideal conditions he was sure to conceive of the one holy Catholic Church with its papal head as exercising absolute dominion throughout the whole world and of all civil rulers as yielding willing obedience to the dictates of the head of the Church. If emperors ever idealized, they were sure to think of themselves as exercising universal sway in Church and State alike and of all ecclesiastics with the pope at their head as disinterestedly devoting their energies to the promotion of universal peace and obedience to the imperial will. Who first conceived the idea of a Holy Catholic Church and a Holy Roman Empire, both world-wide in extent, the Church with the pope at its head beneficently ruling a unified and willingly obedient Christian world and supported in its work by a unified and harmonious civil world-administration; and the empire with undisputed dominion ruling the world in righteousness with the interests of the Church a supreme object of endeavor, the pope giving unstinted support to the civil administration without infringing upon its functions, the emperor being single-minded in his devotion to spiritual interests without wishing in any way to interfere with the spiritual administration, does not appear. The sanctity of the old Roman Empire and the "eternal city" and of the Catholic Church now identified with the kingdom of God on earth and having the eternal city as its administrative center was in a sense conferred upon the German princes through the bestowal of the imperial crown. Yet nothing could be further removed from sanctity than the motives of John XII. in bestowing, and Otto I. in receiving, the imperial crown, as was manifest in the deposition of the profligate youth who held the papal office by the ambitious and selfish Saxon chieftain whom he had crowned and the excommunication of the emperor by the pope who sought the aid of Magyars and Saracens against his imperial foe. The almost continuous conflict between popes and emperors during the Middle Ages illustrated by the prolonged and unrelenting hostilities between Gregory VII. and Henry IV., Alexander III. and Frederick I., Innocent III. and his three successors and Frederick II., shows that the ideal of the Holy Catholic Church and the Holy Roman Empire utterly failed of realization.

Underlying Ideas.

During the earlier time the imperial office was practically hereditary, but owing to the lack of centralized administrative machinery, occasional failures in male heirs to the throne, the disposition of the popes to interfere in favor of rivals ready to pledge themselves to greater subserviency, the growth of the idea of the holiness and universality of the office, the elective principle finally prevailed. Theoretically, the entire body of freemen were supposed to be the electors, but, as no provision was made for the exercise of the ballot, it devolved upon the leaders to vote for the people. The tradition that Gregory V. (996–99) and Otto III. arranged that the electoral function should be limited to seven princes is not confirmed by contemporary documents. In 1125 Lothair II. was nominated by a small number of nobles and then or not long afterward the number seven was fixed upon for the electors and came to have a sacred significance. Urban IV. (1263) speaks of the choosing of the emperor by seven electors as a matter of immemorial custom. The electoral dignity at that time belonged to the archbishoprics of Mainz, Treves, and Cologne, and to four secular princes. There was much dispute as to which of the nobles should be electors. The Golden Bull (1356) fixed upon the king of Bohemia, the count palatine, the duke of Saxony, and the margrave of Brandenburg. Frankfort was agreed upon as the place for the assembly of the electoral college and the archbishop of Mainz as the convener. This arrangement remained in force until the Thirty Years' War, when (1621) the Count Palatine was deprived of his electorship in favor of the duke of Bavaria. The peace of Westphalia (see Westphalia, Peace of) restored the palatine electorship without annulling that of the duke of Bavaria. In 1692 the house of Brunswick-Lüneburg was given an electorate.

Succession to the Throne.

The imperial dignity was retained by the house of Saxony from 962 to 1138 (the Salic line from 1024), the Hohenstaufen from 1138 to 1273, the Hapsburgers 1273–92, 1298–1308, 1438–1742, and 1765–1806. During the earlier centuries of the modern period the house of Hapsburg represented the greatest aggregation of power in Europe. The Holy Roman Empire consistently opposed the Protestant Reformation, yet Luther's reverence for it as an ancient and legitimate institution was so great that to the end of his life he discouraged his followers from taking up arms against it and predicted calamity in case his counsel should be unheeded. The hostility of France to the imperial house of Hapsburg on several occasions saved the Protestants from destruction (as in the Smalkald War, Thirty Years' War, etc.). The empire ended as a result of the Napoleonic conquest (1806).

A. H. Newman.

HOLY SATURDAY. See Holy Week, § 6.

HOLY SEPULCHER.

I. The Site.
The Name Golgotha, its Origin and Implications (§ 1).
Eusebius concerning the Site (§ 2).
Modern Identifications (§ 3).
II. The Structures Erected There.
1. By Constantine.
The Rotunda of the Resurrection (§ 1).
The Basilica, Atrium, and Propylæum (§ 2).
2. Later Structures.

I. The Site: The tomb of Jesus was located in a garden belonging to the Jewish councilor Joseph of Arimathæa (q.v.), near or at the place of crucifixion, which was called in Aramaic *gulgulta* or *gulgalta* (Matt. xxvii. 60; John xix. 41), corresponding to the Hebrew *haggulgoleth*, "the skull." The name in Greek was written *golgotha*, which appears in Matthew (xxvii. 33), Mark (xv. 22), and John (xix. 17), with the explanation "the place of a skull," while Luke (xxiii. 33) has "the place

called skull" (Gk. *kranion;* A. V. "Calvary" from the Lat. *calvaria*). The location was evidently well known by the current designation. There was doubtless originally in the Aramaic a limiting addition, as there are traces in the Pseudepigrapha (particularly in the Ethiopic Book of Adam) and in the Church Fathers (Epiphanius, *Hær.*, xlvi.; Basil, of Seleucia, *Oratio*, xxxviii.) that it was connected with the name of Adam. For the story in its Jewish form consult J. A. Fabricius, *Codex pseudepigraphuset Veris Testamenti*, i. 60, 75, 267–268, Hamburg, 1722. The form and content of the tradition imply that there was a round knoll, by its shape suggesting the form of a skull, and near it a sharp depression which was associated in legend with the name of Adam, whose skull was said to have been deposited there by Shem in the center of the earth (cf. Ezek. v. 5). The New Testament locates Golgotha outside the city (Heb. xiii. 12; Matt. xxvii. 32; Mark xv. 20; John xix. 17), but near the city (John xix. 20) and by the road (Matt. xxvii. 39). The marks of identification require that the place be sought to the north of Jerusalem, since only there do the exits from the city debouch upon a plain, as was remarked as early as the time of Eusebius (*Onomasticon*, ed. Lagarde, Göttingen, 1870, p. 229, cf. 99 and 248, also 130). The place Eusebius had in mind was certainly the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher built by Constantine, but that this is the true site has in modern times been questioned.

1. The Name Golgotha, its Origin and Implications.

Eusebius, in telling of the command of Constantine to erect a stately structure over the tomb of Jesus (Life of Constantine, iii. 25–40), says nothing of any official order to make search for the true site of the death and resurrection of Jesus. He narrates that the place had been buried deep in rubbish, over this a pavement had been laid, and on this a temple to Venus erected. By command of the emperor this temple was destroyed and the rubbish carried away, when the tomb of Jesus was disclosed, to the great joy of the emperor (Life of Constantine, iii. 30). The story of Eusebius shows that in Jerusalem, at least among Christians, not the slightest doubt existed concerning the site of the tomb. Yet Edward Robinson and other scholars who could not feel sure of the site called attention to the fact that, according to the words of Eusebius, the place had remained forgotten, and that the words of Constantine were that the rediscovery was a miracle. On the other hand, it is to be noted that no words of Eusebius affirm that knowledge of the place had been lost, as in that case it would have been expected that Constantine would have ordered careful search for the true site. Eusebius has raised doubts in another direction by the fact that his list of the bishops of Jerusalem is not altogether trustworthy (*Hist. eccl.*, iv. 5–6, v. 12). Still it is to be presumed that the short break (between 70 and 135 A.D.) in the continuity of the Christian community had not resulted in the total loss of knowledge of the notable site of the death and resurrection of Jesus. And, though the first generation of Christians might place no special emphasis upon knowledge of the sacred sites, it does not follow that they forgot the location, especially since Golgotha is shown by the way the word is used in the Gospels to have been a well-known place. The covering and defiling of the site Eusebius traces to ungodly men (whom he does not name) and to the whole horde of demons. Jerome states that for 180 years, from Hadrian's time to that of Constantine, a statue of Jupiter stood on the place of the resurrection and one of Venus on the place of the crucifixion, placed there with the design of casting scorn upon the faith. So far as Jerome controverts Eusebius, he may not receive the preference. In general, the attribution of design in the placing of rubbish on the spot and the erection of the heathen objects there may be wrong, and the results may have been brought about simply by the location just outside the walls. While Eusebius's identification may be correct, he mentions no mark by which the identification was assured. So long as other graves in the vicinity were unknown, his location would be unchallenged. That is no longer the case, since the graves assigned to Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathæa are now known and supposed to have been connected with that known as the Holy Sepulcher. Indeed, the discovery of still others has made questionable the assertion that the site of Constantine's church covered that of the tomb of Jesus.

2. Eusebius concerning the Site.

The objections of Jonas Korte, who first questioned the identification, were based upon the relation of the site to the walls, considerations which are vitiated by remembering that the present north wall dates from 41 to 70 A.D., and that the "second" wall was in the time of Jesus the northern limit of the city. Recent investigations by tracing the course of the "second" wall have made it very likely that Golgotha lay outside. O. Thenius decided for the Grotto of Jeremiah northeast from the Damascus Gate and the hill near it. James Fergusson hit upon the strange identification with Mount Moriah, that is, the site of the present Mosque of Omar. Still more recently a small hill outside the Damascus Gate and to the left of the road to Nablus has been claimed as the site—so General Gordon in 1883. E. M. Clos selected a spot for the tomb about 200 yards south of the present church. These identifications are without value.

3. Modern Identifications.

It was the followers of Eusebius—Rufinus, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret—not Eusebius himself, who brought Helena, the mother of Constantine, into connection with the finding of the grave and of the three crosses and the inscription of Pilate and with the building of the church on the site (see Cross, Invention of the). Eusebius places her church on the Mount of Olives, and he is to be followed. It is to be remembered that it was the custom in Christian circles to honor the sites of the burial of martyrs. Eusebius relates (*Demonstratio evangelica*, vi. 18) that Christian pilgrims came from all parts to Jerusalem to assure themselves by sight of the ruined state of Jerusalem of the fulfilment of prophecy and to pray in the cave of Bethlehem or on the Mount of Olives. It was in connection with

these pilgrimages that Constantine thought to adorn the tomb by a structure, the knowledge of which is due chiefly to Eusebius's description (Life of Constantine, iii. 25–40). Another writing of Eusebius dealing wholly with this subject is not extant. Eusebius's account is confirmed and supplemented by the account of the pilgrimage of Silvia Aquitana (380–390), and C. Mommert's investigations have shed much light on the subject. The site of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher is to-day shut in by streets. The rocks under the foundation slope from west to east and from north to south, so the site is not level, leading to the necessity for preparation for building by leveling the ground. That fact has led to certain investigations, and invites a description of the parts of the church.

II. The Structures Erected There.—1. By Constantine: The rocks about the grave are broken away on all sides so that it has the appearance of a monument. The leveling of the site probably produced changes in the relation of the tomb to its entrance, though it is possible that the level of the approach remained as it was. To the east of the tomb lay the stone, described by Antoninus Placentinus (c. 570) as like a millstone, which was rolled to the mouth of the grave to close it (Mark xvi. 3). The interior of the tomb is said by Arculf (c. 670) to have been large enough to hold nine men standing, and the roof might be touched by raising the hand. The grave was to the north, on the right of the entrance, trough-like, three spans above the floor. This, as the central point of interest, Constantine had adorned with beautiful and costly pillars. A round structure was arranged about the grave, with a circular hall, the upper part of which was open to the sky. The connection of this structure with the other buildings is shown to be possible from the fact that neither the inner circle of pillars which it contained nor the containing wall were closed toward the east.

1. The Rotunda of the Resurrection.

The basilica stretched in a broad middle aisle and two smaller side aisles eastward from the rotunda, about 245 feet in length. The elevated choir, with the altar, bishop's throne, and twelve beautiful pillars, closed the middle aisle to the east. Mommert locates it partly over Helena's chapel and partly over the Chapel of the Invention of the Cross. Doubt arises as to the place meant as that where the cross was found; whether it was at or near Golgotha, or in the holy tomb, or in the so-called Chapel of Helena, or in a still deeper hole in the rock, the so-called Chapel of the Invention of the Cross. The finding was first mentioned by Cyril of Jerusalem about 350 (*Catecheses*, x. 19), described first by Rufinus, Socrates, and others, though the accounts differ. The place of the crucifixion was given as in the southern aisle, west of the choir. Constantine's builders treated this in like manner as they did the grave, breaking away the rock so that a high hexagonal platform raised itself above the surrounding level, to which the names Mount of the Rock, Mount Golgotha, and Mount Calvary became attached. Three doors in the east wall of the basilica connected the latter with the atrium. That this was to the east of the basilica is confirmed by the Madeba map, by investigations on the spot, and by the fact that to the east lay the market-place. The architect thus departed from custom in the construction of the building, constrained partly by the circumstance that the tomb would not be suitably located in the court of the church. The atrium was a hall of pillars provided with lavers. From this three doors led into the propylæum. As early as 1844–46 Dr. Schultz and Professor Krafft, of Bonn, found traces of this structure, which were confirmed by Mommert and supplemented by later discoveries. The whole building was begun in 326 and consecrated in 336.

2. The Basilica, Atrium, and Propylæum.

2. Later Structures: These buildings were destroyed by fire under Chosroes II. in 614. In 616 Modestus, abbot of the monastery of Theodosius, began the erection of new structures which, finished in 626, differed from those erected by Constantine. He supplied the rotunda with three new niches on the south, east, and north, and installed altars. To the southeast he built a Church of St. Mary; over Golgotha, a special chapel; and over the place of the invention of the cross he erected a basilica called the Martyrium, between which and the rotunda was a square, entered from the south. The situation of Christians and their possessions after the taking of the city by the Arabs under Omar in 637 became constantly more precarious. From an old Arabic inscription on stone, found July 31, 1897, it appears that the Arabs possessed in the first half of the tenth century a mosque on the site of Constantine's atrium, commemorating the fact that Omar had prayed there. In the same century the buildings of Modestus were burned, and about 1010 special orders directed the destruction of the tomb. In 1048 new structures were erected under the auspices of the Byzantine emperor which embraced the rotunda, chapels over Golgotha and over the stone on which Jesus was said to have been laid for his anointing, and the Chapel of the Invention of the Cross. These coincided in general with those of Modestus, and were entered by the Crusaders in 1099. Under the Crusaders new structures were begun in 1140 and completed about 1168, among them a church with three aisles, in the French style of the twelfth century. The tomb itself was also subjected to change. After the destruction in 1244, the church of the Crusaders was restored in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The chapel of the tomb was newly erected by Boniface of Ragusa, also the Chapel of the Angels. On Oct. 12, 1808, the larger part of the church over the tomb was destroyed by fire. Restoration began in 1809 under the auspices of Greeks and Armenians upon the plans of Komnenus Kalfa, a Greek. The present dome was erected in 1868 under the joint auspices of France and Russia.

Light is thrown on the form of these varied structures by models in Europe copied from the originals. These are the holy tomb in San Stefano in Bologna (430), the Chapel of the Tomb in Constance (tenth century), and that in Görlitz (1480).

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HOLY SEPULCHER, ORDERS OF THE: Among the several Roman Catholic orders of the Holy Sepulcher four deserve special mention:

1. Canons of the Holy Sepulcher (*Fratres crucigeri dominici sepulcri Hierosolymitani*): An order founded at the beginning of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, when Patriarch Arnulf of Jerusalem (1111–18) united the clerks of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher into a community. Calixtus II. confirmed the order in 1122, and in 1144 it had more than seven houses in Palestine. In 1187 the seat of the order was transferred to Acre and in 1291 was centered in the Occident, where its houses furnished lodging and assistance to pilgrims to the Holy Land. In 1489 the Canons of the Holy Sepulcher were united by Innocent VIII. with the Knights of St. John, and preserved their independence only in Spain, Sicily, and Poland, where some houses survived until the beginning of the nineteenth century. The only house still existing is that at Cracow.

2. Canonesses of the Holy Sepulcher (Sepulcrines): The female branch of the Canons since the Middle Ages. The order attained its zenith after the rigid reform carried through by the Marchioness Claudia de Mouy, when she erected a house for the Canonesses at Charleville. Her rule was confirmed by Urban VIII. in 1631, and houses of the order still exist in France and Belgium, with one in Baden-Baden and branches at Bruchsal.

3. Knights of the Holy Sepulcher (Golden Knights): An order, founded toward the close of the Middle Ages, which included all knightly pilgrims to Palestine who had received the accolade at Jerusalem from the Guardian of the Holy Sepulcher. The order is said to have been orally confirmed by Leo X., but it was not until 1746 that Benedict XIV. gave it a written confirmation. Pius IX., after re-establishing a Latin patriarchate of Jerusalem in 1847, granted the patriarch the exclusive right to create Knights of the Holy Sepulcher, and by the brief *Cum multa* of Jan. 24, 1868, promulgated a formal rule for the order. The Knights wear on a white mantle a red enameled quintuple cross (the "cross of Godfrey de Bouillon"). The accolade is to be given in Jerusalem, but may be conferred through a deputy. The recipient promises to be willing to work for the Holy Land, and the order is divided into three classes: knights, commanders, and grand crosses, the first being required to pay 1,000 francs on admission, the second 2,000, and the third 3,000.

4. Fathers of the Holy Sepulcher: A name applied to the Franciscans stationed in Jerusalem. Even after the fall of Acre Franciscan minorites remained in Palestine to protect the Holy Places, notwithstanding the martyrdom of almost 2,000 of their number. Since 1657 the mother house of the order has been the great monastery of San Salvator in Jerusalem, which normally contains twenty-five regular priests and fifty-five lay brothers. A smaller monastery, adjoining the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, serves as a residence for the priests and lay brothers who conduct the services in the church.

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HOLY SPIRIT (in the A. V. and older English, Holy Ghost): The third person of the Trinity. Other Scriptural designations are: the Spirit (Matt. iv. 1); the Spirit of God (I Cor. ii. 14); the Spirit of Christ (I Pet. i. 11); the Spirit of grace (Heb. x. 29); the Spirit of truth (John xvi. 13); the Comforter (Gk. *paraklētes*, "advocate, intercessor, helper"; John xiv. 26, xv. 26). For the Trinitarian relation of the Spirit see Trinity; for the procession of the Spirit see Filioque Controversy. This article will deal with the personality and work of the Spirit.

I. Personality: While early Christian writings (the Shepherd of Hermas, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Origen) seem at times to teach the subordination of the Spirit to the Father and to the Son, and to waver concerning his personality, upon the whole their testimony is unmistakably in favor of the personality. The doctrine of the Holy Spirit was not made prominent till the fourth century. The Apostles' and Nicene Creed have

the simple statements of belief "in the Holy Ghost." The Nicene Creed as revised at Constantinople (381) has the fuller formula, [And we believe] "in the Holy Spirit, the Lord and Giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father, and with the Father and the Son is adored and glorified, who spake by the prophets." The personality of the Spirit is rejected by Sabellians, Arians, Socinians, and Unitarians, the Socinians representing the Spirit as an energy or power of God. The personality is proved by the following considerations: (1) The personal pronoun "he" is used of the Spirit (John xvi. 13). (2) He is expressly distinguished from God the Father and the Son (John xiv. 16, 26; I Cor. ii. 10). (3) Acts of will and intelligence are attributed to him, such as belong only to a personal agent (John xv. 26, xvi. 8, 13; Acts xiii. 2; Rom. viii. 26). (4) He is directly contrasted with Satan (Acts v. 3) and may be the object of blasphemy (Matt. xii. 31), falsehood (Acts v. 3), and grievance (Eph. iv. 30). (5) In the formula of baptism (Matt. xxviii. 19) and in the apostolic benediction (II Cor. xiii. 14) he is distinguished from the Father and the Son; so also in I Pet. i. 1–12 distinct functions are ascribed to the Father, Son, and Spirit.

II. Office and Work: Like the Father and the Son, the Spirit has ever been active. His personality and his work are brought out clearly in the New Testament as efficient in the renewal of the soul and its sanctification. The fact that Christ promised to send the Holy Spirit and assured the disciples that they should be filled with the Holy Spirit indicates that his temporal mission in the Church involved, if not some new element of activity, at least some increase in the efficacy of that influence which it has always been his office to exercise upon the hearts of men. According to the statements of the apostolic writers, he was the author of the light which the prophets of the Old Testament had of the coming of Christ (I Pet. i. 11) and of their inspiration (II Pet. i. 21). It might be possible to explain all passages of the Old Testament referring to the "Spirit of God" (Gen. i. 2, vi. 3; etc.) as meaning the influence of God upon the heart of man; but in view of the New Testament revelation the influence of the personal Holy Spirit appears in the operation of God upon the hearts of the Old Testament saints and prophets.

Biblical Teaching.

As for the New Testament, it is not always possible to determine with assurance whether the personal Holy Spirit is meant or the divine influence (cf. Luke iv. 18). But that he had a definite work assigned to him in the development of our Lord's life the language certainly implies (Matt. iii. 16, iv. 1; Luke i. 35). In his last discourses Jesus promised that the Spirit should come as his representative after his removal from the earth and the dispenser of the benefits of his life to the souls of believers (John xiv. 16, xv. 26, xvi. 7, 13; Acts i. 8). The Spirit is called the Spirit of Christ (Rom. viii. 9) because he holds the relation of a dispenser to the benefits of Christ's salvation. He has a relation to Christ similar to that which the Son has to the Father: as the Son reveals the Father (John i. 18), so the Spirit reveals the grace and meritorious atonement and promises of Christ to the heart of the believer (John xvi. 15).

The Descent of the Spirit.

The Spirit, as promised, descended with power on the Day of Pentecost (Acts ii.). Since that day the Church has looked to the Spirit as the source of all inner enlightenment, without whose agency man neither knows Christ as his Savior nor can call him Lord (I Cor. xii. 3). He is called the "Holy Spirit of promise" (Eph. i. 13) with reference to the new life of the believer and the new realm into which the believer is transferred. He is the originator of the conviction of sin (John xvi. 8–9) and the author of regeneration (John iii. 5). He promotes the sanctification of the soul (I Cor. vi. 11), and imparts to the Church his special gifts (I Cor. xii. 4). The agency of the Spirit extends to assuring the believer of his union with Christ, and participation in the promises of eternal life (Rom. viii. 16). All spiritual blessings, righteousness, peace, and joy, come to the believer by reason of his reception of the Holy Spirit (Rom. xiv. 17; Eph. ii. 18). All kinds and degrees of sin may be forgiven, except the sin of blasphemy against the Holy Spirit (Matt. xii. 31, 32). This sin is unpardonable, because it is the final rejection of the saving knowledge of Christ himself.

The present dispensation is called the dispensation of the Spirit because of the prominence given to his work and person. The Spirit's work, however, is in no sense an atoning work or a substitute for that of Christ. It is mediatorial between the Savior and the saved, realizing the salvation of Jesus in the lives and experiences of individuals. The manifestation of the Spirit continues, as on the Day of Pentecost, a manifestation of power—the power of a new life and spiritual energy (Acts i. 8). There is no indication in the New Testament that this manifestation of power was to be confined to apostolic times, though it is reasonable that the methods of the manifestation should be different in kind at different epochs.

D. S. Schaff.

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HOLY THURSDAY. See HOLY WEEK, § 4.

HOLY WATER: Water over which the prayer of consecration has been offered, which is then used symbolically in ceremonial lustration. Purifications in religion and worship by means of water were familiar both to the Oriental and to the classical systems of antiquity. On this point Egyptians, Indians, Persians, and Semites stood on a common ground. The custom is found in ancient and later Judaism (see DEFILEMENT AND PURIFICATION, CEREMONIAL). There was a vessel provided for the lustration of priests in both Tabernacle and Temple. Greeks and Romans not only paid reverential honor to sacred wells, but vessels of water stood in the confines of ancient temples, lustration being accomplished by the individual or the priest. Under the influence of both Jewish and heathen precedent Christianity introduced similar forms of purification. Tertullian speaks of the custom of washing the hands before prayer (*De oratio*, xi.), and the Apostolic Constitutions witness to the same habit (viii. 32). A bowl of water (see CANTHARUS) was provided in the atrium of the basilica (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, X., iv. 40). In this connection the old inscription was frequently applied, "Cleanse not only the face, but lawlessness," and on the vessel before old St. Paul's Church in Rome there was the inscription: "Whoever thou art who approachest the sacred shrine of Paul, venerated for its merits, wash as a suppliant thy hands in the font." In celebrating the Lord's Supper, the hands of those who received, as well as the hands of the ministering priest, were washed (cf. the authorities cited in *DCA*, i. 758–759). These lustrations were symbolic acts and were made with unblessed water, which was distinguished from that which the Church used in the sacrament of baptism. The effects of this sacrament were associated with the blessing of the water, and the sphere of the benediction was superstitiously extended, as was done in the case of the bread in the Lord's Supper (Tertullian, *Ad uxorem*, ii. 5), being regarded as efficacious in sickness and as a protection against demons. But this development required considerable time. Lustration and baptism were for a time found side by side; then a third element was introduced in the fourth century, blessed water or holy water. The blessing element originated from the sacrament, the free use of it from the custom of lustration. The increase of popular superstition caused this combination. A formula for benediction occurs in the Apostolic Constitutions (viii. 29; Eng. transl. in *ANF*, vii. 494), and the conferrer of the benediction was the bishop or, in exceptional cases, the presbyter. Stories of miracles made the custom popular. In order to regulate the usage and to protect it against the extension of superstitious practises, at the beginning of the Carolingian age the benediction of water was made an ordinary act of worship. A formula was established for it in the Gregorian Sacramentary, which became the standard and is found in the Roman Ritual. Its connection with the superstition of the ancient Church is evident, especially shown by the fact that in exorcism a prayer was offered beseeching the banishment of the evil one, while the closing petition in the blessing of holy water also mentions the driving away of demons and diseases, freeing the recipients from all evil, and asking that the spirit of pestilence may not reside there, and that all acts of envy of the latent enemy may be averted. Salt was mixed with the water, through an apocryphal direction of Pope Alexander I.; the altar was first sprinkled, then the ministry and clergy, and then the people; the faithful were allowed to take the holy water home for sprinkling the sick, houses, fields, and so on. Holy water is used by the Church for numerous benedictions, besides those mentioned above. It is kept in church in a special movable vessel or in a permanent holy water stoop. Probably the earliest example of this stoop came from Tunis, and dates from about the fifth century. More certainly applied to this use was a Byzantine marble urn (cf. F. X. Kraus, *Realencyklopädie der christlichen Altertümer*, ii. 980, Freiburg, 1886). Perhaps in the catacombs vessels of holy water were placed to protect the dead from evil spirits. There is an old example of a bronze vessel in the Vatican museum; the first certain representation of a basin is on the ivory cover of the well-known sacramentary of Drogo of the ninth century. Various forms came into use later on (cf. K. Atz, *Die christliche Kunst in Wort und Bild*, p. 547, Regensburg, 1899). The Greek Church maintains the close connection between holy water and baptismal water. It distinguishes between the great consecration (on the evening before Epiphany or on Epiphany) and the lesser consecration (whenever occasion requires). Orientals practise also the blessing of rivers or the sea.

(VICTOR SCHULTZE.)

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HOLY WEEK.

Origins (§ 1).
Palm Sunday in the East (§ 2).
In the West (§ 3).
Monday to Thursday (§ 4).
Good Friday (§ 5).
Holy Saturday (§ 6).
Protestant Usage (§ 7).

Holy Week, that is, the week before Easter, was originally called the "great week." The oldest witnesses for this designation are the pilgrim Egeria in the account of her travels, the so-called *Peregrinatio Silviæ* (text and Eng. transl. in pub-

lications of Palestine Pilgrim's Text Society, London, 1896), and Chrysostom (*Hom.*, xxx., c. 1 in Gen. x. et xi.). In the account of travels of Egeria from the time about 385 we find a detailed description of the rich liturgical celebrations by which the "great week," beginning with Palm Sunday, was distinguished in Jerusalem (in *CSEL*, xxxix. 78–92). From this account two conclusions may safely be drawn: (1) The liturgical usages, especially the custom to celebrate solemnly this week before Easter, owe their origin to the custom in Jerusalem; (2) at the time when Egeria wrote, similar celebrations must have been unknown in the Occident; the customs in Jerusalem are evidently strange and new to her. The great week in the East was distinguished in the first place by strict fasting; but the custom was not uniform; some fasted the whole week, others only four or three, or even only two, days, namely, Friday and Saturday. As early as the time of Chrysostom all public amusements were forbidden, all public offices closed, prisoners dismissed, slaves benefited in every way, especially by their release, and the poor were provided with plentiful alms. The Occidental Church adopted the same name for this week; for its official designation in the Roman Church is still to-day *hebdomada magna* or *major*. It was called also *sancta*. It is mentioned in liturgical writings as early as the twelfth century. The German expression *Karwoche* (*Karfreitag*) is derived from *karen*, "to wail, to mourn," hence denotes week of mourning or lamentation. With the Greeks the "great week" began only with the Monday after Palm Sunday, while in the Occident it commenced with that Sunday. Originally it was the same way in the East.

1. Origins.

The oldest description of the liturgical celebration of this day in Jerusalem in the fourth century is given in the *Peregrinatio Silviæ* (*CSEL*, xxxix. 82 sqq., Eng. transl. of Palestine Pilgrim's Text Society, pp. 57 sqq.). The festival began at one o'clock in the afternoon in the church upon the Mount of Olives, with singing of hymns and antiphones and the reading of lessons. The characteristic feature of the celebration was the several processions from one church to another which took place accompanied by the repeated acclamation of the people, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." Children held branches of palms or olives in their hands and accompanied the bishop, who represented the Lord and rode upon an ass. Ephraem the Syrian (q.v.) testifies that the same procession of palms took place as early as the fourth century in Edessa. In the fifth century the festival of palms had spread over the whole of Palestine. It should be noticed that the oldest testimonies for the procession of palms on Palm Sunday are entirely silent concerning a consecration of the palms, and these testimonies prove that Palm Sunday was considered throughout as a day of joy, not as a day of mourning; moreover, the epistle read on this day was Phil. iv. 4–9.

2. Palm Sunday in the East.

In the Occident there was originally no such celebration with branches of palms or other branches on this day. The oldest Western testimonies for Palm Sunday agree that the day bore entirely the character of a Passion Sunday, consequently that of mourning. It was still the same way at the time of Leo the Great (d. 461), who calls this Sunday *Dominica passionis* because the history of the Passion was read. With this agrees entirely the fact that the Spanish pilgrim evidently, until that time, had not known of a procession of palms as she experienced it in Jerusalem. The oldest Occidental testimony for the procession of palms and their consecration is found in the *Liber ordinum* of the Visigothic Church (ed. Férotin, Paris, 1904). There can be no doubt that this Spanish ceremonial belongs to the Visigothic time, hence to the sixth century. It must have been in the course of the fifth century that the Eastern custom either directly or indirectly penetrated Spain. Apart from the consecration of palms, there is an unmistakable agreement between the Spanish celebration and that of Jerusalem as described in the *Peregrinatio Silviæ* (ut sup.). The consecration of palms is probably of Occidental origin, and was at first entirely independent of the celebration. Such a consecration was hardly necessary for the procession, but the consecrated branches were believed to possess the power of exorcism, to expel diseases, and to guard against demons, lightning, fire, and tempests. It is not known at what time and place consecration of palms and procession were combined. One of the oldest testimonies of a special celebration of Palm Sunday in the Occident is a passage in the work of the Anglo-Saxon bishop, Aldhelm of Sherborne (q.v.), *De laudibus virginitatis* (*MPL*, lxxxix. 128). He speaks of a "very holy solemnity of the palms." At the celebration on this day there was sung antiphonally *Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini*, to joyful airs. Amalarius of Metz (q.v.) testifies that on Palm Sunday branches were carried through the churches while Hosannah was sung (*MPL*, cv. 1008); he says nothing of the consecration of palms. In the later Middle Ages the procession developed so as to imitate as faithfully as possible the entrance of Jesus into Jerusalem. As in the East, the bishop, as Christ, rode upon an ass or a horse. There developed, on the other hand, also the ceremony of consecration. Not only were branches consecrated, but also flowers, which were then carried in the procession. Therefore the Sunday was called also *pascha, floridum, dominica florum et ramorum, les pâques fleuries;* flower day. On the same day the symbol was given to the competitors in various territories of the Church, as in the fifth and sixth centuries in Gaul and Spain; therefore Palm Sunday was called in some places *dominica* or *pascha competentium*. In the Roman Catholic Church the following solemn observances take place on Palm Sunday: (1) the consecration of palms; (2) the procession; (3) the mass, which throughout bears the character of mourning. As the Greek Church does not count Palm Sunday as belonging to the "great week," and has given to this day from the beginning the character of joy, it does not now employ the procession, but only the consecration of

3. In the West.

palms. In the Greek Church the names of the day are similar to those in the Latin Church.

4. Monday to Thursday.

Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday of the "great week," according to the *Peregrinatio Silviæ* (*CSEL*, xxxix. 84 sqq.; Eng. transl., ut sup., pp. 59–60), were early distinguished by special services. On Tuesday in the vigil the bishop himself reads the Gospel of the day, Matt. xxiv. 4 sqq., upon the Mount of Olives, from the cave in which the Lord used to teach his disciples. On Wednesday the vigil takes place in the Church of the Resurrection; the presbyter reads the Gospel of the day (Matt. xxvi. 14–16), the history of the betrayal, whereupon the congregation utters loud cries of resentment. The same lessons are to a certain extent still used in the Greek Church. The masses of the Roman Church on those days are of a pronounced character of passion.

Concerning Maundy Thursday, in the description of the *Peregrinatio Silviæ* (*CSEL*, xxxix. 85 sqq.; Eng. transl., ut sup., pp. 60–62), which gives a detailed account of the celebration of this day in Jerusalem, it is to be noted that the writer apparently has no special name either for Maundy Thursday or for the preceding days, and in the second place, that this day is distinguished by a general celebration of the Holy Supper, which takes place in a definite place. This evidently constitutes the proper celebration of this day, while the services in the evening are to be regarded as preparations for the following Friday. The custom of celebrating the Holy Supper on this day extended over the whole Orient. Augustine testifies to the same custom in Africa in the fifth century. An important ceremony on Maundy Thursday was the washing of feet (see Foot-washing). On the same day there took place the solemn readmission or reconciliation of the penitents to the congregation, but this custom was not universal in the Occident. Ambrose testifies to its existence in Milan, and Innocent I. in Rome. In the Middle Ages this custom disappeared. Another custom of the ancient church on this day was the consecration of the Chrism (q.v.) by the bishop. Originally this consecration took place during the act of baptism; but when the bishops had to leave baptism to the presbyters they still claimed for themselves the consecration of the anointing-oil, as early as the fourth century in Rome. It is very probable that these blessings were then performed on Maundy Thursday; for baptism took place shortly before Easter. The Roman Catholic Church possesses still other peculiar customs for this day, as, for instance, the chanting of the *Tenebræ*. During the service a large candlestick, supporting fifteen lights, arranged in the form of a triangle, which denote Christ and the prophets who predicted his coming, stands in the sanctuary; the lights are one by one extinguished until only the upper one remains, which is taken down and placed under the altar until the close of the office, and then brought back. It is also customary on this day for all clericals to commune. In the Greek Church on this day, beside the washing of pilgrims' feet and the consecration of oil, also the consecration of the holy myron takes place. The derivation of the term "Green Thursday," the German designation for Holy Thursday, is uncertain. Some derive it from the green herbs that used to be eaten on this day in order to guard against diseases; others, from the penitents who were readmitted on Holy Thursday, and who, according to them, were styled "green." According to Keller, the name originated from the green paraments used in Germany in the mass of that day in contrast with the paraments of other colors used on other days of the "great week." While "Green Thursday" and "Holy Thursday" are only popular designations, the liturgical name of the Church is to-day, and has been for a long time, *Cœna Domini*.

5. Good Friday.

According to the oldest testimonies, this day bears throughout the character of mourning. This appears in the interesting description of the celebration of this day in *Peregrinatio Silviæ* (*CSEL*, xxxix. 87 sqq.; Eng. transl., ut sup., pp. 62 sqq.). The account shows that on this day there was customary the strictest fasting and vigilance, that a crucifix was exhibited and adored, and that the divine services consisted in reading of the Scripture, hymns, and prayers, but not in the celebration of the Lord's Supper. The custom of the Greek Church of to-day hardly differs from the custom of old Jerusalem as preserved in the account of Silvia. The Syriac Didascalia and the Apostolic Constitutions demand absolute fasting on Good Friday and Saturday before Easter. About the middle of the third century it was customary also in Alexandria to abstain entirely from food on both days, although not unconditionally. The custom of the Occident in keeping this day is closely related to that of the East; the day is one of deepest mourning and of strict fasting, and there is a tendency to limit church services as much as possible. John of Naples, a contemporary of Paulinus of Nola (d. 431), bears witness that he administered the Lord's Supper on Holy Thursday, but on the next day devoted himself entirely to prayer, which shows that on this day no mass was celebrated. In some parts of Spain in the seventh century the churches were closed on Good Friday. Even in the ninth century in Rome no communion was celebrated. Nevertheless, Good Friday was always distinguished by a peculiar celebration. The morning service in the Roman Catholic Church consists of four parts: (1) the readings; (2) the intercessory prayers; (3) the unveiling and adoration of the cross; and (4) the celebration of the *missa præsanctificatorum* ("shortened" mass). In the Middle Ages there was customary also a solemn burial, which used to follow immediately the adoration of the cross—the cross was laid down in a "holy" grave in the tomb chapel and covered with a piece of cloth (*sudarium*), and in connection with it there were sung corresponding responsories, versicles and prayers. This custom is said to have arisen in the tenth century. The adoration of the cross was followed by the "shortened" mass, which is explained as follows: On Holy Thursday there are consecrated two wafers; one is eaten by the priest, the other he places back in the chalice, which he puts on a side altar. This "presanctified" wafer (hence the Latin name, ut sup.) is carried on Good

Friday by the priest and the entire clergy in procession from the side altar to the main altar. The origin of this "mass of the presanctified" lies, without doubt, in the East, where, on certain days of the week, the "service of the presanctified" is still celebrated, the elements of which are sanctified on the preceding Sunday. In the Roman Catholic Church Good Friday is not a holiday, and therefore the performance of daily work is allowed. The liturgical name of Good Friday, especially among the Latins, is "day of preparation." Among the Jews that was the name for every Friday as the day of preparation for the following Sabbath. The Christians, too, often designated any Friday by this expression, but finally it was restricted to Good Friday. The Greeks call this Friday as every day of the holy and great week, the "holy and great" Friday or "the great preparation." At an earlier time it was designated by "Pascha of the crucifixion," in distinction from "Pascha of the resurrection," the Easter festival (Augustine, *De trinitate*, in *MPL*, xlii. 894). The Italians call it *venerdi santo*, the French *vendredi saint*. In Germany, beside the name "Good Friday," there was current also the term "White Friday."

On the ceremonies of Holy Saturday or Easter Saturday see Easter, I., 4, §§ 2–3. In the Greek Orthodox Church the "great Sabbath" was esteemed more highly than Good Friday. Until the time of vespers it still bears the character of mourning and earnestness; therefore it is a day of the strictest fasting. The liturgical service of this day has a specially dramatic character. The most important ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church on Holy Saturday are at the present time the consecration of the new fire, the consecration of the Easter candle, the consecration of water, the litany and the mass which, to a certain extent, still bears the impress of penitence and mourning; but this mass is celebrated with white paraments and the singing of the Gloria and the Hallelujah (see Liturgics, III.). The lessons refer to the resurrection. The liturgical name of Holy Saturday is *Sabbatum sanctum;* the Italians therefore call it *sabato santo*, and the Frenchmen *samedi saint*, while in Germany it is known as *Ostersonnabend* or *Karsamstag*.

6. Holy Saturday.

The Lutheran Reformation brought about the general abolishment of the Roman Catholic ceremonies of the week. Luther had so great an aversion against them that in the *Formula missæ* of 1523 he did not mention at all the celebration. In Wittenberg, therefore, these customs seem to have disappeared at a very early time. But from sermons of Luther dating from the years 1521 and 1522 it is evident that at that time Holy Thursday and Good Friday were distinguished by special services with sermons in Wittenberg. All Roman Catholic abuses in connection with the celebration of Holy Week were removed, but the traditional Evangelical pericopes of Passion week were adhered to. The Wittenberg church order of 1533 prescribes even double preaching for Holy Wednesday, Holy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday. It is a characteristic trait of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that Holy Thursday and Good Friday were treated as being of an entirely equal value. Sometimes they are considered half-holidays, at other times whole holidays; then again they are not mentioned at all as days specially to be celebrated, but Good Friday is never valued more highly than Holy Thursday. The custom of celebrating Holy Week was in no way uniform in the first decades of the Reformation. There were territories in which it was celebrated as closely as possible in connection with the old Catholic customs. Good Friday developed only gradually into a full holiday. In the first half of the seventeenth century it began, in public estimation, to take precedence of Holy Thursday. In the Reformed Church the regulations of Zwingli had a decisive influence. Accordingly, Holy Thursday and Good Friday belonged from the beginning to the official days of the administration of the Lord's Supper. It must be assumed that the customs and ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church soon disappeared in Zurich. In the Reformed German territories of to-day Holy Thursday is considered a half-holiday and Good Friday a full holiday. In the Anglican Church the entire week is distinguished by special church services. This is nowhere the case now in German Evangelical territories. Palm Sunday is in many state churches the customary Sunday for confirmation. Holy Thursday is nowhere any longer a legal holiday, but is characterized only by the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Good Friday is generally a full holiday, celebrated with great earnestness. [In the Evangelical churches of Great Britain and the United States other than those named above, the observances of the week as a whole are disregarded. There is, however, a very decided tendency in several of the denominations to make Good Friday a day of special service. The usages of the churches are also affecting social and business life—shown in the former by refraining from participation in amusements, in closer attendance upon public worship, and in acts of self-denial, and in the latter by such customs as the closing of exchanges, banks, and even of the offices of corporations.]

7. Protestant Usage.

(P. Drews.)

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HOLZHAUSER, BARTHOLOMAEUS. See Bartholomites, 2.

HOMBERG SYNOD AND CHURCH ORDER OF 1526.

I. The Homberg Synod.
II. The Homberg Church Order.
Chapters i.–xiv., Ritual, Worship, etc. (§ 1).
Chapters xv.–xxviii., Church Organization and Government (§ 2).
Chapters xxix.–xxxiv., Instruction (§ 3).
The Church Order never Officially Adopted (§ 4).
Excellences and Defects of the Church Order (§ 5).
Its Models and Sources (§ 6).

I. The Homberg Synod: Even before Luther's dramatic appearance, the lords of the State in Germany, no less than in France and England, had extended their prerogatives into the sphere of ecclesiastical affairs. The decision of the Diet of Speyer, Aug. 27, 1526, which allowed every sovereign authority, pending the meeting of a council, to decide matters of faith for itself and its province, recognizing its accountability to God and the emperor, conceded, even though in limited terms, a canonical basis for the application of territorialism in favor of the Reformation. Landgrave Philip of Hesse had the sagacity to utilize the situation in a judicious manner and convened an assembly of spiritual and temporal estates at Homberg (20 m. s.w. of Cassel) Oct. 20, 1526, "to deal in the grace of the Almighty with Christian matters and disputes." The proceedings were opened in the church at Homberg on Sunday, Oct. 21. To promote discussion, the former Franciscan Franz Lambert (q.v.), of Avignon, had put forth 158 articles of debate (*paradoxa*), which had already been posted on the church doors. After the opening speech by the chancellor, Johann Feige, Lambert read his theses, and proceeded to substantiate them from Scripture and to enumerate the abuses of the Church. In the afternoon Adam Krafft, of Fulda, translated Lambert's theses into German, and challenged whoever found them at variance with God's Word to declare himself. Only the Franciscan prior Nicholas Ferber, of Marburg, came forward, and took the floor the following morning. He flatly contested the landgrave's authority to hold a synod, to undertake ecclesiastical changes, and to pass any measures in the affairs of the Christian faith; since this was altogether the privilege of the pope, the bishops, and the Church. When the chancellor urged the duty of the civil authorities to abolish abuses and idolatry Ferber still more sharply contested the assembly's competency to deal with an ecclesiastical question, and finally he attacked the prince's character for laying hands on the goods of the Church. He did not succeed, however, in giving another turn to the proceedings; nor did he attempt to refute the proffered articles of debate. He soon afterward left Hesse, and issued at Cologne *Assertiones trecentæ ac viginti adversus Fr. Lamberti paradoxa impia;* and subsequently *Assertiones aliæ*. On the following day (Tuesday, Oct. 23), when the synod was on the point of closing, there appeared unexpectedly Master Johann Sperber, of Waldau, near Cassel, and made a vain attempt to justify the invocation of Mary, the mother of Jesus Christ, by the angelic salutation in Luke i.

II. The Homberg Church Order: As a result of the deliberations of a committee appointed prior to the closing of the synod, there was issued the Homberg church order, or *Reformatio Hessiæ*, which in thirty-four chapters deals with the entire sphere of church life. Foremost stands the declaration that the Word of God shall be the only norm (i.–ii.). It is affirmed in the passage concerning the Lord's Supper (iii.–iv.) that "Christ is present in this supper, God and man"; provision is made for administration of the sacrament under both kinds; and the observance of the "ritual which Martin Luther has just written in German" (i.e., *Die deutsche Messe*, 1526) is ordered. The wearing of a mass gown, the lighting of candles, and the use of a suitable cup are recommended; but the recitation of the canon of the mass and of all prayers in which the terms "sacrifice" and "host" occur, the invocation of the saints, and the like are forbidden. It is also enjoined that the organ be played not at all, or only very seldom, because it ministers to the ear alone; and, furthermore, that the pompous peal of bells be avoided. At daily morning and evening service, held in the native language, the Old and New Testament Scriptures are to be read (v.). Obligatory confession and the avowal of separate sins (vi.), with fasting, are repealed, but fast-days may be appointed by the civil ruler and by the congregation; in the latter case, however, not in the way of obligation (vii.). Chapter viii., "Concerning Festivals," reduces their number, and sets forth that for the faithful all days, properly considered, are alike, save that Sunday and the other festival days are sanctioned to the end that God's Word may be freely heard by the whole congregation. The important social principle is declared that on such days, apart from the hours of divine service, and without scruple of conscience, it is allowable to ply one's calling, since this is better than idleness; but one has no right to compel hired people to work at such times. No tolerance is accorded to images and altars in the churches—only the altar from which the Lord's Supper is administered shall remain, and it shall be called not altar, but table; it is temperately subjoined, however, that these things are not to be removed by the civil authority until the congregation may have neglected to remove them, after the Gospel shall have been preached some considerable time (ix.). "Superstitious benedictions" of bread, wine, water, salt, etc., are forbidden, and in place of them grace at meals is recommended, though not as a matter of compulsion (x.). The passage on baptism (xi.), visitation of the sick (xii.), form of burial (xiii.), and marriage (xiv.) follow, and then come the provisions affecting the congregational and ecclesiastical organization (xv. sqq.), the clauses which have made this church order famous.

1. Chapters i.–xiv., Ritual, Worship, etc.

Their dominating ideas are as follows: The congregations of the faithful are the foundation of the entire Church (xv.); and they are constituted by means of a separation of the true brethren from the false. The organization of these congregations shall be preceded by a more or less prolonged proclaiming of the Gospel; and, furthermore, by a preparatory season of one month, during which the prospective organization shall be advertised

on Sundays and festivals. The hope is entertained that by virtue of this preaching a congregation of the faithful may be formed in advance of its actual organization. The latter shall then be effected by the following process: on the duly appointed day those who desire to be reckoned in the number of the saints make public announcement thereof, and at the same time promise their submission to Holy Scripture and the church discipline. One who by his manner of life or by his doctrine provokes offense is not to be admitted among the number of the faithful unless, within a period of two weeks, he succeeds, by repentance, in removing the objections against him. Congregational activity is to be exercised in assemblies and by means of constituted officers. This assembling of the faithful —women were allowed to be present, but not to speak—should occur every Sunday, at a suitable place. The faithful are particularly entrusted with the election of bishops and deacons, and the exercise of church discipline, but, with reference to bishops (= pastors), the qualification is made that " for this year, and until the congregations are instructed by God's Word " they shall be called, installed, or deposed by the civil sovereign and the *visitatores* (see below). The bishops' duties include administration of Word and sacrament, cure of souls, and presiding at conventions. Eligible as bishops are devout, learned, and blameless men of every estate, but not princes, lords, and government officials. Deacons are of two kinds—those who assist the bishop, and " deacons of the church," who care for the poor and administer church property. Fervent interest is manifested in behalf of the poor (xxvii.). Provision is made for those who have been driven from home for the sake of their faith (xxviii.). Besides the *episcopi* and *diaconi*, *seniores* are mentioned (xii., xv., xx., xxi.), but only in the position of men of trust in the congregation, not as officers. The permanent cause of rectitude in the congregation was promoted by the church discipline, which could proceed as far as excommunication and was exercised by direct naming of the guilty. Excommunication consisted in exclusion from the weekly meetings and from intercourse with the faithful, and if one who had incurred it was overtaken by death impenitent he should not be buried in the cemetery of the faithful (xvi.). Absolution of sinners is to be granted before the entire congregation, upon public confession of sins, and subject to open repentance (xvii.). The congregations become incorporated as a part of the Hessian State Church by the action of a synod to be convened annually at Marburg, regularly on the third Sunday after Easter, for which a session of three days at the longest was prescribed (xviii.). The synod was to be composed of the bishops, the congregational delegates—each congregation electing one delegate from its own members—the princes, counts and lords (*nobiles*). It devolved on the synod to pass upon all matters of administering and ordering the Church according to the Word of God, which is the only binding canon; all decisions rendered by the synod are but so many interpretations. To cover the interval between the several synods, an executive committee of thirteen members was to be chosen by the synod from its members, and this committee had charge of instituting and directing the synods, and of devising provisional arrangements to be duly submitted to the synod itself. The synod, furthermore, was to elect three *visitatores* (xxii.), upon whom it devolved to visit all the Hessian congregations once a year; to test, with a view to their fitness, those elected as bishops; to confirm the worthy and remove the unworthy; to support the congregations and bishops agreeably to the Word of God; and to inculcate respect for the Word of God and the synod's resolutions. In urgent matters the committee should confer with the inspectors for joint action. Very significant of the spirit of this church order is the declaration (xxvi.) that none of the church officials, neither the executive committee nor the inspectors, neither bishops nor deacons, hold priority of rank; while any striving to that end was to be punished with forfeiture of office; provision is made for rotation of office to be observed in the synods.

2. Chapters xv.–xxviii., Church Organization and Government.

After church organization comes the matter of instruction. It is declared (xxix.) that nothing shall be taught at the new university (*universale studium*) which it was proposed to found at Marburg " which may be prejudicial to the interests of the kingdom of God." Schools for boys are to be erected in the various towns and villages (xxx.); likewise, schools for girls (xxxi.), if possible, in the country as well, to train up capable housekeepers. The *Reformatio* closes with provisos affecting cloisters and monks (xxxiv.); provision shall be made for all who withdraw, while in the main tolerance is the portion of those that stay behind, though they are subject to serious limitations of their freedom. In the case of vacated cloisters, either schools are to be inaugurated or, if the congregation so decides, they shall be applied to church or public objects.

3. Chapters xxix.–xxxiv., Instruction.

Forasmuch as the *Reformatio* had not been formally accepted by the Homberg Synod, but was only the draft of a committee serving by the synod's appointment, there was need of some special act of legislation to secure official validity in Hesse for this private labor. Such recognition, however, was never conceded. Landgrave Philip accounted it advisable to submit the same to the great Reformer for a judicial opinion. In a communication dated Jan. 7, 1527, Luther counseled not to circulate the constitution in printed form, but first to supply the parishes and schools with good and worthy incumbents, and furnish them with very brief directions. He advised not to begin with the promulgation of finished laws, which people could not carry out; on the contrary, let the laws grow out of practical experience and usage. This letter settled the fate of the church order. It not only did not appear in print, but, as the sole two manuscripts which have been hitherto discovered prove, it was evidently kept discreetly in the background. The formerly much-agitated question as

4. The Church Order Never Officially Adopted.

to whether it was at least provisionally in legal operation, is decided negatively by the instructions to the *visitatores* at Pentecost, 1527, wherein with express reference to the Homberg Constitution it is declared that no other rule shall be valid than the Word of God, and that no other scheme of regulations shall be expected.

Luther's verdict was justified in fact, and the landgrave acted wisely in heeding the same. True enough, the constitution embodies many excellent ideas, nor does it by any means deserve the reproach of radicalism. In confining church discipline to notorious and flagrant sins, without intruding upon the province of faith, it betokens great moderation in comparison with other church enactments of the Reformation, while by transfer of ecclesiastical jurisdiction to a synod it pointed out a new course for the organization of Evangelical congregations which became legally recognized as time advanced. It was none the less encumbered with grave drawbacks. The most serious objection is the one emphasized by Luther, to the effect that the constitution was not suited to the actual situation of affairs in Hesse, but that it outlined theoretically a finished constitution for a church as yet to be founded. Along with this formal and structural blunder, the fundamental design of the *Reformatio* to establish the entire Church on the basis of elect congregations was at fault, since it amounted to the renouncing of a popular Church, and issued in the creation of conventicles. By the privileged status conceded to the civil ruler and the nobility, which they enjoyed without, as full members of the congregation, the responsibilities appointed for others, the constitution provided a check on its own principles, but at the same time demonstrated its impracticability.

5. Excellences and Defects of the Church Order.

The church order being no original product, the question arises, where are its prototypes and sources to be sought? The assumption of a dependent connection between it and Luther has been made, and an Upper German origin is affirmed; the "spiritualism" of the Franciscans has been adduced; likewise Waldensian influence, and certain Wyclifian and Bohemian influences; the tendency of Gallican Christianity has been discovered, with its emphasis on ecclesiastical discipline; and some have referred to the general consciousness of the Reformation, and to the tract by Eberlin of Günzberg, *Die fünfzehn Bundesgenossen* (see Eberlin, Johann). Amid all these hypotheses, which, in turn, occur in a more or less combined form, one fact appears plainly, viz., that the *Reformatio* was derived not merely from one quarter. In any case, the decisive instigation emanated from Luther and from his tract *Deutsche Messe und Ordnung des Gottesdienstes*. That Luther's influence, however, was not the only one at work upon the *Reformatio* is patent from manifold particulars of the church order (e.g., the committee of thirteen, which has been found analogous to local arrangements at Metz, Strasburg, and among the Bohemian Brethren). Just what these influences were is the more perplexing since even in the matter of Luther's statements in the *Deutsche Messe* the question arises, to what extent here also the counsel of alien (Anabaptist?) elements is demonstrable. Any systematic analysis of the sources of the *Reformatio* will have to reckon with the facts that it can neither be regarded as the landgrave's work nor as the exclusive work of Lambert, seeing he was attended by colaborers; that the proof of a relative dependency is not yet established; that in those days of great ferment many Biblical ideas, medieval adjuncts and theories were commingled and were still operative in such a way that it was impossible to undertake to separate them distinctly.

6. Its Models and Sources.

Carl Mirbt.

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HOME MISSIONS.

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The religious movement known as American Home Missions may be said to have begun with the discovery of the country. Columbus was both explorer and missionary. His first act upon landing on the wooded island which he named San Salvador was to erect two standards; one, the ancient flag of Leon and Castile, and, by its side, the elder banner of the Cross, thus dedicating the New World at its southern entrance to civil rule and to the spiritual dominion of the Church. On his second voyage (1494) he brought with him twelve Franciscan monks, whose sole business was to be the conversion of the native races to Christianity. This dual purpose of Spain is repeatedly recognized in the early patents issued by the Spanish Court to successive bands of emigrants. Charles V., successor to Ferdinand and Isabella, in one of these royal patents

1. Spanish Missions.

plainly declares: "You are bidden to attract the natives to receive preachers who shall inform and instruct them in the affairs of our holy Catholic faith, that they may become Christians;" and he significantly adds: "Our *principal* intent in the discovery of new lands is that the inhabitants and natives thereof, who are without the light of the knowledge of faith, may be brought to understand the truth of our holy Catholic faith, and that they may come to the knowledge thereof and become Christians and be saved." For more than 200 years this double intent, civil conquest and spiritual dominion, was persistently followed, the one as devotedly as the other. Whatever may be thought of the religious creed of Franciscan and Dominican monks, or of their some time violent methods of church extension, their missionary zeal has never been questioned. To make a convert they counted no cost and dared every danger. Sacrifices became luxuries. They undertook long and perilous journeys which led them into the heart of hostile and cruel tribes, where the reward was often death or torture worse than death, which they bore with composure. And everywhere they went missions were established, chapels and convents sprang up, whose ruins still bear silent witness to the devotion of these men. They patiently conquered the native dialects that they might add the printed page to the spoken word. They put the Christian truths into meter, and meter into music. It is little wonder that they made converts or that their heroic labors, and more especially their personal bravery and contempt for every form of terror, commended them to the admiration of these children of the wilds. In 300 years Spain had extended her domain from the Atlantic to the Pacific, south of the thirty-eighth degree of latitude, a territory including the present States of Florida, Alabama, Texas, New Mexico, and California, and in all that vast and rapid advance missionaries were pioneers. "Over a hundred thousand of the aborigines," says T. O'Gorman, the Catholic historian, "were brought to the knowledge of Christianity, and introduced, if not into the palace, at least into the antechamber, of civilization" (*American Church History Series*, ix. 112, New York, 1895). Such were the early conquests of Spain, civil and religious; but, with all their promise, they were destined to ultimate failure. The same historian confesses the Spanish defeat in language equally true and pathetic: "As we look around to-day we find nothing of it that remains. Names of saints in melodious Spanish stand out from maps in all that section where the Spanish monk toiled, trod, and died. A few thousand Christian Indians, descendants of those they converted and civilized, still survive in New Mexico and Arizona, and that is all."

2. French Missions.

The French entered America at the northern gate, by way of the St. Lawrence, and with the same double purpose of conquest and conversion. Their missionaries were Jesuit priests who treated the Indian with great kindness, seeking to make him a friend and partner in their plans of conquest. Not less brave or devoted than their Franciscan predecessors, they were more shrewd and politic, with the result that their success was proportionately rapid. Eighty years from the founding of Quebec the French posts, "military, commercial, and religious," had been pushed westward to Lake Superior. The vast domain of Canada, half the present territory of Maine, half of Vermont, more than half of New York, the entire valley of the Mississippi, and the whole of Texas became a vast French possession, "in which," says O'Gorman, "all the North American Indians were more or less extensively converted." It is impossible not to admire the flaming zeal, the tireless devotion, the almost superhuman bravery which accomplished these astounding results in less than 300 years. Their converts were still multiplying when the ambitious schemes of both Spain and France were brought to an end by the opening of the Seven Years' War, which prepared the way for a new civilization and another type of missionary enterprise which were destined to survive. [For additional matter on this and the preceding paragraph see INDIANS OF NORTH AMERICA, MISSIONS TO; MISSIONS AMONG THE HEATHEN, A.]

3. Missionary Purpose of English Settlers.

To the English pioneers was reserved the middle way of approach. First at Jamestown in 1607, and later at New York, Plymouth, and Boston; and again it is to be noticed that the spirit of civil conquest and missionary zeal moved hand in hand. Perhaps no nation in history, unless it be the chosen people, was ever more distinctly religious and missionary in the character of its early settlers than the United States. The different charters and commissions under which they emigrated from the Old World contain, almost without exception, an explicit recognition of the divine claim. "The thing is of God," said the London Trading Company, in its letters patent to the Plymouth Pilgrims. "In the name of God, amen!" are the opening words of the Mayflower compact, and the full meaning of that document is summed up in the phrase following —"For the glory of God and the advancement of the Christian faith." The signers of this historic compact paused on the threshold of their great enterprise, "at a time," says Bancroft, "when everything demanded haste," to keep a Sabbath of prayer and praise on Clark's Island. Governor Bradford, in his history of the Plymouth Colony, declares that the colonists "had a great hope and inward zeal of laying some good foundation for propagating and advancing the Gospel of the kingdom of Christ in these remote parts of the world, yea," he adds, "though it should be as stepping-stones to others." In this germinant and prophetic sentence lies hidden the seed of all the wonderful missionary history of the nineteenth century. The early settlers of North and South Carolina declared themselves to be actuated "by a laudable zeal for the propagation of the Gospel." Even Virginia, not always regarded as a distinctly religious colony, urges upon its first governor "the using of all possible means to bring over the natives to a love of civilization and to a love of God and of his true religion." Georgia, the last of the colonies to be settled, was a religious enterprise from the start,

dominated by godly Moravians from Germany and Presbyterians from the Highlands of Scotland. Thus, for continuous years, a soil was being prepared into which in due time the seed of organized home and foreign missions should fall and spring up again to make glad the City of God.

4. Organization of Congregational Effort, 1798–1807.

Yet it was not until 1798, nearly 200 years after the Pilgrim landing, that American home missions began to assume this organized form. Previous to that date missionary efforts had been mostly sporadic. Before the war of the Revolution individual churches of the Congregational order in Connecticut were sending out their pastors on missionary errands to what were then known as the New Settlements (Vermont, New York, and Ohio). For this service they were paid four and one-half dollars a week, and were allowed four dollars more for the supply of their pulpits during their absence, which usually covered about four months at a time. These missionary pastors followed the new settlers to their forest or prairie homes, preaching the Word, administering the ordinances, setting up the Church and the Sunday-school, and carrying the greeting of old friends and neighbors to their distant kindred on the frontier. Yet it was something more than mere kinship and friendship that prompted these missionary journeys. There was also a great fear of barbarism, a profound dread of new States gathering strength and coming into the Union without churches or schools, without the Christian sabbath or the Christian home. Such fears seemed to haunt the churches of Connecticut and Massachusetts, which at that time were predominantly Congregational, until, in 1798, organization against an evil so threatening became a necessity. In June of that year the Missionary Society of Connecticut was organized, and one year later the Massachusetts Missionary Society came into being. These two organizations, with slight changes of name, are in existence to-day. Both of them were Congregational in origin, and, for more than a hundred years, they have been the twin springs from which an ever-broadening stream of home missionary interest and effort has flowed. It is important to remember that both these mother societies, while bearing the names of the States where they originated, and supported by the States whose names they bear, were not primarily for the benefit of Connecticut and Massachusetts. The object of the Connecticut society, as defined in its charter, was "to Christianize the heathen (Indians) of North America, and to support and promote Christian knowledge in the new settlements of the United States." The charter of the Massachusetts Society describes its object as being "to diffuse the Gospel among the heathen (Indians) as well as other people in the remote parts of our country." Both societies, therefore, while local in their origin and support, were truly national in spirit and aim. Other New England States followed the lead of Connecticut and Massachusetts; New Hampshire in 1801, Rhode Island in 1803, Maine and Vermont in 1807. Thus, within ten years of the first movement, the Congregational churches of the six New England States were organized for home missions. The four States last named were animated by the same broad spirit as Connecticut and Massachusetts. If they attempted less for the new settlements to the westward than their elder neighbors, it was only because they were themselves new settlements, needing more help than they were able at that stage to bestow.

5. Other Early Denominational Organizations.

To the same fruitful decade belongs the origin of Baptist home missions in New England. Its genesis is singularly like that of the Congregationalists. The Massachusetts Domestic Society, the first organization of its kind among American Baptists, dates from 1802. Its object, as defined by its constitution, was "to furnish occasional preaching and to promote the knowledge of evangelistic truth in the new settlements of the United States, or further, if circumstances should render it proper." This organized movement was preceded, as in the case of Connecticut and Massachusetts, by intermittent effort on the part of individual churches. Indeed, the significant feature of all these early organizations is that they were the natural outgrowth of an evangelistic spirit within the churches, and in no single instance were they forced upon the churches by outside influence. Baptist home missionary effort, like Congregational, looked beyond the place of birth, sending its missionaries into Maine, lower Canada, western New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, and Missouri. To the same year, 1802, belongs the first systematic effort of the Presbyterians of New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, acting under the same broad charter with the movement of Congregationalists and Baptists in New England, namely, "to send forth missionaries well qualified to be employed in mission work on the frontiers, for the purpose of organizing churches, administering ordinances, ordaining elders, collecting information concerning the state of religion in those parts, and preparing the best means of establishing a Gospel ministry among the people." Meanwhile the Reformed Church of America had not been idle. Sporadic missionary work began with them as early as 1786, culminating in 1882 in the organizing of the Missionary Society of the Reformed Dutch Church, differing nothing in spirit from its forerunners, but with wider scope, as it included home and foreign missions under a single organization. Methodist and Episcopalian missions, as well as Lutheran and those of the Disciples of Christ, belonged necessarily to a later period.

6. Work in the Northwest Territory.

At the opening of the nineteenth century the new settlements, so called, were found mainly in northern New England, eastern and central New York, and in northern and southern Ohio, and these were naturally the first points of home missionary attack. The opening of the Northwest Territory (including the present States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin) and the passage by Congress of the ordinance of 1787 attracted a stream of immigration from the East, mingled with a considerable element from Great Britain, Holland, Scandinavia, Germany

and Moravia, Belgium and Switzerland. The earlier settlers of New York, Ohio, and Illinois, were generally Protestant in their sympathies, but unable at once, with a new country to settle and homes to be built, to provide for themselves the institutions of worship. To the help of these hopeful but destitute settlers came the organized missionary societies of the East. Their missionaries were hurried forward to every needy point, not only in the wilds of New York and Ohio, but to the remoter sections of Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, and Tennessee. They even found their way down the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico and they crossed the northern borders into Canada. A specially promising field of effort was the section of Ohio bordering on Lake Erie, which had been settled chiefly by families from Connecticut, and for that reason commonly known as New Connecticut. At the beginning of the century this tract contained about 1,400 inhabitants. In 1804 it had 400 families. One year later the 400 had grown to 1,100, one-half of them from New England. In less than thirty years from the beginning of organized home missions ninety churches had been planted in this section, all of them by missionaries sent out and supported by Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New York. To sum up in a sentence, the Missionary Society of Connecticut, at the end of thirty years of work, had employed 200 missionaries, by whom 400 churches had been established in the new settlements of the nation. With what wear and tear of body, with what sacrifice of comforts in the wilderness, with what patience of hope and courage of faith and labors of love no words could fully portray. Not a mile of railway had been built. The river and canal, the stage-coach, the emigrant wagon, and the saddle were the only conveniences of travel, and to these the missionary often added foot-sore and weary tramps from settlement to settlement. No Franciscan, Dominican, or Jesuit missionary of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, toiling over the same ground on missionary errands, accomplished a grander service or endured hardships more cheerfully.

7. The American Home Missionary Society.

All the earlier efforts above described were marked by a commendable absence of sectarian rivalry. The vastness of the problem forbade all such trifling. Prompt, united action was demanded. Denominational supremacy was buried under the all-absorbing issue whether New America should be a heathen or a Christian nation. Between Presbyterians and Congregationalists, at that time the strongest church bodies in the land, the spirit of union was particularly active. For the long period of fifty years, between 1801 and 1851, these two churches carried on their missionary work in the new settlements under a " Plan of Union " so called, mutually agreed to, by which the churches of either order, wherever formed, might worship in the same house, elect and listen to the same pastor, and profess the same creed, while each body was left free to govern itself by the church polity it loved and preferred. In 1826 Congregational, Presbyterian, Reformed, and Associate Reformed churches still further illustrated their unsectarian spirit by uniting in the organization of a national society, known as the American Home Missionary Society. The growth and needs of the home missionary movement made this step a necessity. Hitherto State societies had been doing national work, each in its own way. But these organizations, operating independently, had resulted in an unequal distribution of both men and money. Some regions were oversupplied, while others were left entirely destitute. Moreover, the laborers themselves inevitably came into conflict with each other. Obviously the time had arrived for federation and coordination under one national society; and that society, as above stated, was organized May 26, 1826, with headquarters in New York, the various state societies making themselves auxiliaries to the national organization. Perhaps nothing more potential in the progress of the home missionary movement, up to this date, belongs to its history than this act. For years the churches forming this alliance labored together in fraternal unity, contributing to a common treasury, and governed by a single board of directors. Receipts rapidly increased, the missionary force doubled and trebled in number, and instead of being an itinerant preacher, the home missionary became a settled pastor, bearing the commission of a national society, dwelling continually among his people, and building them up in unity and strength. It was only when these cooperating church bodies had grown strong that they amicably withdrew from this federation to organize separate societies of their own, leaving the Congregationalists to inherit the name and good-will of this honored society. In fact, it was not until many years later that " American " was dropped from its charter name and " Congregational," which had become more truly descriptive of its nature, was substituted.

8. Denominational Societies.

Meanwhile the Methodist Church, growing in strength and burning to have a part in national evangelization, organized its missionary society in 1819, which covered both home and foreign work; the Episcopal Church, its Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society in 1821, also national; the Baptists, their American Baptist Home Missionary Society in 1832; the Lutherans, their Home Missionary Society of the General Synod in 1845; and the Disciples, their American Christian Missionary Society in 1849. The Southern Presbyterians, Southern Baptists, and Southern Methodists also have their homeland organizations, doing an invaluable work in the Southern States. Other church bodies, Evangelical in character, will be found enumerated in the table given below, which have taken their part also, and are still intensely concerned, in this great home missionary movement. Thus, by a steady, natural evolution of national need and evangelistic interest two societies have grown to be more than thirty; all the leading church bodies of America have gradually become organized for home evangelization, and a movement which began in New England in 1798 for the Christian enlightenment of a few kindred or neighbors moving westward has developed into a system as

broad as the national domain, by which the stronger churches of the land have shared, and are continuing to share, the burden of their weaker brethren, and, by a united effort, are strengthening those forces of Christian civilization upon which the safety of the nation depends.

The following table is taken by permission from *Social Progress*, New York, 1906, ed. J. Strong, W. H. Tolman, and W. D. P. Bliss. No later figures than these of 1904 have been tabulated.

STATISTICS OF HOME MISSIONS.

	Organized.	Spent in 1904.	Missionaries.	Added on Confession.
Baptist:				
American Baptist Home Missionary Society	1832	$458,771	1,450	6,000
American Baptist Publication Society	1824	134,012	144	1,076
Women's American Baptist Home Mission Society	1877	43,484	72	
Women's Baptist Home Mission Society	1877	87,263	179	
Southern Baptist Convention	1845	109,670	633	8,011
National Baptist Publication Board		27,520	30	
Congregational:				
Home Missionary Society	1826	570,629	1,916	5,767
American Missionary Association	1846	441,938	764	1,134
Sunday-school and Publishing Society	1832	69,589	43	
Church Building Society	1853	207,493		
Education Society	1814	12,169	14	
Cumberland Presbyterian		100,000	65	1,000
Disciples of Christ:				
American Christian Missionary Society	1849	385,000	525	1,650
Free Baptist	1834	31,888	9	919
Free Methodist	1882	3,148		
Mennonites	1880	10,000	8	20
Methodist Episcopal:				
Missionary Society of Methodist Episcopal Church	1819	534,452	4,000[1]	
Church Extension Board	1865	146,103		
Freedmen's Aid Society	1866	124,710		
Women's Home Missionary Society of Methodist Episcopal Church	1880	308,998		
Moravian[2]	1849	11,003	34	422
Presbyterian:				
Board of Home Missions of Presbyterian Church, U. S. A.	1816	479,812	1,180	7,378
Women's Board of Home Missions of Presbyterian Church	1878	345,883	484	1,153
Board of Church Erection	1844	193,570		
Southern Presbyterian		160,000		
Examining Committee General Assembly		40,000	166	
Protestant Episcopal	1821	539,989[3]	1,140	
Reformed Church:				
Board of Domestic Missions	1831	95,500	185	1,096
Church Building Department	1854	23,500		
Board of Publication		500		
United Brethren	1853	85,000	160	
United Presbyterian:				
Board of Home Missions	1872	105,000	245	1,540
Board of Freedmen's Mission	1865	67,530	225	94

[1] Churches aided. [2] Work carried on by the church, not by a society. [3] In addition to the amount expended there were given for diocesan missions during the three years ending Sept. 30, 1904, $1,413,117.

9. Effect of the Louisiana Purchase.

Another mighty impulse in the same direction as that resulting from the opening of the Northwest Territory followed the purchase of Louisiana in 1803. While the Northwest Territory was still in the first stages of occupation, even before the earlier settlers had obtained peaceful possession of the soil, the area of the nation was suddenly doubled. The Louisiana Purchase gave us the mouth of the Mississippi and undisturbed possession of its entire course. It carried our western boundaries from Lake Superior to the Rocky Mountains. Fourteen States and Territories have been carved out of this imperial tract. They include the vast corn and wheat belts of the United States, which are capable of feeding the world, while their underground treasures are among the richest on the globe. Here was a new and magnificent opportunity for home missions, and without a moment's hesitation the missionary organizations of the East and Middle West, with the loyal support of the churches, threw themselves into the breach. Emigration from the East and the Middle West began at once, and the missionary was not slow in following the trail. The order of missionary progress through the Louisiana Purchase has been strictly along the lines of immigration and settlement. There is not a State in that vast tract which the home missionary did not enter while it was yet a Territory, and always in the first and feeblest stages of settlement. From Missouri to Iowa, from Iowa to Minnesota, Kansas, and Nebraska, thence to the Dakotas, and on from these points to Wyoming and Colorado and Montana, and, last of all, to Oklahoma until every square mile inhabited by men has been sown with Sunday-schools, churches, and other institutions of education and religion. Something of the volume of this work may be gathered from the fact that on the one hundredth anniversary of the Louisiana Purchase, by a careful investigation, about 30,000 Protestant churches were enumerated within the bounds of this purchase, holding property valued at $58,000,000, and having, approximately, 2,000,000 communicants. With rare exceptions this church growth was the fruit of home missionary culture, begun and maintained and ceasing only when the need ceased, or continuing to-day in the

assured hope of independence and self-support. The churches of the East have never tired in this work. The fear, the hope, the purpose of early New England have been loyally inherited by her sons and daughters, the fear of barbarism, the hope of prevention, and the wide-spread conviction that America's day of judgment is in the West, a judgment to be determined only by the planting of churches and Christian schools.

10. Work in Later Accessions.

The missionary history of the Northwest Territory and the Louisiana Purchase was repeated when, about midway in the century, the Oregon treaty made sure possession of the Far Northwest and the discovery of gold opened the Californias to the world. Home missionaries, ordained in the East, promptly started for the Pacific Coast, reaching their destination by way of Cape Horn and the Sandwich Islands. The strategic position of the coast missions, as related to foreign missions in China and Japan, was keenly appreciated by the churches of the East and their missionary boards; money was contributed more freely than ever, and many of their ablest preachers went forth cheerfully to lay the foundations of Christian society on the sunset shores of the republic. The Mexican Cession, one of the fruits of the Mexican war, including Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and Utah, opened still another belt of peculiar missionary need, which, in spite of ancient superstitions and modern delusions, has proved a rich and rewarding field of missionary effort. Perhaps the most significant feature of these early missionary movements thus far considered was their close connection with the historic development of the nation. Yet "connection" is hardly the word to describe their real influence. More truly they were an integral and saving part of that development.

11. Work for Negroes and Immigrants.

Two events belonging to the latter half of the nineteenth century were destined to have a marked influence on home missionary history. The close of the Civil War introduced, at the South, a missionary problem absolutely new, which immediately attracted, and continues to absorb, the attention of the Northern churches to an extraordinary degree. Four million blacks, hitherto inaccessible to missionary effort, were suddenly emancipated. At once the National Government opened its bureaus of relief, and missionary boards of the North hurried forward preachers and teachers. To the missionary himself there was in this call a certain element of peril which, so far from checking, only stimulated his zeal. At first the Northern preacher and teacher were not well received by the white of the South; social ostracism was their frequent lot, and even violence to their persons and destruction of their property were not uncommon in the early days. An ugly spirit of caste included the teacher of the negro with the negro himself, and young women, delicately reared in the best homes of the North, suffered, not merely from social neglect, but occasionally from open indignity. These early conditions have greatly softened and are passing away. Appreciation, and even gratitude, have taken their place as the results of these missionary efforts have become more apparent. Such fruits appear, not only in organized churches for the negro race, but in a long array of universities, colleges, academies, normal institutes, and industrial schools, opened exclusively for the benefit of the blacks, all of them specifically Christian, and all of them originally planted and supported by the free-will offerings of the North. Howard, Hampton, Fisk, Atlanta and Tougaloo, Talladega and Straight, Shaw and Richmond, Nashville and Bishop, Wayland and Leland, and a host beside, are names that are becoming as familiar to the educational world as Harvard, Yale, or Princeton. They were all made possible by negro emancipation, and they are all the creation of home missions. See MISSIONS AMONG THE HEATHEN, B, III., 1, § 3. Another fact, as marked in its influence upon the home missionary spirit of the churches, has been foreign immigration, beginning to attract attention as early as 1840, and growing, decade by decade, in its insistent demand for treatment, until to-day it vies with the missionary call of the West and South for prompt, wise, and far-sighted consideration on the part of the churches and their missionary boards. The figures used to measure the volume of this problem are too familiar to need rehearsal here. Sufficient to say that up to 1840 the total of foreign immigration had not exceeded 500,000 in the previous history of the country, while during the year 1906 alone more than twice that number were landed in the United States. Here is a gigantic problem, sufficient to tax not only the wisdom of rulers and lawmakers, but appealing in a special way to the missionary spirit of the churches and to the thoughtful interest of every lover of his country. It is only true to say that the exigency of this problem revolutionized the home missionary appeal. To the peril of domestic heathenism, which stirred the zeal of Connecticut and Massachusetts in 1798, has now been added the larger fear of imported barbarism; and thus for several recent years foreign missions in America have come to be of burning interest to American home missions. All branches of the Church, without exception, have taken part in this work through their organized agencies. No nationality has been overlooked; Germans, Scandinavians, Bohemians, Poles and Russians, Hollanders and Hebrews, Spanish, French and Italians, Armenians, Syrians, Japanese and Chinese—every sort and condition of foreigner, however apparently hopeless, has been made the subject of home missionary effort and culture. The results have astonished the most sanguine; they have rebuked the most despairing, and have all but silenced the prophets of evil, ever ready to foretell the direst consequences from the infusion of so much foreign blood into the moral, social, and political life of the nation. Many times over it has been demonstrated that every grade of alien is susceptible to religious development, is entirely capable of being both civilized and Christianized, and is in fact being rapidly assimilated into a hopeful type of American life. Twenty-five years ago there was hardly a foreign-speaking missionary in the employ of any home missionary society. To-day they are numbered by the thousands, who preach and teach in twenty different

tongues, planting Protestant churches for the foreign-born and gathering into them intelligent members by tens of thousands. It is beginning to be recognized that one powerful solvent of the evils of immigration has been found. Great migrations are not the dread they were forty years ago. Disturbing fears have been quieted, and, with all the natural apprehension that remains and must remain, our native American people are viewing with less and less alarm what but a few years ago almost crazed them with apprehension. This era of hopefulness is due, in no small measure, to the undoubted success of American home missions in enlightening and Christianizing adopted citizens. See Emigrants and Immigrants, Mission Work Among, II.; and Slavic Missions in the United States.

12. Summary.

To attempt any adequate summary of the fruits of home missions at the end of 100 years would require a survey of the history of fifty States and Territories, so vitally have the home missionary and his work entered into the early development of most of the commonwealths. A few salient facts must suffice. In the first place, the growth of organizations is significant. Beginning in 1798 with a single society, the first of its kind in history, having in its treasury a capital of $600, the home missionary movement, then started, has given birth, during the last 100 years, to thirty-five distinct societies, all Protestant, all Evangelical, all national, collecting and disbursing during the last calendar year more than $6,000,000 for the Christian instruction of communities which, without such help, might have lived and died in religious destitution. Together these organizations have disbursed $150,000,000 for the planting of churches alone. Their chief agent has been the Church, with its ordained preachers and its divinely appointed ordinances, and for the Church these millions have been given. This total, however, takes no account of those cooperating agencies which have been called into being to serve this missionary work of the churches. Add, therefore, Sunday-school planting, Bible and tract printing, church building, and Christian colleges, all of which have sprung up in the path of home missions and are among its legitimate fruits, and the grand total of home missionary expenditure, root and branch, in organized form, is found by careful computation to be not less than $360,000,000. Not a dollar of this immense fund has been paid, in any commercial sense, for value received. All of it has been given, a free-will offering of Christian people, to mark their intense conviction of the peril of a nation without the Gospel and their supreme faith in its leavening power. But beyond the growth of mere organizations and the multiplication of missionary capital, what have these agencies and these millions accomplished, and what visible fruits remain to justify the cost of the effort? It is a fact not generally known, and when known, not sufficiently appreciated, that the great ecclesiastical bodies of the United States—Baptist, Congregational, Disciple, Episcopal, Methodist, Presbyterian, Reformed—trace the origin of most of their church organizations directly to home missions. It is admitted that about nine-tenths of all the Evangelical churches in this country were either planted or, in periods of distress, were helped and maintained, by the aid of home missionary grants. It becomes, therefore, a fair question to ask, what and where, but for home missions, would be these great ecclesiastical bodies, which are acknowledged to be the conservers of American Christianity? But what does all this mean in the religious development of the country? The figures at this point palpitate with life. In the year 1800, when home missions began, the United States had one Evangelical communicant in 14.50 of the population. In 1850 that ratio had grown to one in 6.57; in 1870, to one in 5.78; in 1880, to one in 5; in 1890, to one in 4.53; and in 1900, to one in 4.25; which is to say, that in less than 100 years Evangelical church-membership increased thirty-eight fold, while the population grew only eleven and eight-tenths fold. Church-membership increased three and one-half times faster than the population, and this in spite of the foreign flood. It is no vain boast, but an obvious truth, that by far the larger part of this magnificent growth is due to the direct agency of American home missions, since in its own carefully planted gardens most of this splendid growth has taken place.

J. B. Clark.

The reader should compare the articles on City Missions; Jews, Missions to the; and, for home mission work in Germany, Innere Mission.

Bibliography: The literature is extensive; only a selection of the later works is attempted here. A useful view can be obtained, from the denominational standpoint, of early mission work in America from the *American Church History Series*, 13 vols. (especially vol. xiii., L. W. Bacon, *Hist. of American Christianity*), New York, 1893–97. Useful and from another point of view is the *American Commonwealth Series*, Boston, 1901 sqq. (still in progress). Consult further: L. Bacon, *Genesis of the New England Churches*, New York, 1874; W. Salter, *Life of Jos. W. Pickett*, Iowa City, 1881; W. F. Bainbridge, *Along the Line at the Front; . . . Baptist Home and Foreign Missions*, Philadelphia, 1882; *The Church Revived; . . . Parochial Missions in England, Canada, and the United States*, New York, 1886; S. Loomis, *Modern Cities*, ib. 1887; A. Haygood, *Pleas for Progress*, ib. 1889; G. F. Magoun, *Life and Times of Asa Turner*, Boston, 1889; R. Storrs, *The Puritan Spirit*, Boston, 1890; H. Caswell, *Life among the Iroquois Indians*, ib. 1892; J. Strong, *Our Country*, New York, 1891; idem, *The New Era*, ib. 1893; D. Dorchester, *The Problem of Religious Progress*, ib. 1895; W. Puddefoot, *The Minute Man on the Frontier*, ib. 1895; A. Dunning, *Congregationalists in America*, Boston, 1897; S. L. Gulick, *Growth of the Kingdom of God*, New York, 1897; R. Hill, *Cuba and Porto Rico*, ib. 1898; B. T. Washington, *Up from Slavery*, ib. 1901; W. Mowry, *Marcus Whitman and the Early Days of Oregon*, ib. 1901; E. H. Abbott, *Religious Life in America*, ib. 1902; E. Adams, *The Iowa Band*, Boston, 1902; L. W. Betts, *The Leaven in a Great City*, New York, 1902; S. Doyle, *Presbyterian Home Missions*, Philadelphia, 1902; J. Riis, *The Battle with the Slums*, New York, 1902; R. Thompson, *The Hand of God in American History*, ib. 1902; J. Tillinghast, *The Negro in Africa and America*, ib. 1902; G. Warneck, *History of Protestant Missions*, ib. 1902; H. Whipple, *Lights and Shades of a Long Episcopate*, ib. 1902; J. Clark, *Leavening the Nation*, ib. 1903; W. Du Bois, *Souls of Black Folk*, Chicago, 1903; R. Hitchcock, *The Louisiana Purchase*, Boston, 1903; B. Brandenburg, *Imported Americans*, New York, 1904; J. Horton, *The Burden of the City*, ib. 1904; H. B. Grose, *Incoming Millions*, ib. 1905; P. F. Hall, *Immigration and its Effects upon the United States*, ib. 1906; H. Holt, *Life Stories of Undistinguished Americans*, ib. 1906; A. L. Phillips, *Call*

of the Home Land; A Study of Home Missions, ib. 1906; A. M. Guernsey, *Citizens of Tomorrow*, ib. 1907. Further literature is to be discovered in the histories of the separate denominations, most of which deal with the home mission work of the respective denominations.

HOMILETICS.

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1. The Terms Employed.

Homiletics as the name of a discipline is of late origin, since only in recent times have theologians begun to treat in special works the theory of the sermon. Gregory of Nazianzen, Chrysostom, Ambrose, and Gregory the Great offer only occasional remarks on the subject. Augustine, in the fourth book of his *De doctrina Christiana*, first treated the subject explicitly, and he was followed by Rabanus Maurus, who, in the third book of *De institutione clericorum* treated the liberal arts as related to ecclesiastics. Humbertus de Romanis (fl. c. 1275) dealt with the subject more extensively in his *Eruditio religiosorum prædicatorum*. Finally, toward the end of the Middle Ages Ulrich Surgant wrote a *Manuale curatorum* which treats the sermon especially with reference to technique, structure, and delivery. The transition to the homiletics of the churches of the Reformation was formed by the *Ecclesiastes* of Erasmus (1535). Of the works of Protestant theologians on homiletics from the sixteenth century may be mentioned: Andreas Gerhard Hyperius, *De formandis concionibus sacris* (1553); Lucas Osiander, *De ratione concionandi* (1597); Jacob Andreä, *Methodus concionandi*, ed. P. Lyser (1594); and Ægidius Hunnius, *Methodus concionandi* (1596). The term "homiletics" as the designation of a special discipline seems to have originated with the *Methodologia homileticæ* (1672) of Sebastian Göbel and the *Compendium theologiæ homileticæ* (1677) by J. W. Bajer; but other names retained their authority, and new names were chosen; thus Mosheim in his *Anweisung erbaulich zu predigen* (1771) used the term "spiritual eloquence" which is still employed in H. Bassermann, *Handbuch der geistlichen Beredsamkeit* (Stuttgart, 1885). There is no doubt that the terms *homilein* and *homilia* were used of the sermon in the earliest times (cf. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, VI. xix.). The word *homilia* passed over into the Occident; but in the Middle Ages the terms *sermo* and *prædicare* with its derivatives were frequently used. For the churches of the Reformation *Predigt* and "sermon" became the established designations in the church orders. In modern times "sermon" has become the collective name, while "homily" is restricted to a special kind of sermons.

Homiletics treats of the discourse or address customarily delivered in the church service of the Christian congregation. There was early manifested a tendency to incorporate homiletics in the theory of rhetoric; even Augustine was governed by the classical theories of rhetoric,

2. Theory of Homiletics.

and the medieval custom of subordinating the liberal arts to the service of theology brought about a still closer union with rhetoric. Melanchthon established in the interest of the sermon a new rhetorical *genus*, the *genus didascalicum*, but the opportunity to raise homiletics to the rank of an independent discipline was not seized. Hyperius, in his attempt to base the theory of the sermon upon Scripture, found no imitators and successors. It is impossible to arrive at a worthy treatment of this theological discipline until the starting-point is sought within systematic theology and in the churchly community. Thus considered, homiletics branches off as a special discipline. The Christian community has come into being, is in a state of growth and therefore of imperfection, consequently exposed to the influences of sin and evil. Since now the possession of spiritual blessings in the congregation must be continually kept alive and the influences of sin and evil combated, the Word adapted to the needs of the congregation is the means to accomplish the one as well as the other. The mere possession of Holy Scripture is not sufficient; it must be used and applied to the needs of the congregation; hence the necessity for preaching. Even if the congregation could ever leave behind its imperfection, the very possession of Christian truth would still necessitate a continual presentation of the Word (cf. Schleiermacher, *Der christliche Glaube*, § 134, 3, Berlin, 1821). This presentation originates therefore in the pedagogical and practical needs of the congregation, and is an essential factor in its upbuilding. Alexander Schweizer distinguished between general or theoretical, material and formal, homiletics, a division which correctly designates the course which homiletics must take, and the writers on homiletics adhere to it, treating first the conception of the sermon, then its content, and finally its diction and delivery.

The teachers of the primitive church cared little for theoretical questions concerning the conception and purpose of the sermon. Preaching was usually considered as teaching, even by Augustine and throughout the Middle Ages. Melanchthon's conception of the sermon was essentially the same, and even later writers adhered to this idea. This conception may be explained easily from the fact that until the time of the Reformation, and even far beyond it, only imperfect means of religious instruction existed. The Protestants, indeed, had a higher conception of the congregation of Christ; Luther, for instance, speaks of a congregation of pure saints, under one head Christ, called together by the Holy Spirit, in one faith, sense, and understanding, but this new conception had as yet no influence upon the problem of the sermon. Only in modern times have theologians rightly concluded from this higher estimation of the congregation that it can be in no way the exclusive or principal task of the sermon to teach the ignorant and punish sinners. The actual con-

3. Edification the Object of the Sermon.

dition of the congregation requires that in the sermon the communion with God as established by him be represented, and, after that, the attitude of the congregation toward him as conditioned by that relationship. In this sense the sermon, like Christian worship in general, may be regarded as an expository activity. Schleiermacher distinguishes between an expository and an effective activity; but it is impossible to exclude from the former the idea of effective purpose. A homiletics which admits the means of grace to be real powers of salvation can not refrain from putting the sermon into the category of effective activity. Thus the question is raised in what the effect of the sermon should consist. It has been shown that instruction is not simply and solely the purpose of the sermon. But it must be admitted that lack of knowledge is a prominent and pervading defect of personal Christianity, to remove which instruction is the only means, and this is accomplished most effectively in preaching. Moreover, the congregation has the promise that the Spirit of truth will guide it into all truth (John xvi. 13). Homiletics must therefore find a designation which does not exclude instruction. A comprehensive designation offers itself in the word "to edify," which leaves room for instruction (I Cor. xiv. 4). This indication of purpose was not unknown to the older church, and has been correctly explained in Mosheim's *Anweisung erbaulich zu predigen*, Vorb., § 2 (Erlangen, 1771): The hearers are (1) to be confirmed in the knowledge of religion which they have already obtained, and this is to be extended; (2) to be awakened and exhorted to diligence and growth in godliness. This confirmation takes place through the exposition of Christian truth, which has edifying power through the testimony of the Holy Spirit. As a means of accomplishing this it is evident that, above all, the subject-matter of the sermon must be edifying. Thus Hyperius requires that that should be preached which concerns faith, love, and hope. To faith belong all those religious subjects which are contained in the Apostles' Creed. To love belong the doctrine of morals, the decalogue, especially the second table, the doctrine of the Church and of the sacraments. To hope belongs the doctrine of the last things. Hyperius, like other writers on homiletics, thus arrives at the catechism, guided by the correct idea that that should be preached which corresponds to the religious needs of the congregation. But even though the subject-matter be properly chosen, this does not guarantee that the sermon is capable of edifying. The subject-matter becomes edifying or unedifying according to its treatment by the preacher. It was rationalism which made the subject-matter responsible for edification through the sermon, and as rationalism discarded catechetics, it excluded from the sermon the very matters upon which earlier times had laid stress. Recent writers on homiletics again tend toward the opposite extreme by trying to eliminate from the sermon almost all social, economical, and merely philosophical questions. But all such subjects have a religious side, and are therefore subject to sermonic treatment. Theoretical homiletics must insist upon the fact that there is nothing which a priori may be excluded from the sermon as unedifying. Edification lies not in the quality of the subject-matter, but in the quality of the sermon; hence the doctrine of the edification of the sermon must be distributed over both material and formal homiletics.

But there are other problems which theoretical homiletics must try to solve. The congregation possesses in Holy Scripture an authoritative norm, inasmuch as the Spirit of God acts in it and through it. What, therefore, is the connection between sermon and Scripture? All theologians agree that the authority of Scripture is higher than that of the sermon, but a question which arises is whether the sermon is superfluous if Scripture is all-sufficient. The answer must be that the Bible, without detriment to its authority, belongs to the past, though destined for all times, while the sermon is a testimony from the present life of the congregation and in its immediate object applies only to the present. This testimony must agree with Scripture, but must have an independent form, corresponding to modern needs. Therefore the sermon is necessary alongside of Scripture. Theoretical homiletics also asks how far the preacher is bound to the confession of his Church. Protestant Church communities have in the past provided for their preachers certain norms of doctrine in which the sum total of Christian doctrine is expressed. These church communities were not contented merely to unite against the Catholic Church and to decide not to have anything in common with fanatics. They felt bound to explain why they dissented, to give to their better knowledge a definite positive expression, and this not merely from reasons of church polity, but because of pastoral interest in their own congregations. This is the deeper reason why preachers were always bound to teach according to such doctrinal standards. Homiletics may not surrender this obligation. It must admit, however, that not everything in the different confessional writings is to be regarded as an integrating constituent of the confession. But this concession does not involve the possibility that the Evangelical confessions will some time be abolished; for homiletics rests upon the presupposition that it is one and the same spirit, the spirit of Jesus Christ, who speaks in Scripture and leads his disciples to the knowledge of truth. From this it is self-evident that the preacher is to be personally devoted to the faith and confession of his Church. It would be too little simply to keep within the limits of the confession without personal fidelity to it, although the effect of the sermon does not depend upon the personal attitude of the preacher to that which he preaches.

4. Relation of the Sermon to Scripture and the Creeds.

From these fundamental conceptions concerning the nature and purpose of the sermon in general, homiletics passes to the treatment of the quality of the individual sermon, i.e., material and formal homiletics. Since edification is the purpose of the sermon, while the possibility of edification through the individual sermon is dependent upon its quality, the first question is, What can homiletics teach in regard to the subject

5. Subject and Basis of the Sermon.

to be treated by the preacher? A first requisite is that it be a subject which corresponds to the need of the congregation; the assembled congregation again is to be considered as a part of the great congregation of God which has been founded upon the redemption of Christ. This work of redemption is celebrated by an annual cycle of festivals which forms the basis of the so-called Church Year (q.v.; and see CALENDAR, THE CHRISTIAN). On such festivals the facts underlying them should form the subject of the sermon. Under certain circumstances there may arise in congregations special needs, independently of the course of the church year, coming with such a force that the sermon must be adapted to them (see §§ 9–10). But what should be preached during the long intervals of Sundays on which there are no festivals and no special occasions arising from special needs? The general custom is to take a Biblical text as basis. While the absolute necessity for a text can not be asserted, such a method has the advantage that it gives the preacher a definite course which is advantageous to the congregation from the very fact that the texts are taken from Scripture and must be treated according to the congregation's need. This method is justified also by the history of preaching and by the fact that congregations are accustomed to it. It would be well if the texts were prescribed by some central authority, because then they would be expounded to a larger number of congregations—a fact of great advantage for ecclesiastical instruction. A well-chosen system of pericopes aids greatly in a survey of the essential truths of the Bible in a comparatively short period. In former times in lieu of texts sermons were based on the catechism and on hymns, these being regarded as paraphrases or presentations of Scripture or its doctrines. The text must really be utilized and not be cited after the manner of a maxim. The indispensable basis for the proper treatment of the text is a comprehensive study of Scripture, and the text should be thoroughly studied in the original language. At the same time the Bible as used in the church must not be discredited before the congregation.

6. Varieties of Sermons.

A distinction between the analytical and synthetical sermon was made by Jacob Andreä (q.v.). By analysis he understood the discussion of the parts of the text, and by synthesis he understood the union of the individual parts into a whole. The analytical and synthetical activity of the preacher is exercised in his preparation of the sermon, and the audience receives in the sermon the results of this twofold activity. Andreä does not recognize two species of sermons, but every sermon, according to him, contains analytical and synthetical constituents. It was only in the later development that two kinds of sermons were recognized, which, however, were still capable of being combined. Thus Mosheim asserts (ut sup., p. 265): We have three kinds of sermons: (1) Analytical sermons, in which the text is traversed and explained word by word and sentence by sentence; (2) synthetical sermons, in which one doctrine of faith or of life is drawn from the text and then elaborated; (3) mixed sermons, in which first the text is explained and then special truths elicited from the text are worked out. The name "homily" for the sermons that follow the text step by step seems to have arisen in the first half of the eighteenth century.

7. The Structure of the Sermon.

In considering the structure of the sermon, homiletics can dispense with the assistance of rhetoric. As theological conceptions concerning the Church and congregation, the life of communion and Holy Scripture are sufficient as a general basis for homiletics, the same is true also in regard to all questions that arise with relation to the individual sermon. The structure of the individual sermon may be explained from the sermon itself. The preacher must prepare the congregation for what he intends to deliver, and must awaken its interest. He is further naturally intent upon keeping awake this interest until the close of the church service and beyond it. From these points of view results what homiletics has to say on the introduction, on its necessity and proper quality, as well as on the different ways of concluding the sermon. The preacher will, furthermore, arrange what he has to say according to his purpose (*dispositio*). In order that the congregation may better follow, it must in time be informed of the course of the sermon (*propositio*). Homiletics may treat also the linguistic side of the sermon. The preacher must before everything take pains to use expressions intelligible to his congregation; he must take care not to transfer his hearers into the sphere of worldly things by his manner of expression; he must use his own words and not imitate the language of the Bible.

8. Preparation and Delivery.

The last duty of homiletics is to treat of the preparation of the sermon and of its delivery. Here, too, homiletics needs no assistance from other branches of science. The necessity of preparation is justified from the circumstance that the sermon is a regularly recurring act of worship and therefore, like every other act of worship, needs forethought. Moreover, since the sermon is destined to serve the life of the congregation, it follows that sermon-preparation is not an episode in the life of the preacher to be postponed till Saturday, but extends over the preacher's whole life. In the matter of delivery, whether the preacher shall or shall not use manuscript, homiletics can not pronounce unconditionally; the oldest Christian sermon transmitted was read (Clement ii. 19). But it should be remembered that speaking without manuscript corresponds more closely to the nature of the sermon, and that it is no mere whim of congregations which requires this method of their preachers. See PREACHING, HISTORY OF; HOMILARIUM.

(W. CASPARI.)

9. The Occasional Address.

An occasional address is one that has reference to an event which has importance for the spiritual life of an individual Christian or of a Christian community, such as baptism, the celebration of marriage, a funeral, and the like. It is distinguished from the sermon only by the form and place of delivery. While the sermon on Sundays and holy days deals with needs common to members of the

congregation, the purpose of the occasional address is to use any given occurrence in the life of the individual or of the congregation for the upbuilding of faith of those who take part in the ceremony. The liturgical act of the Church which is occasioned by a special case is purely objective; the species of address under consideration, however, regards primarily the individual or individuals, justly presupposing that the effect of the case and of the Word in connection with it is dependent upon the quality of the persons primarily concerned. Truthfulness and appositeness with reference to the special occurrence which has occasioned the address are the most fundamental demands. The preacher must therefore have closely observed the life of the members of his congregation and must be in sympathy with their joys and sufferings. He must not exaggerate praise or blame, being guided by the demand for truthfulness. He can not speak at the grave of a man who has kept aloof from the church as he may of a faithful and living member. The purpose of this form of address is to win hearts for Christ; if an address at the baptism of a child in a worldly-minded family, for instance, expresses merely joy over the birth of a son and does not exhort the parents to bring up their child in the fear of the Lord, that address has not been used for the upbuilding of faith. Such an address will produce spiritual gain only if it is based on the Word. It need not necessarily be based upon a special text of the Bible, but its whole substance must be pervaded by the spirit of the Word. Its form is that of the sermon, but although it centers around a uniform thought, it has no theme and divisions like a sermon.

10. History of the Occasional Address.

The occasional address is found also in the New Testament. The words of Jesus when sending forth the twelve disciples (Matt. x.) and the seventy disciples (Luke x.) are in a certain sense addresses of installation. The model of a valedictory sermon is found in the address of Paul to the elders at Ephesus (Acts xx. 18 sqq.). Examples of addresses on special occasions are preserved by Eusebius, Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, Augustine, and other Fathers. A collection of such addresses from the fourth and fifth centuries has been translated from Greek and Latin by J. C. W. Augusti (*Predigten auf alle Sonn- und Festtage des Kirchenjahres*, 2 vols., Leipsic, 1838–39). In the Middle Ages the development of the liturgical form put free speech into the background. The Reformation, however, by emphasizing the right of the individual, engendered a revival of the occasional address. In spite of all decided emphasis upon the objective value of ecclesiastical acts, it made their effect dependent upon the disposition of the receiving subject. The address usually precedes the ecclesiastical ceremony because its purpose is to prepare the persons concerned for the reception of the blessing which the ceremony confers. On account of this connection with ceremonial, the principal thoughts of the occasional address must center in the essence, effect, and ensuing obligation of those acts. There are addresses on such occasions as baptism, confirmation, confession, marriage, funerals, ordination, installation, consecration of churches, cemeteries, holy vessels, organs, bells, and the like. There are also to be mentioned sermons on non-ecclesiastical events, such as floods, storms, conflagrations, as well as for special ecclesiastical or general religious occasions.

(J. L. Sommer.)

11. Homiletics in Great Britain and America.

The history and development of homiletical teaching in the British Islands and the United States have necessarily been guided and formed by the religious, educational, and social character of the peoples and institutions of those countries. Formal teaching of homiletics seems not to have had so large a place in the education of the ministry in England and Scotland as in the United States; and the output of homiletical literature is correspondingly larger in America. The seventeenth century is the starting point for a survey of Anglo-American homiletics. The great English preaching of that epoch—both Anglican and Puritan—profoundly and permanently influenced all that has followed it; and this in respect both to practise and theory. As early as 1613 there appeared a treatise by William Perkins, originally written in Latin but translated by Thomas Tuke under the title *The Arte of Prophecying*. It contains eleven chapters and discusses such topics as The Word of God, Interpretation and Expounding, Applying Doctrines, Memorie in Preaching, Promulgation (i.e., Delivery). Several other works of less importance followed this, and in 1667 appeared one from Bishop John Wilkins of Chester, who thus expresses the essence of his teaching: "The principal scope of a divine orator should be to teach clearly, convince strongly, persuade powerfully. Suitable to the chief parts of a sermon are these three: Explication, Confirmation, Application." These subjects are enlarged upon and unfolded in a dry scholastic manner. These and some other works are noticed by Kidder, but none seem to be of great importance. In the eighteenth century a few English and Scotch authors wrote on the art of preaching. Chief among these treatises are those of Philip Doddridge (1751), George Campbell (*Lectures on Pulpit Eloquence*, 1775), and the once well-known *Rhetoric* of Hugh Blair, who devotes several chapters of his work to the eloquence of the pulpit. In the nineteenth century the literature greatly increased in amount and value; but interest in the subject, while considerable, does not seem to have kept pace in England with that displayed in Germany and the United States. In America the first treatise on the theory of preaching was that of the famous Doctor Cotton Mather, which appeared under the title *Manuductio in Ministerium* (Boston, 1726). Pedantic and quaint, it is characteristic of author and age, but has no other than historic value. The effective beginning of homiletical teaching in the United States dates from the founding of Andover Theological Seminary in 1807. There was established a chair of "Sacred Rhetoric," to which was called, in 1812, Ebenezer Porter. He taught the subject with earnestness and success, writing several minor works and finally publishing his *Lectures on Homi-*

letics and Preaching (New York, 1834). This pioneer work has been followed by a long and brilliant line of continuance. Distinguished professors and preachers have produced a literature great in sum, for the most part excellent in quality, and devoted to every phase of the work of preaching. The Yale Lectureship on Preaching, founded in 1871, has added some notable works to homiletical literature. Homiletics has long been an established discipline in the curricula of theological schools of all the leading denominations of Christians in the United States.

12. Definition and Treatment.

As to the word "homiletics" the etymology, while interesting, does not throw much light upon the present usage. After the analogy of other scientific nomenclature the term has obtained recognition, though by no means exclusive use, as describing the body of knowledge and principles pertaining to the composition and delivery of sermons. Most of the treatises on the subject appear under other and various titles, though the largest number under any one title employ the term "homiletics." One of the best known American books on the subject bears the title *A Treatise on the Preparation and Delivery of Sermons* (by J. A. Broadus, Philadelphia, 1870, 25th ed., by E. C. Dargan, New York, 1905), and another is *The Theory of Preaching* (by A. Phelps, New York, 1881). These may be accepted as definitions of homiletics; to which may be added the elaborate statement of Dr. W. M. Taylor in his article in the first edition of this work: "It is the science which treats of the analysis, classification, preparation, composition, and delivery of sermons, viewed as addressed to the popular mind on subjects suggested by the word of God, and designed for the conversion of sinners and the edification of believers (ii. 1014)." And this may be taken as a representative statement of the Anglo-American view of homiletics. Preaching is primarily a distinctive institution of Christianity, and secondarily a kind of public speaking. This order of thought determines the relation of homiletics to general rhetoric and should make discussion unnecessary. Any wise and earnest study of the best methods of presenting the truths of the gospel to the people in such manner as to win acceptance for them, must take account of what history, experience, and culture bring forward as the tested principles of successful public speaking. Homiletics, therefore, may rightly be regarded as the application of rhetoric to preaching. But the origin, history, concomitants, materials, and aims of preaching are so different from those of other kinds of public speaking as to require distinctive treatment. Treatises and courses of homiletical instruction differ in many details, but the essentials are not far to seek. The four leading topics of homiletics are: Material, Arrangement, Style, Delivery, or, in the old Latin terminology: *Inventio, Dispositio, Elocutio, Pronunciatio.* Under "Materials" first place belongs to Scripture, and the selection, interpretation, exposition, and enforcement of Bible texts is to be considered. Other materials of discourse, such as narrative, description, argument, illustration, and application have their place. In "Arrangement" or "Division," custom and proprieties call for some peculiarities of sermon analysis; but in general the usual counsels of rhetoric are here applicable. For "Style" or "Diction," homiletics urges the importance of the grammatical qualities of correctness and propriety, and of the rhetorical qualities of clearness and force, with such attention to beauty or ornament as may serve the higher ends of preaching. In "Delivery" homiletics considers three methods: reading from manuscript, recitation from memory of a previously written discourse, speaking freely after various sorts or degrees of previous preparation. Anglo-American homiletics takes little account of recitation; a few homileticians practise and defend reading from manuscript; but the consensus of opinion and practise decidedly favors the so-called extemporaneous method, while insisting upon thorough preparation. Elocution, or the training and practise of voice and gesture, is sometimes taught under homiletics and sometimes made a special discipline. Together with these technical aspects of homiletics there are a number of closely related and highly important subjects which claim incidental or special treatment according to circumstances, such as the character of the preacher, his view of his work, his relation to his age and people, his habits and methods of study, and many other matters which directly and powerfully influence his preaching.

E. C. DARGAN.

LITERATURE.—An exhaustive list is not attempted; only those books which are considered most important or representative are mentioned. Works dealing with related subjects, such as Pastoral Theology and the History of Preaching, are omitted.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: In spite of what is said in the text, such works on rhetoric as J. Genung, *Outlines of Rhetoric*, Boston, 1893, and A. S. Hill, *Principles of Rhetoric*, New York, 1895, may not be neglected in laying a foundation for the work of preaching. Of historical importance are: W. Perkins, *The Arte of Prophecying*, 1613; J. Wilkins, *Ecclesiastes, or a Discourse concerning the Gift of Preaching*, London, 1646; J. Glanvil, *Essay concerning Preaching*, ib. 1678; T. Blackwell, *Methodus Evangelica*, ib. 1712; Sir Richard Blackmore, *The Accomplished Preacher*, ed. J. White, 1731; P. Doddridge, *Lectures on Preaching and the Ministerial Office*, London, 1751; G. Campbell, *Lectures on Pulpit Eloquence*, ib. 1775; E. Porter, *Lectures on Homiletics and Preaching*, New York, 1834. Among the many handbooks and treatises the following may be reckoned important: T. H. Skinner, *Aids to Preaching and Hearing*, New York, 1839; J. W. Alexander, *Thoughts on Preaching*, 1861; D. P. Kidder, *Treatise on Homiletics*, ib., 1864; T. J. Potter, *Sacred Eloquence*, London, 1866; idem, *The Spoken Word*, ib. 1872; W. G. T. Shedd, *Homiletics and Pastoral Theology*, New York, 1867; R. L. Dabney, *Sacred Rhetoric*, Richmond, 1866; J. Parker, *Ad Clerum*, London, 1870; G. W. Hervey, *Christian Rhetoric*, New York, 1873; C. H. Spurgeon, *Lectures to my Students*, 3 series, London, 1875–94; R. S. Storrs, *Conditions of Success in Preaching without Notes*, New York, 1875; A. Vinet, *Homilétique*, Paris, 1874, Eng. transl., *Homiletics*, New York, 1880 (long a standard); M. Simpson, *Lectures on Preaching*, ib. 1879; H. W. Beecher, *Yale Lectures on Preaching*, ib. 1881; H. Burgess, *The Art of Preaching*, London, 1881; R. W. Dale, *Lectures on Preaching*, ib. 1882; A. Phelps, *Theory of Preaching*, ib. 1882; idem, *Men and Books*, ib. 1882; idem, *English Style in Pulpit Discourse*, ib. 1883 (Professor Phelps was reckoned one of the great masters in homiletics); J. M. Hoppin, *Homiletics*, ib. 1883; A. Kraus, *Lehrbuch der Homiletik*, Gotha, 1883; N. J. Burton, *Lectures on Preaching*, New York, 1884; F. W. Fiske, *A Manual of Preach-*

ing, ib. 1884; H. Bassermann, *Handbuch der geistlichen Beredsamkeit*, Stuttgart, 1885; A. Stolz, *Homiletik*, Freiburg, 1885; J. A. Broadus, *Preparation and Delivery of Sermons*, New York, 1886 (Professor Broadus earned a wide reputation for his skill in this branch); J. W. Etter, *The Preacher and his Sermon*, Dayton, O., 1886; C. Palmer, *Evangelische Homiletik*, Stuttgart, 1887; A. J. F. Behrends, *The Philosophy of Preaching*, New York, 1890; A. T. Pierson, *The Divine Art of Preaching*, ib. 1892; T. Christlieb, *Homiletik*, Basel, 1893; R. F. Horton, *Verbum Dei*, London, 1893; W. B. Carpenter, *Lectures on Preaching*, London, 1895; J. Jungmann, *Theorie der geistlichen Beredsamkeit*, 2 vols., Freiburg, 1895; J. Stalker, *The Preacher and his Models*, London, 1895; I. Stockmeyer, *Homiletik*, Basel, 1895; Phillips Brooks, *Lectures on Preaching*, New York, 1896; H. Van Dyke, *Gospel for an Age of Doubt*, ib. 1896; J. A. Kern, *Ministry to the Congregation*, ib. 1897; T. H. Pattison, *The Making of a Sermon*, Philadelphia, 1898; H. Hering, *Die Lehre von der Predigt*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1897–1904; J. S. Kennard, *Psychic Power in Preaching*, Philadelphia, 1901; F. Barton, *Pulpit Power and Eloquence*, 2 vols., Cleveland, 1901–1902; T. H. Pattison, *Hist. of Christian Preaching*, Philadelphia, 1903; W. J. Foxell, *The Sermon and Preaching*, New York, 1904; J. J. A. Proudfoot, *Systematic Homiletics*, ib. 1904; A. S. Hoyt, *The Work of Preaching*, ib. 1905; L. O. Brastow, *The Modern Pulpit*, ib. 1906; A. E. Garvie, *A Guide to Preachers*, London, 1906; H. C. Graves, *Lectures on Homiletics*, Philadelphia, 1906; W. Rhodes, *Homiletics and Preaching*, Baltimore, 1906; P. T. Forsyth, *Positive Preaching and the Positive Mind*, New York, 1907; S. Horne, *The Ministry of the Modern Church*, London, 1904; P. Kleinert, *Homiletik*, Leipsic, 1907; H. Johnson, *The Ideal Ministry*, New York, 1908; C. R. Brown, *The Social Message of the Modern Pulpit*, London, 1908. For further literature see under PREACHING, HISTORY OF.

HOMILIARIUM, hem″i-li-ê′ri-um: A name applied from the beginning of the Middle Ages to any collection of homilies, or sermons and homilies. It came to be used also for complete collections of the sermons of a single theologian, or to anthologies from the works of various authors, in which exegetical extracts from different commentaries were intermingled with sermons actually delivered. Recent investigations have shown that homiliaria may be divided into two main groups. The first contains those compiled for the benefit of congregations. Cæsarius of Arles required all the clergy who were not competent to prepare their own sermons at least to show themselves capable of reading a sermon of some one else every Sunday; and this was imposed as an obligation by the Second Council of Vaison in 529. In consequence a great variety of homiliaria were current in Gaul, always including some of Cæsarius's own sermons. The legislation of the Carolingian period repeated this prescription; sermons in the vernacular were required on all Sundays and feast-days. New collections were drawn up, and no parish priest's library was complete without one of them. The homilies of Gregory the Great seem to have been specially recommended. The collection of Bede, in two books of twenty-five sermons each, had a long use and grew by additions to 140. The large collection of Alcuin perished early; that which has been known as his since the fifteenth century is a rearrangement of that of Paulus Diaconus. Alcuin's original compilation was in 1892 discovered in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. There were two collections by Rabanus Maurus, both containing material from other preachers; of these nothing is extant except about a third of the section in the Scripture lessons for Sundays and feast-days, extending from Easter to the fifteenth Sunday after Pentecost. Another collection passes under the name of Haimo, but is probably not older than the eleventh century.

Meantime another class of homiliaria had grown up, intended primarily for reading in the choir-offices of the clergy. A characteristic example of this sort of collection is found first in the homiliarium of Bishop Egino of Verona (d. 802), containing 202 sermons, principally from Augustine and Leo. This was surpassed in popularity by the collection of Paulus Diaconus, undertaken at the instance of Charlemagne, after whom it is sometimes called. The work was done at Monte Cassino between 786 and 797, and the book officially introduced by order of Charlemagne throughout the empire. More than a fifth of the whole number of extracts from homilies come from Maximus of Turin; next to him the favorite author is Bede, and then come Leo, Gregory, Augustine, and ten others. It appears that this collection was partly meant for popular use, and the absence of special reference to the monastic life caused Benedict of Aniane to draw up a homiliarium of his own for the Benedictines. For clerical use that of Paulus was exceedingly popular from the fifteenth century, although the first printed editions (Speyer, 1482; Cologne, n.d.) show that it had undergone radical changes; and in 1493 a revision so radical was begun by Surgant that scarcely anything more than the old title was left. Of this later form the Cologne edition of 1539 is reprinted in *MPL*, xcv. The homiliarium of Paulus, had on the one hand, its effect upon the development of the breviary; and, on the other, set the model for Luther's *Kirchenpostille*, so that the undertaking of Charlemagne had a far-reaching influence.

(FRIEDRICH WIEGAND.)

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HOMILIES: A collection of sermons issued by the Church of England with the title: *The Two Books of Homilies Appointed to be Read in Churches.* The collection has had a noteworthy history. It relates to the labors of the English Reformers to establish their fellow-countrymen in the distinctive theology of Protestantism. The first of the two books was prepared by Archbishop Franmer during the lifetime of Henry VIII. but prudently held back until after his death, and was published on July 31, 1547. The reading of at least a portion of one of these homilies was in the preface made obligatory, in King Edward's name, upon all parish ministers every Sunday as part of divine service, unless the said minister had preached a sermon. It was also enjoined that the homilies were to be read over and over again. As sermons were rarities in many parishes the homilies were divided into sections which would not require more than fifteen minutes to read. The first book has twelve

homilies, five from Cranmer. The second book has twenty-one, similarly divided, only the homilies are much longer and the sections take nearly thirty minutes to read reverently. The collector of the second book was Bishop Jewel, who is the author of nine of the sermons. The topics treated in both collections are fundamental to training in sober living in the Protestant faith. Whether the style was sufficiently simple to accomplish this purpose may well be questioned, in view of the general illiteracy of priest and people.

In March, 1552–53 Convocation in the thirty-fourth of the original XLII. Articles of Religion then passed, used this language: "The Homilies of late given and set out by the King's authority be godly and wholesome, containing doctrine to be received by all men, and therefore are to be read diligently, distinctly and plainly." Thus the Church endorsed the work. In July of that year Mary came to the throne and ordered the destruction of these homilies, but showed her appreciation of that kind of instruction by causing similar homilies setting forth Roman Catholic doctrine to be prepared and enjoined. In 1558 Elizabeth succeeded Mary and the homilies of Cranmer were revived and enjoined. It was not till 1652–63 that the second book appeared. The two books were published separately, and the editions were not uniform till 1582. In 1632 for the first time they were united in one volume. In Art. XXXV. of the present XXXIX. Articles of Religion both in the Latin text of 1563 and in the English text of 1571 the homilies are commended and the contents of the second book given. Appended to this article as adopted by the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America in 1801 is a bracketed note which states that the reading of these homilies in churches is suspended "until a revision of them may be conveniently made for the clearing of them, as well from obsolete words and phrases, as from the local references."

It is probably now true that few persons living have read these homilies, although none can read the XXXIX. Articles of Religion without encountering in the eleventh article this language: "That we are justified by Faith only, is a most wholesome Doctrine, and very full of comfort, as more largely is expressed in the Homily of Justification." Curiously enough there is no homily which has this title.

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HOMILY. See Homiletics.

HOMINES INTELLIGENTIÆ ("Men of Intelligence"): A heretical sect of mystics that flourished in Brussels 1410–11. They were also called Free Spirits. The source of their heretical doctrine was undoubtedly the pantheistic mysticism of the Flemish poetess Hadewick Blommaerdine (q.v.), whose teachings had been opposed by Jan van Ruysbroeck early in the fourteenth century. The heads of the Brussels sect were Ægidius Cantoris, an untutored layman, and Willem van Hildernissen, a Carmelite. Though differing in the details of their doctrine, these leaders held in common the general view that only those in a state of mystical ecstasy and union with God are able to understand the Bible. Both boasted of the wonderful visions beheld by them; and on one occasion Cantoris, while in the ecstatic state, ran naked through the streets of Brussels calling himself the savior of humanity. That the sectaries expected freedom of spirit and beatification of all wicked spirits to come with the era of the Holy Spirit, which they regarded as imminent, was due to influence of the tradition of Joachimism (see Joachim of Fiore). Serious complaints were made about their immoral mode of life. Two inquisitors who interfered in 1410 met with opposition on the part of the Brussels populace and barely escaped with their lives. At that time Hildernissen formally recanted, but the following year he was again tried for heresy and condemned to lifelong imprisonment. No account has been preserved of the trial of other members of the sect, or of the after-effects of this movement, which was evidently deep-seated.

Herman Haupt.

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HOMOIAN, HOMOIOUSIAN, HOMOOUSIAN. See Arianism, I., § 6, II., § 1.

HOMOLOGUMENA. See Canon of Scripture, II., 5, 7.

HONDURAS. See Central America.

HONE, WILLIAM: English author and bookseller; b. at Bath June 3, 1780; d. at Tottenham, London, Nov. 6, 1842. At the age of ten he was placed in an attorney's office in London, but in 1800 he gave up law and became a bookseller. On account of his various philanthropic schemes he was uniformly unsuccessful in business. In order to support his family he took up authorship in 1815 and published numerous political squibs and satires, which were illustrated by Cruikshank. For parodying the litany, the Athanasian Creed, and the church catechism, he was tried on three separate charges Dec. 17–19, 1820, but was acquitted on each count. As a result of researches which he made in preparing his own defense he published *The Apocryphal New Testament* (London, 1820) and *Ancient Mysteries Described* (1823). He collected a dozen of his controversial pamphlets, including *The Political House that Jack Built* (1819), under the title *Facetiæ and Miscellanies* (1827). In the literary world Hone is remembered for his three compilations, *The Every Day Book* (2 vols., 1826–27), *The Table Book* (2 vols., 1827–28), and *The Year Book* (1832), in the preparation of which he had the approval and assistance of Robert Southey, Charles Lamb, and others. In the latter part of his life Hone became converted and frequently preached in the Independent Weigh House Chapel, Eastcheap.

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HONIUS, CORNELIUS (CORNELIS HENRIX, HOEN): Dutch Protestant; b. probably at Gouda

(11 m. n.e. of Rotterdam); d. at The Hague 1524. He studied at Utrecht and settled at The Hague as an advocate. In 1509 he received a batch of papers of the lately deceased Jacob Hoeck, canon and dean of Naaldwijk and pastor at Wassenaar, among which he found several works of Johann Wessel (q.v.), including a treatise on the Lord's Supper, in which Wessel, rejecting the doctrine of transubstantiation, sought to show (by combining John iii. 36 and vi. 54) that "eat" and "drink" can mean nothing more than believing in Christianity and assimilating it into our lives. In reflecting over this work Honius concluded that *est* in the words of institution could mean only *significat*. He communicated this view to several friends, particularly to Johannes Rode (q.v.), rector of the Hieronymus-School at Utrecht. Rode and Honius determined to acquaint Luther and Zwingli with the new doctrine, which Honius had cleverly formulated in a short treatise, and to this end Rode visited Wittenberg, Basel, and Zurich in 1522. Zwingli was so well pleased with the writing of Honius that in 1525 he had it printed at Zurich, though without any mention of the author. By order of the inquisitor Van der Hulst Honius was arrested and put into chains in Feb., 1523, accused of being an adherent of the "Sacramentists." At the close of a lengthy trial The Hague was assigned to him as his "prison," and he was forced to deposit 3,000 ducats as security. OTTO CLEMEN.

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HONOR: The recognition accorded by one person to another. None can value this more highly than the Christian, yet no man is inwardly more independent of honor than the Christian, though, since it widens his sphere of activity, he is in duty bound to seek it. Christians are not to be "the servants of men" (I Cor. vii. 23), yet those who seek only honor from men can not believe (John v. 44), and Paul declares that he sought no glory of men (I Thess. ii. 6). Christian honor is entirely distinct from that of the ancient world. The Christian seeks honor with God alone, and receives through the Holy Spirit the assurance that he is a child of God (Rom. viii. 16), but in proportion as he strives for human honor he loses the freedom of the children of God through envy of his fellow men (cf. Gal. v. 25). Nevertheless, the Christian should maintain his honor among men. If the Christian protects his honor simply because he seeks honor with God, he has a joy in that transitory earthly treasure such as no other can have. The tendency of this joy to become a struggle for honor is checked by the realization that service alone is the way of life, and it becomes clear that the desire to serve includes striving after all necessary means so far as they are accessible. Evident though it be that honor among men is an extremely important means of efficiency, the Christian should bear in mind that striving for honor must be held in check.

(W. HERMANN.)

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HONORATUS, SAINT. See LÉRINS, MONASTERY OF.

HONORIUS: The name of four popes and one antipope.

Honorius I.: Pope 625–638. He came of a distinguished Campanian family, succeeded Bonifacius V. Nov. 3 (Oct. 30), 625, and died in Oct., 638. His policy was to continue the designs of Gregory I. (q.v.); and in this respect he was particularly successful in relation to the Anglo-Saxons and the Lombards. He managed to abrogate the schism which had prevailed in Istria and Venetia since the Three-Chapter Controversy (q.v.), and to restore there the canonical sovereignty of the Church of Rome. It was probably the assistance furnished him then by the emperor Heraclius that persuaded him to side with the emperor at the outbreak of the Monothelite strife (see MONOTHELITES), and to make common confession with the patriarchs of Constantinople and Alexandria concerning the doctrine of "one will" in Christ (cf. his *Epist.*, iv. and v., to the patriarch Sergius, in *MPL*, lxxx. 470, 474). At the Sixth Ecumenical Council in Constantinople, Mar. 28, 681, he was anathematized along with the leaders of the Monothelite party, and with the assent of the legates of Pope Agathos I. Leo II. confirmed the anathema in 682 (*MPL*, xcvi. 399), and characterized Honorius as one "who did not adorn this Apostolic See with the doctrine of apostolic tradition, but endeavored to subvert immaculate faith by profane treason." The anathema gained acceptance in the confession of faith which every pope had to pronounce at his elevation (cf. *Liber Diurnus*, *MPL*, cv. 52). By degrees, however, the thought of this grave event died out, in the West at least, though Byzantine annalists and canonists recur to it quite often. To eliminate the obstacle herein implied to the doctrine of papal infallibility, Baronius declared the council's acts and the papal briefs to have been falsified. Others (Bellarmin, Assemani) viewed the anathema as an error of the council or modified the sentence (Garnier, Pagi), making the point turn, not on any heresy in the pope, but on his attitude favoring heresy. At the Vatican Council Bishop Hefele declared himself in favor of condemning the pope for heresy, but in the second edition of his *Conciliengeschichte* he qualified this view in the sense that Honorius had merely blundered in expression. Certain it is that Honorius, when committing himself to the Monothelite doctrine, could not yet forecast the full sweep of the contest; nor did he survive its real development. He was at no time a conscious, deliberate Monothelite. G. KRÜGER.

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Honorius II. (Cadalus): Antipope 1061–64. After Alexander II. had been elected and enthroned as the successor of Nicholas II., an assembly of German and Lombard bishops, convened at Basel by the empress Agnes, elected (Oct. 28, 1061) as antipope Bishop Cadalus of Parma, who bore the name of Honorius II. The status of Cadalus was irregular from the very outset; and the empress was unable to compel recognition of him. After some agitation in his behalf by Bishop Benso of Alba, as imperial envoy to Rome, Cadalus could advance as far as Sutri, and he even scored a victory over Alexander's troops before the gates of Rome. But at this juncture Duke Godfrey of Lorraine took part in the strife (May, 1061) and induced both rivals to submit the matter to the king's decision. Pending the outcome they returned to their dioceses. Inasmuch as the German king happened to be under the power of the imperial administrator, to refer the decision to him as umpire was only to refer the whole issue to Anno of Cologne. The matter came up for discussion at the Synod of Augsburg in Oct., 1062, which practically decided against Honorius; but it was agreed that a German bishop should first be sent to Rome to investigate charges of simony that had been urged against Alexander. This responsible office was assigned to Anno's nephew, Burchard of Halberstadt. The result was that Alexander was conducted to Rome by Duke Godfrey in Mar., 1063. Cadalus still proceeded aggressively, even advancing upon Rome, and contriving to secure himself at Castle Angelo; but he was obliged to leave Rome again. The council at Mantua, May 31, 1064, decreed the definitive recognition of his opponent. Cadalus died as the year 1071 lapsed into 1072. See ALEXANDER II.; and ANNO.

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Honorius II. (Lambert di Fagnano): Pope 1124–1130. He was elevated by Paschal II. as cardinal bishop of Ostia, and was one of the electors of Gelasius II., with whom he shared exile in France. As one of the six cardinals who, in France, elected Calixtus II. as successor to Gelasius II., he stood on very close terms with this pope, and was employed in the most difficult missions. It was he who concluded with the emperor Henry V. the so-called Concordat of Worms (see CONCORDATS AND DELIMITING BULLS, I., § 1). He was consecrated Dec. 21, 1124, by the Frangipani, contrary to the wish of the cardinals of the Leoni party, who had already proclaimed their colleague Theobald as Pope Celestine II., though subsequently they acquiesced in the elevation of Honorius II. Hardly had Honorius officiated in his pontificate half a year when Henry V. was succeeded by Lothair III., who addressed to the pope a petition for confirmation of the act as consummated by the German imperial princes. Honorius, in return, excommunicated Lothair's royal pretender, Conrad of Hohenstaufen (1128). The chief aim of Honorius was to enlarge the dominion of the Roman Church in Italy. While he succeeded in subjecting some counts of the Campagna to his supremacy, he was not strong enough to wrest the duchy of Apulia from Count Roger of Sicily, and in Aug., 1128, he was obliged to invest the ruler of Apulia with that duchy. In this contest he vainly awaited help from Lothair, whom he repeatedly summoned to Rome for coronation. Honorius died during the night of Feb. 13–14, 1130.

CARL MIRBT.

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Honorius III. (Cencio Savelli): Pope 1216–27. He came of a race of possibly German origin which took its name from the fortress of Sabellum, near Albano, was educated for the Church, and became a canon of Santa Maria Maggiore. Under Clement III. and Celestine III. he was treasurer of the Roman Church. Celestine III. made him a cardinal deacon before Mar. 5, 1193; Innocent III. raised him to the rank of a cardinal priest before Mar. 13, 1198; and on July 18, 1216, he was elected pope at Perugia. He took up with special interest the idea of the crusade and strove to unite the princes of Europe in its interest. Far-reaching prospects seemed to open before him when he was able to set the crown of the Greek empire upon the head of Pierre de Courtenay (Apr., 1217); but the new emperor was captured on his eastward journey and died in confinement. Honorius then looked to Frederick II. for help and urged him to come to Rome and be crowned as a preliminary to setting out for the East. But Frederick hung back, and Honorius repeatedly put off the date for the beginning of the expedition. Frederick had promised before Innocent's death that as soon as he should receive the imperial crown he would resign the crown of Sicily to his young son Henry; but at the end of 1216 he summoned Henry from Sicily, and later withdrew from him the title of king of Sicily, assuming it himself. In Apr., 1220, he was elected emperor, and wrote to the pope requesting confirmation. At last he appeared in Rome, and mutual compromise seemed to bind him and Honorius closer. The crusade was again postponed until Aug., 1221; and on Nov. 22, 1220, Frederick was crowned in Rome. The advantage seemed by no means all on his side; the power of the Church

against heretics and the Italian states was strengthened; it gained possession of the donation of Matilda and full authority in the ecclesiastical territory (see PAPAL STATES); and Honorius was able to hold his place in Rome. In spite of the insistence of Honorius Frederick still delayed, and the Egyptian campaign failed miserably with the loss of Damietta (Sept. 8, 1221). June 24, 1225, was finally fixed as the date for the departure of Frederick; and Honorius brought about his marriage with Isabella, heiress of the kingdom of Jerusalem, with a view to binding him closer to the plan. The treaty of San Germano in July, 1225, permitted a further delay of two years. Frederick now sought to upbuild his power in northern Italy, and presumed to summon the population of the states of the Church to help him subject the Lombards, threatening penalties against the delinquents. The long-suffering Honorius took up his subjects' cause. Frederick's plans in northern Italy were not very successful, and he met Honorius half-way when conciliation was proposed. According to the pope's arbitrament (Jan. 5, 1227), Frederick was to take the Lombards back into favor and, on condition of their keeping the peace, allow them the *status quo* and the recognition of their league, while penalties imposed upon them were such as served the ends of the Church.

Frederick now made serious preparations for the crusade. In the midst, however, of his hopes for the final attainment of the aim so eagerly desired Honorius died, Mar. 18, 1227. His policy had been one of general friendliness toward the emperor, because he could not do without his help for the crusade; and Frederick made ample use of this fact. In his failure to keep his promises to set out for the holy land, he had on his side the princes and the nations of Europe, among whom the old crusading enthusiasm had begun to die out. But Honorius really had too large a task; besides the liberation of the holy land, he felt bound to forward the repression of heresy in the south of France, the war for the faith in the Spanish peninsula, the planting of Christianity in the lands along the Baltic, and the maintenance of the impossible Latin empire in Constantinople. Of these duties the rooting out of heresy lay nearest to Honorius's heart. In the south of France he carried on Innocent's work, confirming Simon de Montfort in the possession of the lands of Raymond of Toulouse and succeeding, as Innocent had not, in drawing the royal house of France into the conflict. The most widely important event of this period was the siege and capture of Avignon. Both Honorius and Louis VIII. turned a deaf ear to Frederick's assertion of the claims of the empire to that town. Honorius confirmed the Dominican order in 1216 (see DOMINIC, SAINT, AND THE DOMINICAN ORDER), and the Franciscans in 1223 (see FRANCIS, SAINT, OF ASSISI, AND THE FRANCISCAN ORDER). His writings are published in Horoy's *Medii ævi bibliotheca patristica*, vols. i.–v., Paris, 1879–83. The most important is the *Liber censuum Romanæ ecclesiæ*, which is the most valuable source for the medieval position of the Church in regard to property and the like, and also serves in part as a continuation of the *Liber pontificalis*.

(HANS SCHULZ.)

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Honorius IV. (Giacomo Savelli): Pope 1285–87. He was a great-nephew of Honorius III., and was born about 1210. He was educated at Paris, made a cardinal by Urban IV. in 1261, unanimously elected pope at Perugia Apr. 2, 1285, and crowned May 20. The most pressing question that confronted him was that of Sicily, where the famous "Vespers" of Mar. 30, 1282, had rent away half the kingdom from the Church and its vassal, Charles of Anjou; Peter of Aragon had been crowned at Palermo as the husband of Manfred's daughter, and the Ghibelline faction was becoming more audacious all over Italy. The war between France and Aragon ended with a precipitate withdrawal of the French, and Philip IV. thought more of strengthening his power at home than of foreign conquest; Charles II., for eighteen months a prisoner, was anxious to secure his freedom at the cost of renouncing his claims to Sicily. The power of Aragon was now divided, the Spanish kingdom going to Peter's eldest son, Alfonso, the Sicilian to his brother James. Honorius refused to recognize him and maintained the claims of the Church to the island, treating as invalid the renunciation of Charles II., made at Barcelona Feb. 27, 1287. Edward I. of England had brought about a truce between Alfonso and Philip IV. (July 25, 1286), which Honorius approved; and when Alfonso's envoys came to Rome at Christmas, though he nominally maintained his predecessor's policy of hostility to the house of Aragon, he showed himself ready for further negotiations. He did not, however, live to see the end of these troubles, which came in 1302 under Boniface VIII. He had better success in the Continental portion of the kingdom of Sicily, where he asserted his rights as suzerain, limited the royal power, and enacted important statutes for the protection of the people against arbitrary tyranny. In regard to the crusading plans which he had inherited, he confined himself to collecting the tithes imposed by the Council of Lyons, arranging with the great banking-houses of Florence, Sienna, and Pistoia to act as his agents. In his relations with the empire, where no more danger was to be apprehended since the fall of the Hohenstaufen, he followed the *via media* taken by Gregory X. Rudolf of Hapsburg sent Bishop Henry of Basel to Rome to request coronation. Honorius appointed the envoy archbishop of Mainz, fixed a date for the coronation, and sent Cardinal John of Tusculum to Germany to assist Rudolf's cause. But general

opposition showed itself to the papal interference; a council at Würzburg (Mar. 16–18, 1287) protested energetically, and Rudolf had to protect the legate from personal violence, so that both his plans and the pope's failed.

In Rome Honorius established friendly relations with the citizens, who had been at daggers drawn with his predecessor, and his brother Pandulf maintained a strict but just government. Martin IV. had carried on a continual and almost hopeless conflict in the states of the Church with the Ghibellines, under the leadership of Guy of Montefeltro; but Honorius restored order here also, and by mild and considerate government of the cities on which Martin had laid an interdict succeeded in securing a greater degree of tranquillity and submission than any pope for some time before or after. Venice also was now released from the interdict laid upon it by the legate of Martin IV. because it had declined to fit out a fleet in behalf of Charles of Anjou against Peter of Aragon. Salimbene, the chronicler of Parma, asserted that Honorius was a foe to the religious orders, especially to the mendicant friars; but his *Regesta*, as published by Prou, affords proof of the contrary. As a matter of fact, he confirmed and enlarged their privileges, often appointed them to special missions and to bishoprics, and gave them exclusive charge of the inquisition. He had a special affection for the Williamites, to whom he gave the monastery which he had built at Albano when he was a cardinal. On the other hand, he gave orders in a bull of Mar. 11, 1286, that the Apostolic Brethren (q.v.), whom Segarelli of Parma was then attempting to organize, should be suppressed as heretics. (Hans Schulz.)

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HONORIUS OF AUTUN: Theologian; d. 1152. He is the great unknown in the church history of the twelfth century. The annals of Pöhlde, which extend to 1139, praise him as a learned recluse filled with spiritual wisdom. The Frenchmen claim him for France, more specifically for Autun, since he styles himself *Augustudonensis*, which may, however, mean Augsburg. Indeed, it is the Austrian and Bavarian monasteries which contain most of Honorius's works. Munich alone possesses more than 100, Graz thirty codices in which writings of his occur. Moreover, Honorius treats Germany more fully than any other country in his *Imago mundi* and mentions in this geographical description only one city—Regensburg. Thus Regensburg may be assumed as the field of his activity, especially as Cuno, the friend of Rupert of Deutz, to whom Honorius was closely related, was bishop there. Since Honorius in his *Imago mundi* closes the list of rulers with Lothair, and since the oldest source of information says "he flourished under Henry V.," the year 1135 may be assumed as the culminating period of his activity.

The meagerness of biographical data is balanced by the mass of his writings, almost all of which are preserved. From these it may be inferred that Honorius was a Platonist, a mystic, and a realist, and at the same time a stanch defender of the rights of the papacy against the secular power. He agrees in his doctrines especially with Rupert of Deutz, and with the latter and Gerhoh of Reichersberg belongs to that group of German realists who opposed the nominalists of France—men like Abelard, Gilbert of Poitiers, Roscellin, Peter Lombard, and others—in the twelfth century, especially on christological questions. The *De imagine mundi* contains information on geography, climatology, and chronology, and traces the history of the world from Adam to Emperor Frederic I. In *De animæ exilio et patria* Honorius shows that ignorance is the exile of man; hence by gradual steps, such as grammar, rhetoric, dialectics, etc., man passes to wisdom. *De luminaribus ecclesiæ* gives a list of ecclesiastical writers, beginning with St. Peter and closing with Rupert of Deutz. Among Honorius's exegetical works may be mentioned his *Hexaemeron*, in which he shows how the whole creation is centered in the salvation of Christ. In his treatise on the Egyptian plagues he indulges in the allegorizing and typologizing methods of his time by comparing them with the ten commandments. He divides the Psalms into three groups according to the three ages of the world—the first group contains those without the law (from Abel to Moses), the second those under the law (from Moses to Christ), the third those under grace (from Christ to the end of the world). Still more numerous are Honorius's works on practical theology, homiletics, liturgics, discipline, and on the canonical position of the Church against the worldly empire. He has a high opinion of the cloister as the place of refuge and protection for the children of God. The *Scala cœli major*, a conversation between master and pupil in twenty-three chapters, shows the *ordo graduum* for spiritual vision; the *Scala cœli minor* shows in six chapters the steps of increasing charity. The *Offendiculum* is directed chiefly against the "married and simoniacal presbyters"; the *Speculum ecclesiæ* is a collection of addresses to a convention of brethren on saints' and apostles' days and of sermons. The *Sacramentarium* speaks in 100 chapters on the mystical sense of ecclesiastical rites. In *Summa duodecim quæstionum* Honorius discusses the question of rank between angel and man. The *Summa gloriæ de Apostolico et Augusto* has reference to the disputes between empire and papacy; as the sun is superior to the moon and the spirit to the soul, so sacerdotalism is superior to the empire; therefore the emperor should be chosen by the priests. Thus is found everywhere the tendency of Cluny. In the *Elucidarium* Honorius develops his doctrine concerning the trinity. He attacks the nominalists who ignore the essential unity of God, making it a mere thought while they consider the hypostases as real. In this way, he says, the hypostases are separated as realities, and we have three Gods.

Honorius, on the contrary, maintained that the whole created world is in the mind of God and emanates from him. In *Quæstiones octo de angelo et homine* Honorius discusses the question whether man would have been created if the angels had not fallen. He answers in the affirmative, since man as the tenth order forms the necessary supplement to the nine orders of angels. Christ would have been born even if Adam had not fallen because the cause of Christ's incarnation was the predestination of human deification. Of greater importance is the christological position of Honorius. As in the doctrine of the trinity, so here he reveals his realism. The two natures are not only united in the person of Christ, but with each other, and they permeate each other with the entire communication also of the attributes, hence also of the divine nature to the human. If we speak of the person of Christ, the natures are included. The name " Son of God " pertains therefore to the substance also of the natures, at least after the Resurrection and Ascension. Since those events the human nature, the flesh of Christ, has been received by the Logos into the unity of his substance and is in no way circumscribed; thus Christ according to both natures is everywhere. (R. Rocholl.)

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HONORIUS OF CANTERBURY: Fifth archbishop of Canterbury; d. at Canterbury Sept. 30, 653. He was one of the disciples of Pope Gregory, but when he came to England is not known. He was consecrated archbishop by Paulinus of York at Lincoln after the death of Justus (Nov. 10, 627). He sent Felix to preach to the East Angles, made Paulinus bishop of Rochester after his flight from Northumbria, consecrated Ithamar as Paulinus' successor in 644, and Thomas as second bishop for East Anglia. He received the pallium from Pope Honorius I. in 634, but did not exercise jurisdiction outside of Kent and East Anglia.

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HONORIUS, FLAVIUS: Roman emperor 395–423; b., probably at Constantinople, Sept. 9, 384; d. at Ravenna Aug., 423. He was the younger son of Theodosius I. and his devout wife, Ælia Flaccilla, and assumed the government of the Western Empire upon his father's death, in 395, when he was not yet eleven years of age. Arcadius (q.v.) obtained the East. Agreeably to the father's wish, the Vandal Stilicho supported Honorius as a wise and powerful counselor during the heavy times of the barbarian invasions and of repeated usurpations. After Stilicho's assassination (408), the Asiatic Olympus succeeded him, and he, in turn, was succeeded by others, with all of whom the amiable and pliant ruler proved a mere instrument, with scarcely any will of his own.

Honorius lived in the self-conscious orthodoxy of his father. He was therefore seriously disposed not only to maintain intact the authority and the rights of the Church, but to extend and confirm them—e.g., the right of asylum, and episcopal jurisdiction. The civil power was more than ever available for the annihilation of heresy. Teachers of error were excluded from court offices. Especially severe were the measures in force against the Manicheans and the Donatists.

The religious policy affecting heathendom was exercised along similar lines (cf. Victor Schultze, *Der Untergang des griechisch-römischen Heidentums*, i., Jena, 1887, pp. 334 sqq.). The fanaticism which had even transferred its enmity toward the gods to antique works of art was resisted; but, all in all, the attitude to paganism was much harsher than under Theodosius. The temples lost their revenues, the priesthoods their last remnant of privileges, the still extant images of the gods were cast aside. Paganism was wholly outlawed. At the same time the bloody gladiatorial spectacles came to an end.

To a degree beyond all precedent, the State now fell under the influence of the Church. The government openly reflected the conviction that the strengthening of the Church also signified the strengthening of the State politically. But, in spite of all this, the civil right of supreme supervision over the Church was maintained. Under this head belong decisions in case of the Donatist and Pelagian disputes, and stringent regulations against ecclesiastical improprieties. The emperor's moral behavior is expressly lauded, and statements to the contrary rest on gossip. He was the weakly son and successor of a great emperor, whom he brought to mind in scarcely anything but his face. After him the destiny of the Western Empire fell into the hands of his more resolute sister, Galla Placidia.

Victor Schultze.

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HONTER (HONTERUS), JOHANN: Hungarian Reformer; b. at Kronstadt (70 m. e.s.e. of Hermannstadt) 1498; d. there Jan. 23, 1549. In 1515 he entered the University of Vienna. Fifteen years later he was attending lectures and teaching Latin grammar at Cracow, but he seems to have gone in the same year to Basel, where he remained until his native city recalled him in 1533. As early as 1519 the ideas of the German Reformation had found admission into Saxon Transylvania. A flourishing industrial and mercantile activity promoted prosperity, education, independence, and freedom which maintained its own convictions and rights in religion as well as in politics. Thus the

doctrine of Rome, which placed all power in the hands of popes and bishops, had never entirely supplanted the ancient privileges of the congregation. The influence of the University of Vienna, moreover, elevated the spirit of the Saxon youth and formed a contrast with the doctrines of Rome. Luther's doctrines had, accordingly, been firmly established in Hermannstadt since the beginning of the third decade of the sixteenth century, and had found a powerful patron in Markus Pempflinger, the royal judge. About the same time the new teaching had entered Kronstadt, but there it was Honter who first gave it definite direction, although primarily he influenced it chiefly in a literary way by establishing a printing-press. In him were united the two chief tendencies of the time, the regeneration of classical literature and of Evangelical Christianity. He proceeded with caution in introducing the new gospel, nor did he break openly with the established religion, since he drew his material from Augustine and looked upon the Reformation as a revival of old truths. In 1542, however, he boldly avowed the cause of Evangelicalism in his *Formula reformationis ecclesiæ Coronensis ac Barcensis totius provinciæ*. Thenceforth the Reformation made rapid progress. Jeremias Jekel, a priest of Kronstadt, married, the mass was abolished, and the sacrament was administered in both kinds. The deputies of town and country assembled for a final decision on the reformation of the Church, and shortly afterward a church visitation was instituted to test the doctrines of the clergy and to remove unworthy preachers from office. In 1544 Honter became preacher in Kronstadt, and in the same year the academy of the city was reorganized on the basis of the *Constitutio scholæ Coronensis*, which he had drafted in the previous year, Valentin Wagner, a disciple from Wittenberg, being its first president. In 1547 Honter recast his *Formula reformationis* of 1543 both in Latin (*Reformatio ecclesiarum Saxonicarum in Transsilvania*) and in German (*Kirchenordnung aller Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*) in order to avoid dissension and to introduce uniform ecclesiastical governance. The main topics discussed were the appointment of the clergy, Christian doctrine, office of the clergy, baptism, the Lord's Supper, abuse of private mass, communion of the sick, power of absolution, excommunication, erection of schools, organization of relief for the poor, care of orphans, marriage, reformation of common abuses, annual visitations, matins, high mass, vespers, and ceremonies in villages. The church order distinguishes itself by its moderation, and reveals the conservative principle of the Saxon spirit.

Honter was a prolific writer, his chief works being *De grammatica libri duo* (1530 or 1531); *Rudimentorum cosmographiæ libri duo* (Cracow, 1530); *Apologia reformationis* (1543); *Compendium juris civilis, in usum civitatum ac sedium Saxonicarum collectum* (1544); and *Agende für die Seelsorger und Kirchendiener in Siebenbürgen* (1547).

(F. Teutsch†.)

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HONTHEIM, hənt'haim, **JOHANN NIKOLAUS VON**: Bishop of Treves; b. at Treves Jan. 27, 1701; d. there Sept. 2, 1790. In his twelfth year his uncle procured him a prebend in the collegiate chapter of St. Simeon. He was instructed by the Jesuits, and from 1719 studied theology and canon law in his native city, at Louvain, and at Leyden. In 1728 he became priest and was formally admitted into the chapter of St. Simeon in his native city, at the same time being appointed assessor and spiritual councilor in the consistory, and in 1732 also professor of the university. In 1738 he removed to Coblenz, but returned to Treves in 1747, and became dean of the chapter and suffragan bishop of Treves in the following year.

Hontheim's most remarkable literary production was published under the pseudonym Justinus Febronius entitled *Justini Febronii Jesu Christi de statu ecclesiæ et legitima potestate Romani pontificis liber singularis ad reuniendos dissidentes in religione Christianos compositus* (1763, ostensibly at Boulogne, but really at Frankfort). The views it expresses are known as "Febronianism." The plan and purpose was to show the real significance of papal power, its abuses, and the mischief which it caused, and to urge the pope to drop curialism and return to the spirit of primitive Christianity. In nine chapters the following system is evolved: "Christ has left the power of the keys to the whole Church; for its execution ministers (clergy and prelates) have been chosen, the pope being the first among them, but subordinate to the whole. The Church has no monarchical constitution; the apostles were equal to each other, Peter having only a primacy. Only the whole Church possesses infallibility. The primacy of the bishop of Rome is not derived from Christ, but from Peter and the Church, and may therefore be transferred to another see. The duty of the primacy is not the government of the Church, but the maintenance of the social order; the pope has no power of decision in matters of faith, as he stands under a general council. The bishops have an equal power from Christ, not from the pope; they are necessary members of the general synods, and are to fill all offices, a privilege which at a comparatively late time has been usurped by the popes, to the disadvantage of the Church. In the course of time the popes seized many privileges against the canons, especially on the strength of the pseudo-Isidorian decretals. The conditions at the time before these forged laws must be restored by opposing the papal court with all possible means. Although Hontheim did not develop any new thoughts, he so systematized and presented his ideas that the book had great influence upon ecclesiastical politics in Italy, Portugal, and Austria, and undoubtedly gave an impulse to the Congress of Ems (q.v.) and the new regulation of ecclesiastical conditions in the South German states from 1818. As early as 1764 Rome prohibited the circulation of the book, but it was not until 1778 that Hontheim was requested to recant. He did so after his numerous relatives had been threatened with dismissal from their

political offices. To justify and explain his recantation he wrote *Justini Febronii . . . Commentarius in suam retractationem Pio VII., pontifici maximo kalendis novembribus 1778 submissam* (Frankfort, 1781). This commentary does not reveal any essential changes of his former views, so that both the elector and the pope were dissatisfied, but neither of them disturbed the author as his influence had been greatly diminished by his humiliation. Hontheim wrote also a *Historia Trevirensis* (3 vols., Augsburg, 1750); *Prodromus historiæ Trevirensis* (2 vols., 1757); and various legal dissertations and spiritual and academical addresses.

(J. F. von Schulte.)

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HOOD, EDWIN PAXTON: English Congregationalist; b. in London Oct. 24, 1820; d. in Paris June 12, 1885. He received only a meager education, but at the age of twenty began to lecture on peace and temperance, and in 1852 entered the ministry of his denomination. He held pastorates at North Nibley, Gloucestershire (1852–57), Offord Road, Islington (1857–62), Brighton (1862–73), Cavendish Street, Manchester (1873–80), and Falcon Square, London (1880–85). He took an active part in the welfare of the Royal Hospital for Incurables, for which he raised large funds. In addition to editing *The Eclectic and Congregational Review*, *The Preacher's Lantern*, and *The Argonaut* for several years, he wrote many books, among which special mention may be made of *The Age and Its Architects: Ten Chapters on the English People in Relation to the Times* (London, 1850); *Self-Education* (1851); *John Milton, Patriot and Poet* (1852); *Commonsense Arguments* (1852); *Swedenborg: A Biography and an Exposition* (1854); *An Earnest Ministry: Record of the Life and Writings of B. Parsons* (1856); *Lamps, Pitchers, and Trumpets* (1867); *The World of Moral and Religious Anecdote* (1870); *Thomas Binney, his Mind, Life, and Opinions* (1874); *Isaac Watts, his Life and Writings, his Homes and Friends* (1875); *Thomas Carlyle, Philosophic Thinker, Theologian, Historian, and Poet* (1875); *Robert Raikes of Gloucester* (1880); *Vignettes of the Great Revival of the Eighteenth Century* (1880); *Christmas Evans, the Preacher of Wild Wales* (1881); *Robert Hall* (1881); *Oliver Cromwell, his Life, Times, Battlefields and Contemporaries* (1882); *The Throne of Eloquence: Great Preachers Ancient and Modern* (1885); and *the Vocation of the Preacher* (1886).

Bibliography: G. H. Giddings, *E. P. Hood, Poet and Preacher*, London, 1887.

HOOD, JAMES WALKER: African Methodist Episcopal bishop; b. in Kennett Township, Pa., May 30, 1831. He received but a meager education in school, entered the ministry in 1858, and was made a deacon in 1860 and ordained elder in 1862. In 1860 he was sent by the New England Conference to Nova Scotia as a missionary among the negroes in that province, and remained three years. After a brief service in Bridgeport, Conn., in 1863, he was sent as the first negro missionary to the North Carolina freedmen, being stationed within the lines of the Union Army. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of North Carolina in 1868, and assistant superintendent of public instruction from that year until 1871. In the following year he was elected bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and is now senior bishop of his denomination. He has written *The Negro in the American Pulpit* (Raleigh, N. C., 1884); *One Hundred Years of the Methodist Episcopal Zion Church* (New York, 1895); and *The Plan of the Apocalypse* (York, Pa., 1900).

HOOGHT, EVERARDUS VAN DER: Dutch Biblical critic and Orientalist; b. after 1650; d. at Nieuwendam (2 m. n.e. of Amsterdam), Holland, in July, 1716. He studied theology at Amsterdam, became minister at Marken, North Holland, in 1669, and pastor of the Reformed Church at Nieuwendam in 1680. During his long ministry here he devoted himself largely to linguistic and Biblical studies. He published several grammatical works, a Greek-Latin lexicon to the New Testament, and edited the Hebrew Bible (Amsterdam, 1705). It is for this last work that he is remembered. His text has been frequently reprinted and widely used.

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HOOGSTRATEN, hōg'stra-ten **(HOCHSTRATEN), JAKOB VAN:** Inquisitor; b. at Hoogstraten (20 m. n.e. of Antwerp), Belgium, 1454; d. at Cologne Jan. 21, 1527. He studied at the universities of Louvain (M.A., 1485) and Cologne (Th.D., 1506), entered the Dominican order in 1485, and in 1507 became prior of the order at Cologne and professor of theology at the university. In 1508 he was made inquisitor of the provinces of Cologne, Mainz, and Treves. He is known for his opposition to Luther, Erasmus, and other humanists, and particularly for the part he took against Johann Reuchlin (q.v.) in a controversy over the Jewish books. In 1513 he summoned Reuchlin to appear before him at Mainz, thus transcending his authority, as Reuchlin was a citizen of another state. In the end he lost his case and had to pay the costs of the proceedings. An appeal to Leo X. was unavailing, as the pope, though in sympathy with Hoogstraten, was unwilling to offend the humanists. This controversy was the occasion of the famous *Epistolæ obscurorum virorum* (q.v.). Hoogstraten's works appeared at Cologne in 1526.

Bibliography: F. W. H. Cremans, *De Jacobi Hochstrati vita et scriptis*, Bonn, 1869; Meuser, in *Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Kunst*, i (1844), 286–295; *KL*, vi. 1158–1166; and see Reuchlin, Johann, and the literature there.

HOOK, WALTER FARQUHAR: Dean of Chichester; b. in London Mar. 13, 1798; d. at Chichester Oct. 20, 1875. He was educated at Winchester College and at Christ Church, Oxford (B.A., 1821; M.A., 1824; B.D. and D.D., 1837). He took orders in 1821 and spent the next four years as curate to his father at Whippingham, Isle of Wight. In 1825 he was appointed to the perpetual curacy of Moseley, near Birmingham, and in 1827 also to the lectureship of St. Philip's, Birmingham. In 1828 he was appointed vicar of Holy Trinity, Coventry, where he remained till 1837, when he became vicar of Leeds. In the mean time he had become a royal chaplain,

and in 1838 he preached before Queen Victoria the memorable sermon, *Hear the Church,* in which he maintained that the bishops of the Anglican Church trace their succession back to the apostles. During an incumbency of twenty years at Leeds he rebuilt the parish church at a cost of £28,000, erected twenty-one new churches, twenty-three parsonages, and about thirty schools, and transformed the city from a stronghold of dissent into a stronghold of the Church. In 1859 he was appointed dean of Chichester. He was a prominent exponent of High-church principles, and was subjected to considerable persecution on account of his friendship for the Tractarians. His more important works are: *The Last Days of Our Lord's Ministry* (London, 1832); *Hear the Church* (1838), a sermon of which over 100,000 copies were sold; *A Church Dictionary* (1842; 14th rev. ed., 1887); *An Ecclesiastical Biography* (8 vols., 1845–52); *On the Means of Rendering More Efficient the Education of the People* (1846); and *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury* (12 vols., 1860–76). Many of his sermons were edited by his son, Walter Hook, under the title *The Church and Its Ordinances* (2 vols., 1876).

Bibliography: W. R. W. Stephens, *Life and Letters of Walter Farquhar Hook,* 2 vols., London, 1878; *DNB,* xxvii. 276–278.

HOOKER, RICHARD: The classic writer of the Church of England on ecclesiastical polity; b. at Heavitur (a suburb of Exeter), Devonshire, about 1553; d. at Bishopsbourne (4 m. s.e. of Canterbury), Kent, Nov. 2, 1600. He was the son of poor parents and was helped to a university education at Oxford (Corpus Christi College; B.A., 1574; M.A. and fellow, 1577) by an uncle and the latter's friend, Bishop Jewel. He acted as tutor at his university, in 1579 was appointed to deliver the Hebrew lecture, and in 1581 took orders. In his marriage, which occurred about this time, he was, according to Walton, most unfortunate. He was appointed to the living of Drayton-Beauchamp, in the diocese of Lincoln, 1584, and the following year, at the recommendation of Archbishop Sandys, to whose son he had acted as tutor at Oxford, master of the Temple, London; he shared the pulpit here with Walter Travers, and opposed the latter's strenuous Puritanism. In 1591 he was presented to Boscombe, Wiltshire, and given a minor prebend of Salisbury. In 1595 he was transferred to the better living of Bishopsbourne.

Life.

Hooker was a tedious preacher; his manner was embarrassed, his sentences prolix and involved. Walton describes him as "of a mean stature and stooping, and yet more lowly in the thoughts of his soul, his body worn out, not with age, but study and holy mortifications."

Hooker's great reputation rests upon his work *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity.* It consists of eight books, four of which were written in Boscombe, and published in London in 1594, the fifth in 1597. The last three books have an interesting history, which is given in full by Keble (pp. xii.–xxv.). Hooker's widow was accused of having burned the manuscript; whether justly or not, it was irrecoverably gone. The rough drafts, however, were preserved. The sixth and eighth books were published in 1648, and the seventh in 1662. Of these the sixth, according to Keble, is probably not genuine. The other two contain the substance of what Hooker wrote. The immediate occasion of the *Ecclesiastical Polity* seems to have been an attack of Travers upon Hooker for extending salvation to Roman Catholics, and his lack of sympathy with Calvinism. With Jewel's *Apology* and Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* it is the most important original contribution to English ecclesiastical literature of the sixteenth century, and the first great ecclesiastical work written in English. Its style has been highly praised. Written in a temperate spirit, and with vigor of thought, it is free from the multitudinous and often unsifted quotations which deface the pages of most of the theological works of the period.

The Ecclesiastical Polity.

The contents are rather more philosophical than theological, and the work is more valuable for its broad and fundamental principles than for exactness of definition or clearness of argument. It is in effect an answer to Puritanism, which had been bitterly attacking the episcopal system for a generation. Conceived in an admirable temper, and free from the heat and vituperation which characterized the controversial writings of the period, it makes no attempt to discredit the Presbyterian system. Its object is to assert the right of a broad liberty on the basis of Scripture and reason. Hooker expressly denies that the practise of the apostles is a rule to be invariably followed, and asserts that a change of circumstances warrants a departure from the governmental policy and discipline of the early Church. He seeks to prove that things not commanded in Scripture may still be lawful, and he does it by appealing to the practise of the Puritans themselves (as in the case of the wafer which they used in common with the Roman Catholics, etc.). The assertion of this fundamental prerogative of reason is one of the most valuable contributions of the work. Hooker has been claimed as a champion of the High-Anglican doctrine of episcopacy, and, hardly less confidently, by the other side as the advocate of the view that church government is a matter of expediency. Isolated expressions can be found in favor of both, as even Keble qualifiedly admits (p. xxxviii.). But neither view is true. Hooker holds a position intermediate between the Anglican school of the Reformers, Archbishop Grindal (d. 1583) and most of Elizabeth's bishops, and the school which grew up in the contest with Puritanism, and had its extreme representative in Archbishop Laud (d. 1645). Had he been more exact in his definitions, it might be possible to place him more confidently on the one side or the other. As it is, he stands as the representative of toleration in the sphere of ecclesiastical polity and the advocate of the claims of reason against that narrow Scripturalism which assumes to tolerate nothing which the Scriptures do not expressly command.

Besides the *Ecclesiastical Polity,* several of Hooker's sermons have been preserved. The first collected edition of his works was that of J. Gauden (2 parts, London, 1662). The best is by J. Keble (3 vols., Oxford, 1836), corrected and revised by R. W.

Church and F. Paget (Oxford, 1888); it contains the life of Hooker by Izaak Walton, first published in 1665 to correct errors in a life by Gauden in his edition of Hooker's works. D. S. SCHAFF.

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HOOKER, THOMAS: Founder of the colony of Connecticut; b. at Markfield (10 m. n.w. of Leicester), Leicestershire, probably July 7, 1586; d. at Hartford, Conn., July 7, 1647. He was educated at Cambridge, became a fellow of Emmanuel College, and about 1620 received the living of Esher, Surrey. He held this position for six years, when he accepted a lectureship, or post as supplementary Puritan preacher, at Chelmsford, Essex, but though orthodox in doctrine, his Puritanical objections to Anglican ritual brought him into conflict with Laud. In 1629 he appeared before the archbishop, but proceedings were stayed for the time, and Hooker opened a school at Little Baddow, Essex, with John Eliot as his assistant. Renewed complaints of his Puritanism in the following year, however, caused him to leave England for Holland, where he remained three years, preaching successively at Amsterdam, Delft, and Rotterdam. In 1633 he sailed for America with John Cotton, and arrived at Boston Sept. 4. On Oct. 11 he was chosen pastor of the first church at Newtowne (now Cambridge), and became a freeman on May 14 of the following year. His influence increased rapidly, and in Oct., 1635, he was one of the principal opponents of Roger Williams. The rivalry between Newtowne and Boston, as well as between their pastors, however, caused Hooker, together with the greater part of his congregation and accessions from the churches of Dorchester and Watertown, to remove to the Connecticut valley, where Hartford was founded in 1636. In the following year he was one of the moderators of the Cambridge synod which condemned the doctrines of Anne Hutchinson (see ANTINOMIANISM AND ANTINOMIAN CONTROVERSIES, II. 2), and in 1639 he addressed a letter to Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts, in which he advocated a confederation of the New England colonies for mutual protection against the Dutch, French, and Indians. This proposal resulted in the organization, four years later, of the "United Colonies of New England," the earliest system of federal government in America. In 1642 he was invited by the Parliamentary Independents to be a delegate with John Cotton and John Davenport to the Westminster Assembly, but declined.

Hooker was a prolific writer, his principal works being as follows: *The Soul's Preparation for Christ* (London, 1632); *An Exposition of the Principles of Religion* (1640); *A Survey of the Sum of Church Discipline* (1648), an anti-Presbyterian apology which had much influence in the development of American Congregationalism; *The Application of Redemption* (1656); and *The Poor Doubting Christian Drawn to Christ* (1684).

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HOONACKER, ALBIN AUGUST VAN: Belgian Roman Catholic; b. at Bruges Nov. 19, 1857. He was educated at the episcopal college and seminary of his native city and at the University of Louvain (1880–86; D.D., 1886), and was ordained to the priesthood in 1880. From 1887 to 1889 he was subdirector of the Collège du Saint-Esprit at Louvain, and in 1889 was appointed professor of Old Testament exegesis at the University of Louvain, where he has been professor of moral theology since 1894. He has written *Nouvelles études sur la restauration juive après l'exile de Babylone* (Paris, 1896).

HOOP SCHEFFER, JACOB GYSBERT DE. See SCHEFFER.

HOOPER, JOHN: Bishop of Gloucester and Worcester; b. in Somersetshire toward the end of the fifteenth century; d. at the stake in Gloucester Feb. 9, 1555. He was educated at Oxford (B.A., 1519) and entered the Cistercian order. A diligent study of the Scriptures and the works of Zwingli and Bullinger on the Pauline Epistles convinced him of the errors of the papal Church, and made him an ardent advocate of the Reformation. When, in 1539, the Six Articles (q.v.) were enforced he retired to the Continent. He married in Basel in 1546, and in 1547 went to Zurich, where he stayed two years, becoming intimate with Bullinger, and carrying on a correspondence with Butzer concerning the sacraments.

In 1549 Hooper returned to England, identified himself with the radical wing of the Reformers, and immediately threw himself into an arduous activity, preaching at least once every day, and with great power. He was several times rebuked by Cranmer and the Council for his impetuous speech. During Lent, 1550, he preached before Edward VI. once every week, and soon after was nominated to the see of Gloucester. But unexpected impediments interfered with his acceptance. Hooper had fully imbibed the spirit of the continental Reformation. He had a strong aversion to clerical vestments, which he described as Aaronical and superstitious, and absolutely refused to take the oath of consecration, in which the candidate had to swear by the saints. The king removed the latter obstacle by erasing with his own hand the obnoxious clause. The former gave more trouble. Cranmer and Ridley both attempted to relieve Hooper's mind of its scruples. But the controversy became so heated, and Hooper was so denunciatory from the pulpit against those who used vestments, that he was sent to the Fleet. Butzer and Peter Martyr were appealed to on the subject by both parties, and recom-

mended Hooper to submit. Following their advice, he was consecrated Mar. 8, 1551. It was prescribed that he should wear the vestments on public occasions, but at other times might use his own discretion. In the administration of his episcopal office Hooper was so indefatigable in preaching and visitation as to call forth the friendly council of Bullinger and other friends to practise a prudent moderation. In 1552 he was appointed bishop of Worcester *in commendam*.

Hooper and John Rogers were the first to be cited under Mary. On Aug. 29, 1553, the former was thrown into prison, where he received harsh treatment, and contracted sciatica. He complained that he was used "worse and more vilely than the veriest slave." In Jan., 1555, he was condemned on three charges—for maintaining the lawfulness of clerical marriage, for defending divorce, and for denying transubstantiation. He called the mass "the iniquity of the devil." He was sentenced to die at the stake in Gloucester, and met his death firmly and cheerfully. To a friend bewailing his lot he replied in the oft-quoted words, "Death is bitter, and life is sweet, but alas! consider that death to come is more bitter, and life to come is more sweet." In another conversation he said, "I am well, thank God; and death to me for Christ's sake is welcome." His execution was witnessed by a throng of people. The martyr was forbidden to address the crowd. A real or pretended pardon being promised if he would recant, he spurned it, saying, "If you love my soul, away with it." According to Canon Perry (*DNB*, xxvii. 305) the lower end of the stake to which Hooper was bound has been dug up.

D. S. Schaff.

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On his life consult: J. Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, 3 vols., London, 1821; A. à Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, ed. P. Bliss, i. 222, ib. 1813; J. Stoughton, *The Pen, the Palm, and the Pulpit*, ib. 1855; J. C. Ryle, *Bishops and Clergy of Other Days*, ib. 1868; idem, *John Hooper; his Times, Life, Death and Opinions*, ib. 1868; S. R. Gairdner, *Students' Hist. of England*, pp. 417–424, ib. 1895; J. Gairdner, *The English Church in the 16th Century*, passim, ib. 1903 (quite full); *DNB*, xxvii. 304–306. A minute account is given by Foxe in his *Book of Martyrs*.

HOORNBEEK, hōrn'bîk, **JOHANNES:** Professor of theology in Utrecht and Leyden; b. at Haarlem Nov. 4, 1617; d. at Leyden Sept. 1, 1666. He studied at Leyden and Utrecht, in 1639 became preacher in Mühlheim-on-the-Rhine, in 1644 professor of theology in Utrecht, and in 1645 also preacher. In 1654 he removed to Leyden, where he became the chief opponent of his colleagues Cocceius and Heidanus. He represents the type of an orthodox theologian of the Netherlands, combining with the scholastic method the most earnest zeal for a life of practical piety. He wrote *Socinianismus confutatus* (3 vols., Utrecht, 1650–64); *Summa controversiarum religionis; cum infidelibus* (*Gentilibus, Judæis, Muhammedanis*), *hæreticis* (*Papistis, Anabaptistis, Enthusiastis et Libertinis, Socinianis*), *schismaticis* (*Remonstrantibus, Lutheranis, Brouwnistis, Græcis*) (1653); *Institutiones theologicæ ex optimis auctoribus concinnatæ* (1653); *De observando a Christianis præcepto Decalogi quarto* (Leyden, 1659), directed against the abolition of the fourth commandment as advocated by Cocceius; *Theologia practica* (1663); *Dissertatio de consociatione evangelica Reformatorum et Augustanæ confessionis, sive de colloquio Casselano* (Amsterdam, 1663).

(E. F. Karl Müller.)

Bibliography: P. Bayle, *Dictionary, Historical and Critical*, iii. 483–484, London, 1736; A. J. van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden*, viii. 2, pp. 1230 sqq., Haarlem, 1852 sqq. (contains full list of literature).

HOPE: The expectation of joy and welfare in the future. Although requisite as a defense against the ills of life, it is invariably associated in the natural man with doubt and fear, since it is directed toward transitory objects and is exposed to disappointment. Only in revelation is it free from desire and fancy, and made the operation of the Holy Spirit. Hope is a basal component of godly life, and is presupposed in faith, so that hope is faith directed toward the future. The faith of the Old Testament was that God would glorify Israel and the Gentiles through Israel (Isa. xxv. 6–7), and all that faith possesses in the present world is defined as "a shadow of good things to come" (Heb. x. 1). Since belief itself becomes hope in the glorification of the body, the congregation of Christ, and the world, it is based primarily on the resurrection of Christ, and Jesus is accordingly termed "hope" (Col. i. 27; I Tim. i. 1), while Christianity, subjectively considered, may be called hope (I Pet. iii. 15). The exaltation of Christ to the priesthood after the order of Melchizedec ushered in a better hope than could exist in the Old Testament (Heb. vii. 19), and the hope of the New Testament is summed up in the faithful expectation of the second coming of the glorified Christ.

This concept of hope implies that those without Christ have no hope (Eph. ii. 12) and that it is by nature a quality which brings no reproach with it (Rom. v. 5). Nor is it something adventitious to faith, but hope is faith, and faith "is the substance of things hoped for" (Heb. xi. 1), while love is said to "hope all things" (I Cor. xiii. 7). Thus faith, love, and hope are closely associated as proofs of Christian life (I Thess. i. 3, v. 8), and they remain after all gifts are withdrawn (I Cor. xiii. 13). Such hope is not diminished by tribulation, but, on the contrary, is strengthened by it (Rom. v. 3–4), and it is, accordingly, termed a helmet (I Thess. v. 8). Since hope is laid up in Heaven (Col. i. 5), it is a potent incentive to holiness, especially of the body (Col. iii. 1–2; I John iii. 3).

(Carl von Buchrucker†.)

Bibliography: H. Schultz, *O. T. Theology*, i. 325, ii. 368–369, Edinburgh, 1892; W. Beyschlag, *N. T. Theology*, i. 254, 342, ib. 1896; H. J. Holtzmann, *Lehrbuch der neutestamentlichen Theologie*, ii. 162–163, 305–306, 310–311, Freiburg, 1897; G. B. Stevens, *Theology of N. T.*, pp. 520, 521, New York, 1899; B. Weiss, *Lehrbuch der biblischen Theologie des N. T.*, §§ 50, 62, 96, 101, 108, 125, 127,

157, Stuttgart, 1903; P. Wernle, *Beginnings of Christianity*, i. 279, 303–313, ii. 297–313, New York, 1903–04; *DCG*, i. 747–748.

HÔPITAL, MICHEL DE L'. See L'Hôpital.

HOPKINS, ALBERT: American Congregationalist, brother of Mark Hopkins (q.v.); b. at Stockbridge, Mass., July 14, 1807; d. at Williamstown, Mass., May 24, 1872. He was graduated from Williams in 1826, was elected a tutor there in 1827, and professor of mathematics and natural science in 1829, and retained his professorship till his death. In 1838 he was licensed to preach, and for many years thereafter he was stated supply to churches in and around Williamstown. He was a corresponding fellow of the Royal Society, London, and contributed to its transactions. He is known chiefly as an astronomer. By his discoveries in this field he aided in establishing a high reputation for American scientists.

Bibliography: A. C. Sewall, *Life of Prof. Albert Hopkins*, New York, 1879.

HOPKINS, MARK: Congregationalist; b. at Stockbridge, Mass., Feb. 4, 1802; d. at Williamstown, Mass., June 17, 1887. He was educated at Williams College (B.A., 1824), where he was a tutor in 1825–27; he then studied medicine and was graduated from the Berkshire Medical School in 1829. He engaged in practise in New York City, but in 1830 accepted the professorship of moral philosophy and rhetoric in Williams College, a position which he held six years (1830–36). In 1836 he was chosen president of the same college, and for thirty-six years (1836–72) he exercised the duties of that office. In 1872 he resigned the presidency, and from that year until his death was professor of intellectual and moral philosophy. He was also pastor of the college church from 1836 to 1883, and in 1857 was elected president of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. His fame as teacher, preacher, and philosopher was almost world-wide. President Garfield's remark expresses his significance: "A log cabin in Ohio, with a wooden bench in it, Mark Hopkins on one end and I on the other, would be college enough for me." He wrote *Evidences of Christianity* (Boston, 1846); *Miscellaneous Essays and Discourses* (1847); *Lectures on Moral Science* (1862); *Baccalaureate Sermons and Occasional Discourses* (1863); *The Law of Love, and Love as a Law* (a friendly controversy with President James McCosh; New York, 1869); *An Outline Study of Man* (1873); *Strength and Beauty* (1874); and *The Scriptural Idea of Man* (1883).

HOPKINS, SAMUEL: New England theologian; b. in Waterbury, Conn., Sept. 17, 1721; d. in Newport, R. I., Dec. 20, 1803. He was graduated at Yale in 1741, and the same year began his theological studies, under the care and in the family of President Edwards, then of Northampton, Mass. He was ordained pastor of the Congregational Church in Great Barrington, Mass., Dec. 28, 1743. The church then had only five members, but 116 joined it during his pastorate. After a ministry of twenty-five years, he was dismissed Jan. 18, 1769. His ministry was sometimes interrupted by the French and Indian wars, which compelled him to flee with his family to other towns for safety. He preached often to the Housatonic Indians in his neighborhood. He remained intimate with President Edwards, and was better acquainted than any other man with the peculiar views of Edwards. He also held frequent and fraternal intercourse with Joseph Bellamy (q.v.), of Bethlehem, Conn.

Ministry at Great Barrington.

Hopkins was installed pastor of the First Congregational Church in Newport, R. I., Apr. 11, 1770, and continued in this pastorate thirty-three years. As the French and Indian wars had interfered with his parochial success in Great Barrington, so the Revolutionary War interfered with it in Newport. The town was captured by the British in 1776, and remained in their possession more than three years. During these years the church of Dr. Hopkins was impoverished, the church edifice was nearly ruined, and he himself was compelled to seek refuge in other towns. On returning to Newport in 1780 he resumed a work which had already exposed him to severe persecution. Newport had been a principal slave-mart of North America. As early as 1770 Hopkins began to preach against the slave system. He afterward published numerous essays against it in the newspapers of Newport, Providence, Boston, and Hartford. From 1780 onward he wrote elaborate letters on the subject to men of wealth and influence in this country, and to John Erskine, Granville Sharp, Zachary Macaulay, and other opponents of slavery in Great Britain. As early as 1773 he united with his friend Ezra Stiles, of Newport, in issuing a circular plea for aid in educating two colored men for an African mission. In 1776 he united with Dr. Stiles in a second circular for the same object. Some time after 1780 he formed a more comprehensive plan for colonizing American slaves, which was followed by visible results. Two liberated negroes, who in their youth had been affected by his colonizing scheme, retained for about forty years their desire to go as colonists and missionaries to their native land; and in Jan., 1826, they sailed from Boston to Liberia with sixteen other Africans, all formed into a church, of which these two aged men were deacons.

Opposition to Slavery.

Character and Writings.

Dr. Hopkins was a very unattractive speaker, but was more successful as a writer. By his love of investigation, his patient and unremitting thought, the independence, strength, and comprehensiveness of his mind, by his honesty, humility, and benevolence, his deferential study of the Bible, and his habit of communion with God, he was eminently fitted to be a theologian. His system was essentially Calvinistic, but was distinguished as "Hopkinsianism" (q.v.). He edited several of President Edwards' most important works, and published independently *The Wisdom of God in the Permission of Sin* (Boston, 1759); *An Inquiry concerning the Promises of the Gospel* (1765); *An Inquiry into the Nature of True Holiness* (Newport, 1773); *A System of Doctrines contained in*

Divine Revelation (2 vols., Boston, 1793); and other less important theological works. His political writings were chiefly anonymous. His noted *Dialogue concerning the Slavery of the Africans*, together with his *Address to Slaveholders*, was published in 1766. See New England Theology.

(Edwards A. Park†.) F. H. Foster.

Bibliography: A new ed. of the *Works*, with a *Memoir*, was published by E. A. Park, Boston, 1852; the *Memoir* was issued separately, ib. 1854 (the best work on the subject). The *Autobiography* was published by Stephen West in *Sketches of the Life of Samuel Hopkins*, Hartford, 1805. Consult: W. B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, i. 428–435, New York, 1859; A. E. Dunning, *Congregationalists in America*, pp. 278–281, ib. 1894; W. Walker, *American Church History Series*, iii. 287–292 et passim, ib. 1894; idem, *New England Leaders*, pp. 313–361, ib. 1901; L. W. Bacon, *The Congregationalists*, pp. 137–207, ib. 1904; F. H. Foster, *Genetic Hist. of the New England Theology*, chaps. vi.–vii., Chicago, 1907.

HOPKINSIANISM: A system of theology which was very prominent in New England in the later eighteenth century. Its roots are embedded in the published and unpublished writings of the elder Jonathan Edwards; hence it has been called the "Edwardean Divinity." The main principles of it are either taught or implied in the writings of Samuel Hopkins, of Newport, R. I. (whence the name; see Hopkins, Samuel). Those principles which are merely implied in the system of Hopkins were unfolded and somewhat modified by his three friends Stephen West, Nathanael Emmons, and Samuel Spring (qq.v.). As logically connected with each other, and as understood by the majority of its advocates, the system contains the following principles: (1) Every moral agent choosing right has the natural power to choose wrong, and choosing wrong has the natural power to choose right. (2) He is under no obligation to perform an act, unless he has the natural ability to perform it. (3) Although in the act of choosing every man is as free as any moral agent can be, yet he is acted upon while he acts freely, and the divine providence, as well as decree, extends to all his wrong as really as to his right volitions. (4) All sin is so overruled by God as to become the occasion of good to the universe. (5) The holiness and the sinfulness of every moral agent belong to him personally and exclusively, and can not be imputed in a literal sense to any other agent. (6) As the holiness and the sin of man are exercises of his will, there is neither holiness nor sin in his nature viewed as distinct from these exercises. (7) As all his moral acts before regeneration are certain to be entirely sinful, no promise of regenerating grace is made to any of them. (8) The impenitent sinner is obligated, and should be exhorted, to cease from all impenitent acts, and to begin a holy life at once. His moral inability to obey this exhortation is not a literal inability, but is a mere certainty that, while left to himself, he will sin; and this certainty is no reason for his not being required and urged to abstain immediately from all sin. (9) Every impenitent sinner should be willing to suffer the punishment which God wills to inflict upon him. In whatever sense he should submit to the divine justice punishing other sinners, in that sense he should submit to the divine justice punishing himself. In whatever sense the punishment of the finally obdurate promotes the highest good of the universe, in that sense he should be submissive to the divine will in punishing himself, if finally obdurate. This principle is founded mainly on the two following. (10) All holiness consists in the elective preference of the greater above the smaller, and all sin consists in the elective preference of the smaller above the greater, good of sentient beings. (11) All the moral attributes of God are comprehended in general benevolence, which is essentially the same with general justice, and includes simple, complacential, and composite benevolence; legislative, retributive, and public justice. (12) The atonement of Christ consists not in his enduring the punishment threatened by the law, nor in his performing the duties required by the law, but in his manifesting and honoring by his pains, and especially by his death, all the divine attributes which would have been manifested in the same and no higher degree by the punishment of the redeemed. (13) The atonement was made for all men, the non-elect as really as the elect. See New England Theology.

(Edwards A. Park†.) F. H. Foster.

Bibliography: F. H. Foster, *Genetic Hist. of the New England Theology*, chaps. vi.–vii., Chicago, 1907; *The Christian Examiner*, xxxiii (1842), pp. 169 sqq.; K. R. Hagenbach, *Hist. of Doctrine*, i. 436, 438, New York, 1861; W. G. T. Shedd, *Hist. of Doctrine*, i. 383, 408, ii. 25, 81, 489, ib. 1865; A. E. Dunning, *Congregationalists in America*, pp. 278 sqq., 294, 328, ib. 1894; W. Walker, in *American Church History Series*, iii. 288–292, 300–301, 313, 332, 334, 337, 348–352, 355, ib. 1894; idem, *Ten New England Leaders*, pp. 362–365, 369–370, 374–377, 381–385, 399–405, ib. 1901; L. W. Bacon, *The Congregationalists*, p. 157, ib. 1904.

HORB (HORBE), JOHANN HEINRICH: German Pietist; b. at Colmar (40 m. s.s.w. of Strasburg) June 11, 1645; d. at Steinbeck (5 m. e. of Hamburg) Jan. 26, 1695. He was educated at Strasburg, receiving the degree of master in 1664, and afterward visiting several other German universities. He then accompanied some young men, as tutor, on their journeys through Holland; England, and France. During his travels he continued his studies, which included more especially dogmatics and patristics. He became court preacher at Bischweiler in 1671 and, shortly after, inspector and pastor in Trarbach, on the Moselle, where he became involved in disputes with his colleagues and was suspended. To escape further unpleasantness on account of his Pietistic tendencies he accepted a call as superintendent to Windsheim, Franconia, in Jan., 1679. But even there he was not permitted to fulfil his duties in peace; he was accused of heresy and the people were stirred up against him. At the same time both he and Spener were attacked by George Konrad Dilfeld, of Nordhausen, Spener answering by a refutation in his own defense as well as in that of Horb. He accepted a call as chief pastor of St. Nicholas, in Hamburg, and was installed on Apr. 8, 1685. Here, too, in consequence of his relation to Pietism, he experienced great annoyance and trouble. His principal opponent was Johann Friedrich Mayer (q.v.), pastor of St. James, who, thinking himself offended by Spener, now found a vent for his hatred by attacking Spener's brother-in-law, Horb. Of the pastors of the five

principal churches in Hamburg, S. Schultz, of St. Peter, stood on Mayer's side; the two others, J. Winckler, of St. Michael, and A. Hinckelmann, of St. Catherine, were, like Horb, in favor of Pietism. Schultz and Mayer complained continually of the enthusiasts and "quakers"; by which they meant Winckler and Horb. Two events, however, brought the dispute to open conflict and set the whole city in an uproar. On Mar. 14, 1690, Schultz requested all the clergymen in the city to sign a declaration "not to recognize as brethren all false philosophers, opponents of Scripture, too lax theologians, and other fanatics, especially Jacob Boehme." Winckler, Horb, and others refused to sign. On Dec. 31, 1692, Horb likewise distributed to the servants and children who were sent to him with New Years' gifts a little treatise on the education of children in the true grounds of Christianity. This treatise originated in a circle of French mystics, and contained incautious remarks of which Horb himself did not approve. However, the conflict which now broke out knew no bounds; Mayer set the whole city in a turmoil, especially the artisans. The contest was carried on in sermons, in controversial writings, in meetings of the citizens, even on the streets and in the market-places, but without result. At last, in a very tumultuous meeting, Nov. 24, 1693, Horb was dismissed from his office. As his life was in danger, he fled to Steinbeck, where he died.

CARL BERTHEAU.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Geffcken, *Johann Winckler und die hamburgische Kirche seiner Zeit*, Hamburg, 1861; J. Moller, *Cimbria litterata*, ii. 355–372, Copenhagen, 1744; K. J. W. Wolters, *Hamburg vor 200 Jahren*, 161 sqq., Hamburg, 1892; *ADB*, xiii. 120 sqq.

HORCHE, hōr'he, HEINRICH: Pietist and separatist; b. at Eschwege (26 m. e.s.e. of Cassel), Hesse-Nassau, Dec. 12, 1652; d. at Kirchhain (8 m. e. of Marburg), Prussia, Aug. 5, 1729. He became deacon at Heidelberg in 1683. He was appointed court preacher at Kreuznach in 1685; became preacher at Heidelberg 1687; and in 1690 pastor and professor at Herborn, whence he was dismissed Feb. 15, 1698.

Horche's dismissal was the signal for an open outbreak of separatism in Hesse and Nassau. He organized private meetings, which were frequented by separatists and chiliasts from far and wide. For ten years he led an unsettled life, vehemently teaching and preaching in various places. Expelled from Nassau for open resistance to the authorities, he betook himself to Hesse, but was put under arrest at Marburg, and after his discharge was again arrested at Cassel for creating disturbances. In 1701 he was allowed to return to Eschwege; and he now endeavored to realize practically the Philadelphian form of society (see LEAD, JANE). However, the members of the association, in particular the notorious Eva von Buttlar (q.v.) with her following, being compelled to quit the country, Horche betook himself to Wesel, thence to Holland and England, and he contemplated emigrating to Pennsylvania. His wife being unwilling to follow him, he returned home. From 1703 his mental condition, which had caused apprehension, improved, and from 1708, apart from a brief sojourn at Marburg, he lived quietly at Kirchhain until his death.

CARL MIRBT.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Hochhuth, *Heinrich Horche und die philadelphischen Gemeinden in Hessen*, Gütersloh, 1876.

HOREB. See SINAI.

HORITES. See CANAAN, § 9; EDOM.

HORMISDAS: Pope 514–523. The Campanian Hormisdas ascended the papal throne July 20, 514, and was buried in St. Peter's Aug. 6, 523. After the Laurentian schism was healed (see SYMMACHUS), he was chiefly interested in restoring the union with the Greek Church, broken since 484 (see FELIX III.), but the refusal of the Emperor Anastasius I. to admit the condemnation of Acacius of Constantinople thwarted the negotiations. The pope did not attend the synod at Heraclea, which therefore adjourned (515). Hormisdas was gratified to have Justin I. and his court patriarch, John, turn to Rome (518) and acknowledge the condemnation of Acacius, thus completing the union (Mar., 519). The pope declared the Theopaschite formula (see THEOPASCHITES), which the emperor wished to see accepted by the Church, useless and dangerous (*Epist.*, 137). Hormisdas ordered Dionysius Exiguus (q.v.) to finish a translation of the Apostolic Canons, and he also renewed the so-called Decretum Gelasianum (see GELASIUS I.). His briefs and memorials are found in *MPL*, lxiii. 367 sqq.; *CSEL*, xxxv.; and in A. Thiel, *Epistolæ Romanorum pontificum*, pp. 739–1006 (Braunsberg, 1868).

G. KRÜGER.

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HORN, EDWARD TRAILL: Lutheran; b. at Easton, Pa., June 10, 1850. He was graduated at Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, Pa., in 1869, and the theological seminary of his denomination at Philadelphia in 1872. In the latter year he was ordained to the ministry, and has held successive pastorates at Christ's Church, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia (1872–76), St. John's, Charleston, S. C. (1876–97), and Trinity, Reading, Pa., since 1897. He was president of the Board of Missions of the Southern Lutheran Church from 1888 to 1896, and is a member of the Board of Foreign Missions of the General Council, and vice-president of the American Tract Society. Theologically he holds that the formulas of the ancient creeds are capable of restatement in terms of present-day thought, and that all conclusions of the Church demand continual and repeated revision. He has written *The Christian Year* (Philadelphia, 1876); *Old Matin and Vesper Services of the Lutheran Church* (Gettysburg, Pa., 1882); *The Evangelical Pastor* (1887); *Outlines of Liturgics* (Philadelphia, 1890); *Sources of the Common Service* (Gettysburg, Pa., 1890); *Annotations on St. Paul's Epistles to the Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians, and to Philemon* (New York, 1896; in collaboration with A. G. Voigt); *Terms of Communion in a Christian Church* (Gettysburg, Pa.,

1899); *The Application of Lutheran Principles to Church Architecture* (Pittsburg, Pa., 1905); and *Summer Sermons* (Reading, Pa., 1908). He has likewise contributed numerous liturgical articles to Lutheran periodicals, and has translated J. K. W. Loehe's *Fragen und Antworten zu den sechs Hauptstücken D. Martin Luthers* (Columbia, S. C., 1893).

HORN, WILLIAM: Evangelical Association bishop; b. at Oberfischbach, Prussia, May 7, 1839. He was self-educated, and after occupying a number of pastorates in his denomination from 1861 to 1871, became, in 1872, editor of the German Sunday-school literature of the Evangelical Association, a position which he held for seven years (1872–79). He was then editor of the *Christlicher Botschafter* from 1879 to 1891, and since 1891 has been a bishop of his denomination. In theology Horn lays special stress on the love of God and on the redeeming work of Christ. He has written *Präsident James A. Garfields Lebens- und Leidensgeschichte* (Cleveland, O., 1881); *Life of Bishop John Seybert* (Stuttgart, 1894); *Life of Bishop John J. Escher* (Cleveland, O., 1907); and *Wegeblüthen* (poems, 1907).

HORNE, GEORGE: Bishop of Norwich; b. at Otham, near Maidstone (8 m. s.s.e. of Rochester), Kent, Nov. 1, 1730; d. at Bath Jan. 17, 1792. He studied at University and Magdalen colleges, Oxford (B.A., 1749; M.A., 1752), and passed the greater part of his life at Magdalen, having obtained a fellowship there in 1750. In 1768 he became president of Magdalen, and in 1776 vice-chancellor of the university. From 1771 to 1781 he was chaplain-in-ordinary to the king. In the latter year he was made dean of Canterbury, and in 1790 he was elevated to the see of Norwich. He was a good Hebrew scholar, a genial writer, and one of the best preachers of his time. He sympathized with the Methodists, and adopted and defended the views of John Hutchinson (q.v.), who had much in common with the Methodists. Horne published frequent sermons, a defense of Hutchinsonianism, numerous pamphlets against Newton, Hume, Adam Smith, William Law, and others, and also a criticism of Benjamin Kennicott's plan to collate the Hebrew text of the Bible as a basis for a new English translation. His chief work, however, is his *Commentary on the Book of Psalms* (2 vols., Oxford, 1776), which occupied him twenty years. This work, which has passed through many editions, is characterized by a combination of exegetical treatment with devotional suggestiveness. Horne's *Works* were edited by W. Jones (6 vols., London, 1795).

Bibliography: His *Memoirs* were prefixed by W. Jones to the *Works*, ut sup. Consult: H. J. Todd, *Some Account of the Deans of Canterbury*, Canterbury, 1793; J. H. Overton and F. Relton, *The English Church . . . 1714–1800*, pp. 203–207, 351–352, et passim, 1906; *DNB*, xxvi. 356–357.

HORNE, THOMAS HARTWELL: Biblical scholar and bibliographer; b. in London Oct. 20, 1780; d. there Jan. 27, 1862. He was educated at Christ's Hospital, London, where for two years he was a contemporary with S. T. Coleridge, from whom he received private instruction in the summer of 1790. In 1796 he became a barrister's clerk. To eke out his meager salary he took up authorship and wrote, or edited, numerous works on such diverse subjects as theology, law, grazing, topography, and bibliography. In 1808 he undertook the compilation of the indexes to the three volumes of the Harleian manuscripts in the British Museum. After the completion of this work he remained in the employ of the Record Office. He was sublibrarian of the Surrey Institution 1809–23. Admitted to holy orders, he was curate at Christ Church 1819–25 and assistant minister at Walbeck Chapel 1825–33. He took the degree of B.D. at Cambridge in 1829. In 1831 he received a prebend in St. Paul's, London, and in 1833 he became rector of the united parishes of St. Edmund the King and St. Nicholas Acons, London. From 1824 to 1860 he was also senior assistant librarian in the department of printed books in the British Museum. His chief work is *An Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures* (3 vols., London, 1818; 11th ed., 4 vols., 1860), which at once became one of the principal class-books for the study of the Scriptures in Protestant institutions in Great Britain and America. While this very comprehensive work has now been superseded, it remains monumental as the embodiment of the best scholarship of the time in the various departments of Biblical learning.

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HORNEIUS, hor-nai'us **(HORNEY), CONRAD:** German Protestant; b. at Brunswick Nov. 25, 1590; d. at Helmstedt Sept. 26, 1649. He was educated at the school of St. Catherine in Brunswick, and at the University of Helmstedt, where he was a favorite pupil of the humanist Johannes Caselius. In 1619 he became professor of logic and ethics at Helmstedt, and in 1628 professor of theology. Like Calixtus, his colleague, he advocated the study of Aristotle and opposed the application of the doctrine and method of Petrus Ramus in philosophy, pedagogics, and theology; and like Calixtus he was attacked by the ruling orthodoxy on account of his liberal views in theology. In Nov., 1648, the three courts of Brunswick commissioned Calixtus and Horneius to furnish an exposition of the questions in dispute. Horneius treated the necessity of good works, the authority of ecclesiastical antiquity, and the study of concord and mutual tolerance. He wrote *Compendium dialecticæ* (Helmstedt, 1623); *Disputationes ethicæ* (1618); *Compendium naturalis philosophiæ* (1618); *Disquisitiones metaphysicæ* (1622); *Institutiones logicæ* (1623); *Institutiones philosophiæ moralis* (1624); *Exercitationes* and *Disputationes logicæ* (1621). Against his theological opponents he wrote: *Defensio disputationis de summa fidei . . . quæ per caritatem operatur, necessitate ad salutem* (1647); *Iterata assertio de necessitate fidei per caritatem operantis* (1649); *Repetitio doctrinæ veræ de necessitate bonorum operum* (1649), and other works. After his death appeared *Compendium historiæ ecclesiasticæ* (1649), on the three first centuries; commentaries on Hebrews (1654) and the

Catholic Epistles (1655); and a *Compendium theologiæ* (Brunswick, 1655).

(Paul Tschackert.)

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HORNER, JUNIUS MOORE: Protestant Episcopal bishop; b. at Oxford, N. C., July 7, 1859. He studied at the University of Virginia in 1879–80, after which he was instructor in Latin and Greek in the Oxford School for Boys for several years. He then studied at Johns Hopkins University (B.A., 1885) and the General Theological Seminary (B.D., 1892), and was ordained priest in the following year. From 1890 to 1898 he was associated with his brother as principal of the Oxford School after the death of his father, and in the latter year was consecrated first missionary bishop of Asheville, N. C.

HORNING, FRIEDRICH THEODOR: Preacher in Strasburg, and champion of Lutheranism in Alsace; b. at Eckwersheim (near Vendenheim, 6 m. n. of Strasburg), in Lower Alsace, Oct. 25, 1809; d. at Strasburg Jan. 21, 1882. After the completion of his theological studies at Strasburg in 1832, he became vicar in Ittenheim in the following year. In 1835 his father ordained him as preacher. In 1836 he was appointed pastor in Grafenstaden, and in 1846 at Strasburg. Until his removal to Strasburg he professed a moderate rationalism, the reigning tendency of that time. In 1841 he was elected member of the committee for a revision of the hymn-book which was to serve the two Evangelical churches. On his arrival in Strasburg, however, Horning suddenly changed his views in favor of confessional Lutheranism, opposing all Pietistic tendencies and all attempts at a union between the Lutherans and the Reformed. He declared participation in the Basel mission a betrayal of the Lutheran Church, and in opposition to its efforts founded the Evangelical-Lutheran Missionary Society for the support of Lutheran missions in Leipsic and Hermannsburg. He gathered a large congregation in Strasburg from all parts of the city, without regard to parochial divisions, and held it in strict discipline. Outside of Strasburg only eight or ten clergymen accepted the views of Horning at first, but after 1860 the Lutheran circle expanded. He rendered great service by reawakening the consciousness of Church and confession, directing attention again to the importance of pure doctrine and the means of grace. After his death a collection of his sermons on the Gospels was published (Strasburg, 1884), and one on the Epistles (1898).

(K. Hackenschmidt.)

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HOROLOGION, hor″o-lō′ji-on: An office-book of the Greek Church, corresponding to the Latin breviary, and containing the office for the day and night hours of the Church, from matin to compline, with the variable antiphons and hymns, and various short offices, prayers, and canons for occasional use.

HORR, GEORGE EDWIN: Baptist; b. at Boston, Mass., Jan. 19, 1856. He was graduated at Brown University in 1876, and studied at Union Theological Seminary (1876–77) and Newton Theological Institution (B.D., 1879). After holding pastorates at the First Baptist Church, Tarrytown, N. Y. (1879–84), and the First Baptist Church, Charlestown, Mass. (1884–91), he was editor of *The Watchman* (1891–1904). Since 1904 he has been professor of church history in the Newton Theological Institution, and since 1908 president. In theology he is a liberal conservative, and has written, in addition to numerous occasional sermons and addresses, *Hid in the Heart* (Philadelphia, 1902).

HORSE (Hebr. *sus*, *parash*; the latter word, however, often designates the rider): On the Assyrian and Babylonian monuments the horse is frequently represented. He was known and valued in those countries from the earliest times, but, judging from the representations, only for riding and for the chariot, and not as a beast of burden. The same is true of the Hittites, whose chariots formed an important part of their military equipment. Among the Egyptians the horse is represented only after the period of the Hyksos and exclusively for use in war. In the Amarna Tablets the princes of Babylonia and Mitanni send horses and chariots as presents to Egypt; they were nearer to Central Asia, the habitat of the horse. Egypt could never excel in horse-breeding, while Mesopotamia, with its vast plains, possessed special advantages in this direction. Horses and chariots appear to have been introduced into Syria by the Hittites; still the Amarna Tablets state that the princes of northern Palestine sometimes requested horses from the Egyptian king. On account of the mountainous conformation of the country chariots were used only in restricted numbers in Palestine, principally on the plains and along the coast. The Israelites are said to have been terrified at the chariots of the Canaanites, and according to the sources it was Solomon who first introduced horses on a large scale from Kue and Muṣri (in Cilicia and North Syria; see Assyria, VI., 2, § 1; in the E. V. of I Kings x. 28–29 rendered "Egypt"). Among the Israelites also they were used almost exclusively for warlike purposes. To drive in chariots drawn by horses in time of peace was the prerogative of the king only (II Sam. xv. 1; I Kings i. 5); but in later times high officials assumed the prerogative (Jer. xvii. 25). Not until the Roman period, when roads were first built in Palestine, was the horse generally used in that country for driving and riding; in ancient times the ass, and, for the nobles, the mule, were the animals so employed (Isa. xxviii. 28 is faulty; cf. B. Duhm on the passage in *Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*, Göttingen, 1903, and T. K. Cheyne, *Isaiah*, in *SBOT*).

The Old Testament also mentions the breeding of horses; they were kept in a stable (*urwah*), and fed with barley and straw (I Kings iv. 26–28). They were controlled by means of the bit (*resen*), the bridle (*methegh*), and the whip (*shoṭ*). The poets admire the strength and swiftness of the horse (Jer. iv. 13, xlvii. 3; Hab. i. 8, etc.), and Job (xxxix. 19–25) pictures it as a wonder-work of divine creation.

I. Benzinger.

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HORSLEY, SAMUEL: Bishop of St. Asaph; b. at St. Martin's Place, London, Sept. 15, 1733; d. at Brighton Oct. 4, 1806. He received his early training from his father, and in 1751 entered Trinity Hall, Cambridge (LL.B., 1758). On leaving the university he became curate to his father, rector of Newington Butts, Surrey, and succeeded to the rectory in 1759. In 1768 he went to Oxford as tutor to Lord Guernsey, who secured for him the rectory of Albury, Surrey, in 1774. In 1777 he became domestic chaplain to Robert Lowth, bishop of London, who gave him a prebend at St. Paul's. Later in the year he succeeded his father as lecturer at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. Lowth presented him to Thorley in 1780, made him archdeacon of St. Albans in 1781, and presented him to the vicarage of South Weald, Essex, in 1782. Horsley was a scientist as well as a theologian, and won his first laurels by his scientific publications. He became a fellow of the Royal Society in 1767 and was one of the secretaries of the Society from 1773 till 1784. In this period falls his edition of Newton's works (5 vols., London, 1779–85). He is now remembered chiefly for his famous controversy with Joseph Priestley. In his *History of the Corruptions of Christianity* (2 vols., Birmingham, 1782) Priestley had attacked the doctrine of the Trinity. Horsley took up the gauntlet in *A Charge . . . to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of St. Albans* (London, 1783). During the course of the controversy, which lasted till 1790, he published *Letters . . . in Reply to Dr. Priestley* (1784) and *Remarks upon Dr. Priestley's Second Letter* (1786). These, with other writings, were included in *Tracts in Controversy with Dr. Priestley* (Gloucester, 1789). In this dispute Horsley proved more than a match for the eminent scientist and Socinian. For thus stemming the tide of Unitarianism he was rewarded by Lord Chancellor Thurlow with a prebend in Gloucester in 1787, and the see of St. David's in 1788. For his efficient support of the government in the House of Lords he was translated to the see of Rochester in 1793, with which he held the deanery of Westminster. He was translated to St. Asaph in 1802. Horsley was a man of overbearing temper, but a keen reasoner and a remarkable preacher. Other works are *Sermons* (3 vols., Dundee, 1810–12); and the posthumous *Psalms translated from the Hebrew* (2 vols., 1815) and *Biblical Criticism on . . . the Old Testament* (4 vols., 1820). All of these are included in his *Theological Works* (6 vols., London, 1845).

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HORT, FENTON JOHN ANTHONY: English theologian and Biblical scholar; b. at Dublin Apr. 23, 1828; d. at Cambridge Nov. 30, 1892. He went to school at Rugby, and in 1846 entered the University of Cambridge, where he won a fellowship in 1852. In 1853 he began to prepare, with B. F. Westcott, an edition of the Greek New Testament. In that same year he was entrusted with the description of some Greek manuscripts in the university library; he was appointed examiner, and he founded, with J. E. B. Mayor and J. B. Lightfoot, the *Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology*, that first came out in 1854. In 1856 he was ordained priest, and in 1857 he became vicar of St. Ippolyts cum Great Wymondley, near Cambridge, but he felt himself that his sensitiveness and shyness hampered his work there, for all the vigor with which he threw himself into it. He was constantly busy with the edition of the Greek New Testament, as well as with other learned tasks, and his health suffered under it all. Cambridge called upon him again and again, especially after 1865. He was four times examiner in moral science, twice examiner in natural science, and in 1871 he gave the Hulsean lectures. He had become in 1868 one of the most important contributors to Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, and in 1870 one of the chief members of the New Testament Revision Company. Every good work in his neighborhood found in him a promoter.

The university finally received him again within its limits, for in 1871 Emmanuel College gave him a fellowship and lectureship for theology, and he moved to Cambridge in Mar., 1872. For six years he lectured in this college. At the same time he was a member of about fifteen boards and committees, two of which, the university library and the university press, demanded much time and strength. In 1876 his *Two Dissertations* appeared, on *Μονογενὴς θεός* and on Eastern creeds. It was in 1878 that he first wrote the rough draft of the introduction to the edition of the Greek New Testament, and in the same year he became Hulsean professor of divinity. The work upon the revision of the English New Testament closed in 1880, but he then had to take up the revision of the Old Testament Apocrypha that busied him up to within a few days before he passed away. On May 12, 1881, the first volume of the great Westcott-Hort New Testament appeared, and on the 17th of the same month the Revised Edition of the English New Testament, on which he had worked for ten years, and on Sept. 4 of the same year the second volume, the *Introduction* to the Greek Testament (see Bible Text, II., 2, § 8). In 1885 he published a school edition of the Greek Testament, and superintended the issue of the Prolegomena to Tregelles' Greek Testament; and in 1884 he saw to the issue of a Greek Testament by Scrivener, containing the readings of the revisers in 1611 and 1881, and he practically rewrote the preface to it. His extraordinary knowledge of patristic literature enabled him in 1887 to contribute largely to the clearing up of the history of the *Codex Amiatinus*. In Oct., 1887, he became Lady Margaret's professor of divinity. But all these detailed references to the outcropping of his learned researches need to be supplemented by a background of a full correspondence with all man-

ner of men, friends and strangers at home and abroad, and of a constant care for and support of the work of younger men, which prevented his publishing his own work; among the volumes which have appeared since his death are: *The Way, the Truth, the Life* (London, 1893); *Judaistic Christianity* (1894); *Lectures on the Ante-Nicene Fathers* (1895); *Prolegomena to Romans and Ephesians* (1895); *The Christian Ecclesia* (1897); *Village Sermons* (1897); Second Series (1905); *Cambridge and Other Sermons* (1898); *I Peter i. 1–ii. 17* (1898); *Village Sermons in Outline* (1900); and *Notes Introductory to the Study of the Clementine Recognitions* (1901).

CASPAR RENÉ GREGORY.

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HOSANNA. See LITURGICS, III.

HOSEA.

I. Conservative View.
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Date of Chaps. i.–iii. (§ 6).
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I. Conservative View: Hosea, son of Beeri, was all his life a subject of the northern kingdom, as is indicated in i. 2 and vii. 5 where he speaks of the northern king as "our king" and of the land as belonging to that realm. His book, moreover, shows a minute knowledge of that land, while the references to Judah are cursory and due to the fact that he regards salvation as possible only from it, where still exist the service of Yahweh and the Davidic line. The objection of Wellhausen to passages referring to David and Judah as interpolations because contrary to Hosea's view of the kingdom; of Stade to i. 7 and ii. 1–3 as breaking the connection, and to iv. 15, viii. 4 as not in accord with Hosea's representation; and of Cornill, who sees in ii. 20 and xiv. proof of the spuriousness of the verses which look for a union of the two kingdoms, are all answerable. The reference to Gibeah in ix. 9 and x. 10 can, according to viii. 4, x. 10, refer only to the separation of the kingdoms; i. 7 can not be ascribed to an interpolator because of its Hoseanic character; the repetition of Yahweh in iii. 5b speaks for the genuineness of the whole verse; the exhortation in ii. 1–3 corresponds to the threat in i. 2–9; while the references to a Davidic king are motived by the Messianic outlook of the prophet.

1. The Book of Hosea. Its Genuineness.

The note of time in i. 1 bespeaks an activity covering sixty years, in itself not incredible, since at the beginning of his ministry Hosea appears as a young, unmarried man. But it is hard to explain omission to mention the Syrian-Ephraimitic war. It is better to place the book before 734 B.C. and to ascribe the mention of the kings of Judah who appear in Isa. i. 1 and Micah i. 1 to the desire to make Hosea appear throughout a contemporary of those whose early contemporary he was. The period of his activity was coincident with the most glorious period of the northern kingdom, when Jeroboam II. had reestablished the old boundaries of his realm, but when at the same time religiously and morally the conditions were low. Syncretism of worship with the cults of surrounding states was progressing rapidly. Under these conditions it was Hosea's task to bear witness against the ruling sins of the northern kingdom and to summon it to judgment, yet without forgetting the grace God had promised to his people.

2. Date of Hosea's Activity.

The book falls into two parts: i.–iii., where prophecy is united with the relation of personal experiences of the prophet; iv.–xiv., where the personal element does not appear. Internal evidence indicates that at the end of the prophet's life he put together the essential contents of his prophecies condensed into short, separate oracles. The book begins with the narration of two prophetic experiences of the prophet, not put in allegorical form, but as in the sphere of external events which he was called upon to undergo in the service of God. Chap. i. tells of his marriage to a woman of whom it is implied that she will not be true to him, to represent the case of Israel unfaithful to its God, for which judgment comes, but with the prospect of salvation (ii. 1 sqq.). The symbolic names of the prophet's children (i. 6, 9) are changed, in consequence of the people's repentance, to their opposites (ii. 1), while Jezreel (i. 4) is changed in significance from a place stained with blood to a place sown with seed. Chap. iii. makes the experience of the prophet with his unfaithful wife the symbol of Yahweh's experience with unfaithful Israel. A long-continued deprivation of enjoyment of political and religious associations (in exile) is to bring the people to order aright its common life, when that people will return to its God and its king. The second part of the book, which unmistakably exhibits the unrestful period following the death of Jeroboam II., is composed of separate pieces. Chap. iv. portrays the thorough religious and moral deterioration of the whole people; v.–vii. impeaches the leaders whose duties it had been to direct the people in right ways; viii.–ix. 9 recounts anew the sins of the people committed under a false sense of security, which must lead to the destruction of the northern kingdom; in viii. 10–xi. the prophet three times recalls Israel's beginnings only to show its repeated fall from duty; xii.–xiii. shows that in spite of experiences of grace and of punishment the people had opposed God and refused his help, with the result that the death of Israel is decreed, out of which a miracle of resurrection shall restore them, meanwhile judgment must come; the book closes,

3. Contents of the Book.

chap. xiv., with exhortation to make confession of sin, which is to be accepted with the result of renewed prosperity.

4. The Complete Law Implied.

Of the three reproaches of Hosea against the people, viz., ethical degeneracy, religious demoralization, and coquetting with world powers, the second is important here. The tendency of Israel to idolatry, to worship of Baal and to calf-worship, is bewailed by the prophet, also the erection of altars and images, though they suppose that they worship in them Yahweh, the God of revelation. Of their Baal-worship they are to be so ashamed that the name Baal as name for husband will be abandoned (ii. 16–17). The aim of the prophet is to portray the dire results of the syncretism of worship which made worship of their own God take the form of worship of Baal and so denied real honor to Yahweh. The prophet speaks of a *torah* ("law"), the infringement of which he deplores, and that this was in writing is indicated by viii. 12: "Though I record [not, as Wellhausen would have it: though I prescribe for him] myriads [of precepts] of my law, they are counted as a strange thing." The sense is that, if the law were even more comprehensive and more specific than it is, yet neither as a whole nor in its particulars would Ephraim regard it. Since the preceding complaint is grounded upon the fact that Israel, which should have had only one altar in the place chosen by God, had multiplied altars to the increase of sins, and since the prophet inveighs against idolatry, the precepts of the law can not have been simply ethical, but must have been cultic and of such a form as exist in the Book of the Covenant, in Deuteronomy, and in the Priest Code. The various kinds of sacrifice and of materials of sacrifice and the sacred times, persons, and seasons appear in one or the other of these books (cf. Hosea ii. 13, v. 6–8, vi. 6, ix. 3–5, xii. 10–12; Amos ii. 11–12, iii. 14, iv. 4–5, v. 21–22, viii. 5, 10). The position of the priests appears in Hosea iv. 4–9, though their actual character is revealed in vi. 9.

That the sentence of disapproval which Hosea pronounces upon the northern kingdom relates to this only in its degenerate performance and to its syncretistic obscuration, and not to the matter of sacrifice in itself, is shown by ix. 1–3, where the prophet tells Israel not to rejoice, since the days come when they will be able to bring to Yahweh neither wine as drink-offering nor well-pleasing sacrifices, for they are to return to Egypt and are to eat unclean food in Assyria where consecration of offerings will not be possible for them. When he says that God prefers mercy to sacrifice and knowledge of God to burnt offerings (vi. 6), he refers not to sacrifice in general but to sacrifice in which the soul does not join and by a people which can not distinguish between Yahweh and Baal. Indeed, Hosea does not appear as the herald of a new religious idea or of a new knowledge of the being of Yahweh and of the right method of worshiping him. He and Amos proclaim the God of the fathers of the people who had been known throughout Israel's history through prophetic instruction and revelation. If it be said that Hosea first developed the idea of a marriage between Yahweh and Israel, it must be recalled that this idea underlies the "jealous God" of Ex. xx. 5; and, if he carried it out more thoroughly, it was not on a basis of legalism, but on one of mutual love (ii. 17–18, 21).

5. Literary Features.

The dependence of Hosea upon Amos is indisputable, and in part verbal (cf. iv. 3 with Amos viii. 8; iv. 15 with Amos v. 5; viii. 14 with Amos ii. 5; vii. 12 with Amos ix. 2). But while Amos and Hosea agree closely in the basis of their prophecies and in their liking for reviewing the history of their people, they differ in methods of speech and exposition. Hosea is full of uncommon words, forms, and collocations, and has a distinct northern cast of idiom. His style is less polished than that of Amos, but more emotional; consequently there is more abruptness in his sentences, less sequence in his figures. The text is at times corrupt, and often the Septuagint indicates the method of emendation. Certain passages of the Masoretic text are full of difficulty, especially vii. 5–6, viii. 10, and xiii. 1.

(W. Volck†.)

II. Critical View: There are several important questions in relation to the writings and even the person of the prophet Hosea about which it is unsafe to dogmatize. Here, to a greater degree than almost anywhere else in the Old Testament, the principle holds true that no critic except the most cautious and reserved can afford to make positive statements on difficult literary questions. Criticism, however, has advanced so far that at least it may confidently be said (1) that the book as it stands is very loosely constructed and can not be called a unit, even in the most general sense; (2) that large portions were not written by Hosea or in the northern kingdom or under eighth-century conditions; (3) that many portions of the book can not be understood till the text has been radically amended; (4) that the original compilation of the discourses of Hosea was much simpler and plainer in its arrangement, its language, its rhetorical and poetical structure, its historical allusions and its general and particular argument than is the book accredited to him which has come down in canonical form.

1. Questions of Text and Authorship.

From the point of view of structure the most striking feature of the whole book is the difference in plan and contents between the two main sections (chaps. i.–iii.; iv.–xiv.). Each chapter of the former section has a separate motive and significance. Chap. i. tells of the prophet contracting a marriage with a woman of unchaste mind or habits at the command of Yahweh, and explains the symbolism of the significant names given to the children born after this remarkable union. Chap. ii. is, primarily at least, an indictment of Israel under the image of the unfaithful spouse of Yahweh. Chap. iii. resumes the marital history of Hosea and apparently represents him as winning back by purchase his faithless wife, with whom after a probation of "many days" he would

2. Problem of Chaps. i.-iii.

resume conjugal relations, this to be a figurative expression of the idea that the recreant Israelites after their probation of a long exile would "again seek Yahweh and David their king." Disregarding meanwhile the irrelevant passages which are attached to these chapters, a brief judgment of the questions that present themselves as to the genuineness of the section may be offered and the relation of its contents to the actual life and work of Hosea and to the rest of the book.

3. Chap. iii. a Continuation of Chap. i.

Taking chap. iii. first as the least perplexing, it may be said with some confidence: (1) The action prescribed and ascribed to Hosea was considered by the original writer as in some sense symbolical. It would have been impossible for any respectable man to act literally as Hosea is here commanded to do and is represented as actually doing. (2) The woman described in chap. iii. is intended by the writer to be the same person as that of chap. i. There would be nothing gained, but much lost, in the force of his message, if the prophet had to choose two different persons of precisely the same characteristics to symbolize the conduct and the fortunes of the same people, especially when he is told to "go once more and love a woman" of precisely the same character as that of the one presented in chap. i. Again, if two women so alike were different persons, the fact would naturally be indicated in some way, if only to preclude misunderstanding. Besides, no name is given to the woman in chap. iii. while all the other persons of the story are named, apparently because she had been named already in i. 3.

4. Interpretations of Chap. i. The Literal View.

Probably chap. i. is the most diversely interpreted chapter in all prophetic literature. The most familiar and obtrusive of the many problems of the chapter is the question whether the narrative of Hosea's marriage should be understood as a record of facts or as a figurative representation of Yahweh's relations to Israel. If the latter, it might be understood as an allegory related to a group of listeners, or an object lesson given in a symbolical action. The figurative interpretation, in one or other of its forms, had until recent times perhaps the larger body of supporters. But, chiefly through the influence of Ewald (*Die Propheten des alten Bundes*, Göttingen, 1867) and W. R. Smith (*The Prophets of Israel*, Edinburgh, 1882), the literal view has of late been held in most favor. The obvious difficulties in the way of giving to such a matter-of-fact narrative an allegorical or symbolical interpretation in any ordinary form are very great. On the other hand, the chief support of the literal explanation is not its antecedent reasonableness, but the belief that it was the prophet's own experiences which enabled him to do the things which he is declared to have done. Thereby did he come to realize to such a degree as he did the profound relations between Israel and Yahweh, the perfidy and ingratitude of Israel in forsaking Yahweh, and the grief and resentment of Yahweh in losing the love of his people. It is doubtful, however, if this sentimental inference is justifiable. It fails to distinguish between the personal subjective appreciation which the votary of Yahweh had of the love and faithfulness of his God, and the intellectual process which objectivized this conception and illustrated it by a figure. Historically the use by Hosea of the figure of the married state was not based upon or developed from any human marital experiences; it was probably an outgrowth from the old conception of the marriage between the god of the land and the land itself or secondarily, the people of the land, all three of whom, according to old Semitic notions, formed an inseparable trinity. The idea had been deepened, refined, and dignified by experiences of Yahweh's favor and devotion to his people, and the image had grown correspondingly in distinctness and reality. But the expansion and enriching of the similitude were accomplished by reflection and not by emotion, and the use which Hosea or any prophet could make of the figure of the marriage relation would be made through the imagination alone and merely for illustrative purposes (cf. II., § 5 below). Accordingly one should exclude from consideration any argument for a literal interpretation of the story based on the plea that Hosea's own actual experience was needed to qualify him to set forth adequately the attitude of Yahweh toward his unfaithful people. Bereft of this support the defense of the literal acceptation of the narrative of chap. i. is not very strong. The anomalous character of the actions demanded of Hosea make it necessary for its advocates to hold that he did not know the adulterous character of his wife till years had passed and all his children had been born and endowed with their significant names. Accordingly to make it still a real experience in his life it has to be assumed that he did not regard his actions as having been done under the divine impulse and command until he learned of the gross and habitual adulteries of his wife. And further that he gave to each of the children a significant name without any perception that they were "children of harlotry"—a fact which is of the very essence of the whole transaction (verse 2). Such a view of Hosea's prophetic career would make him an absent-minded visionary living entirely outside of that world of sin and folly which is so amply described in his own discourses. A literal interpretation, even when thus deliteralized, would accordingly seem to be untenable (see further the overwhelming array of objections in Harper, *Amos and Hosea*, pp. 209–210).

5. A Possible Alternative.

The defenders of the two leading views have in fact completely refuted one another, and it is one of the marvels of Biblical exegesis that a positive attitude is still stoutly maintained by eminent critics upon each side of the question. The only remaining assumption that seems compatible with Hosea's or any contemporary authorship is that the whole proceeding was thought out by the prophet in the natural process of figuring or picturing to himself (not to his people) the character of Israel's relations and conduct towards Yahweh (cf. §4). Its history would then perhaps

have been somewhat as follows: Without any reference to his own family life, the prophet, pondering on the problem of Israel's infidelity, adopted the most direct and natural way of objectivizing the situation: he put himself in the place of Yahweh and an immoral woman, perhaps known as such to the community, in the place of the land of Israel (cf. the application to the *land* in ii. 4–16), and the children imagined as born of the union in place of the people of Israel viewed in various aspects. The original conception of the marriage relation between Yahweh and Israel being thus objectivized by him, it became so vivid and concrete that it gave character to his whole prophetic ministry; and in right Hebrew prophetic fashion it was ascribed to the direct inspiration of Yahweh, while the successive mental images, thus visualized, were dramatized and recited as an actual personal experience.

Though fewer objections can properly be brought to this hypothesis of the origin of chap. i. than to the literal view, it still has this difficulty, among others, that the mass of detail may seem incompatible with an imaginary personal situation. And those who can not accept any solution involving Hosea's own authorship of the narrative may have recourse to an assumption that chaps. i.–iii. are of later origin, as indeed much of the remainder of the book (see II, § 7 below) undoubtedly is. The chief occasion of the composition (if such an assumption be true) was possibly the existence of a tradition with regard to the personal history of the eccentric prophet (cf. ix. 7), starting from stories which accompanied the circulation of his prophecies in Judah after the fall of the northern kingdom and growing with increasing reflection upon the profound and far-reaching ideas of his writings. After the fuller development of the figure of the marriage relation by Jeremiah (chap. iii.) and Ezekiel (chap. xvi.) attention must have been all the more fixed upon the originator of the conception, the prophet of Samaria; and thus the tradition may have been handed down in one form and another that his appreciation of the marriage bond was due to his own personal experience. Finally some prophetic genius developed the story in literary form, giving it coherent significance throughout and adapting to it a detailed exposition of Hosea's dominating thought in chap. ii. This hypothesis suggests that nearly all of the section in question may have had a common author or literary origin. If the glosses and the additions relating to Judah and the exile (i. 7, ii. 1–3) are set aside, the whole three chapters may be read continuously without a break. Since from the later standpoint the restoration of Israel to favor came within the domain of prophecy relevant to the times and needs of the writer or writers, the two magnificent passages ii. 4–15, 16–25 may be brought into close association. It may also be noted that these passages, the main prophetical utterances of the section, are not provided with the customary introductory formula giving the name of the speaker—a circumstance which might suggest that they belong to the main division, chaps. iv.–xiv. But there is such a marked difference in style and mode of treatment (see II, § 7) between the two sections that they would in any case presumptively be kept apart. The hypothesis of late origin also accounts best for this difference in style and logical method. Moreover, the use of the third person in chap. i. and the first in chap. iii. is not favorable to the view that Hosea himself was the author of the section.

6. Date of Chaps. i.-iii.

In the larger division of the book (chaps. iv.–xiv.) the student finds himself on more solid ground. The main thread of the discourse is held steadily to the end; the style is not smooth and flowing like that of the earlier section (cf. II, § 6 above), but nervous and somewhat abrupt. Yet, contrary to the general impression, the sentences are not unusually irregular or obscure but simple and well-balanced, the supposed roughnesses being due to the corruption of the text which is doubtless to be accounted for in large part by its precarious fortunes in its early history after the fall of the northern kingdom. Another source of great difficulty in the interpretation is the fact that considerable additions have been made to the original utterances of Hosea, apparently by men belonging to different schools at different periods. These additions may be classified as follows: (1) repetitions or close imitations of more original passages; (2) explicative glosses; (3) amplifying statements; (4) prophetic allusions to Judah; (5) promises of restoration from the impending exile and of a return of the divine favor. The last-named class is the lengthiest and most valuable of all. References to Judah are found in chaps. i.–iii. also (II, § 6), and if this section is of late origin they were of course added at a still later date and constituted the last important series of supplementary insertions. The augmenting process went on in a constantly increasing ratio from the beginning to the end of the main section of the book. Thus the additions in chaps. iv.–vi. that may be fairly made out amount to 26 per cent of the whole text of these chapters; those in chaps. vii.–x. to 37 per cent of the whole; those in chaps. xi.–xiv. to 56 per cent, making an average for chaps. iv.–xiv. of nearly 40 per cent of presumable additions. It is not probable that the original text of the prophet of Samaria will ever be separated from the accretions with absolute accuracy throughout. But ultimate approximate correctness is certainly obtainable; and the result will be to enhance greatly the simplicity, intelligibility, and value of the book of Hosea.

7. Features of Chaps. iv.-xiv.

J. F. McCurdy.

Bibliography: Commentaries worth consulting are: A. Simson, Gotha, 1851; A. Wünsche, Leipsic, 1868; Töttermann, Helsingfors, 1879; W. Nowack, Berlin, 1880, and Göttingen, 1897; A. Scholz, Würzburg, 1882; T. K. Cheyne, Cambridge, 1884; J. Sharpe, London, 1884; J. T. de Visser, Utrecht, 1886; J. J. P. Valeton, Nijmwegen, 1894; W. R. Harper, New York, 1903 (contains a complete bibliography, to which extensive references are made in the notes). Consult also the commentaries on the Minor Prophets by E. B. Pusey, London, 1877; F. Hitzig, ed. Steiner, Leipsic, 1881; C. von Orelli, Nördlingen, 1888, Eng. transl., New York, 1893; J. Wellhausen, Berlin, 1892; and G. A. Smith, London, 1896 (especially good, and with Harper, ut sup., constituting the best that can be had): K. Marti, *Dodekapropheton*,

Tübingen, 1904. Consult also the appropriate section in the Introductions of Driver, London, 1897; W. H. Bennett, ib. 1899; J. E. McFadyen, New York, 1905; and F. E. C. Gigot, ib. 1906. Discussions of the various problems presented by the book are to be found in *DB*, ii. 419–425; *EB*, ii. 2119–26; *JE*, vi. 473–475; and P. Volz, in *ZWT*, 1898, pp. 321–335 (very valuable).

Text-critical matters are discussed in *ThT*, 1875, pp. 555 sqq., by Houtsma, and 1890, pp. 345 sqq., 480 sqq., by Oort; H. Billeb, *Die wichtigsten Sätze der alttestamentlichen Kritik vom Standpunkt der Propheten Hosea und Amos*, Halle, 1893; J. Bachmann, *Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen*, pp. 1–46, Berlin, 1894; P. Ruben, *Critical Remarks upon some Passages of the O. T.*, London, 1896; Patterson, *The Septuagint-Text of Hosea*, in *Hebraica*, vol. vii. Various questions are taken up in: J. H. Kurtz, *Die Ehe des Propheten Hosea*, Dorpat, 1859; S. Oettli, *Der Kultus bei Amos und Hosea*, Greifswald, 1895; O. Seesemann, *Israel und Juda bei Amos und Hosea*, Leipsic, 1898; Smith, *Prophets*, Lect. iv.

HOSHEA: Nineteenth and last king of Israel. He was the son of Elah, was a usurper, and succeeded Pekah, whom he slew. His dates, according to the old chronology, were 731–722 B.C., according to modern historians, 734–722, the last three years of which were passed in captivity. The newer dating is due especially to an inscription of Tiglath-pileser III. of Assyria (Schrader, *KB*, ii. 32–33), recounting an expedition for the help of Ahaz of Judah against Rezin of Damascus and Pekah of Israel. According to the pronouncement of the Book of Kings, Hoshea was a better king than most of his predecessors on the throne of Israel. He remained a vassal of the Assyrians under Tiglath-pileser until induced by an Egyptian monarch, So (Assyr. *Sib'e*), to renounce his allegiance. Though II Kings xvii. 3, 5 implies that Shalmaneser made two expeditions against Hoshea, it seems assured that he made only one to the "Westland," and that in order to punish Hoshea for his disloyalty to his suzerain. When Shalmaneser made this expedition, in 725 B.C., Hoshea seems to have thrown himself upon the mercy of his overlord, but what finally became of him is not determinable. His kingdom was overrun by the Assyrian army, but the city of Samaria held out for three years and was taken by Sargon after he had succeeded Shalmaneser upon the throne (see Assyria, VI., 3, §§ 11–12). W. Lotz.

Bibliography: The most important literature is given under Ahab, q.v.; consult also A. H. Sayce, *Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, London, 1894; L. B. Paton, *The Early Hist. of Syria and Palestine*, New York, 1901; Schrader, *KAT*, i. 269–271; *DB*, ii. 425–427; *EB*, ii. 2126–28; *JE*, vi. 478–479; and the sources in II Kings xv. 30, xvii. 1–6, xviii. 9–12.

HOSIUS OF CORDOVA.

Earlier Life (§ 1).
At the Council of Nicæa (§ 2).
At the Council of Sardica (§ 3).
Unhappy Close of Life (§ 4).

Hosius, or Osius, of Cordova, though one of the celebrated churchmen of the third century, designated by Athanasius with the title of "the Great," found no formal biographer, and left no writings except two letters, one to the Emperor Constantius and one to Julius of Rome. All that is known of him is derived from these letters, from casual mention in contemporary documents and authors, and from a few credible details of later tradition.

1. Earlier Life.

He must have been born about 257, where is unknown; since in 356 he had been bishop of Cordova "more than sixty years" (Athanasius, "Hist. of the Arians," xlii.), he must have been consecrated to that see about 295. That he was a confessor "when a persecution broke out under Maximian, the grandfather of Constantius," is known from his own letter, but nothing as to the place or details. He was present at the Synod of Elvira (q.v.), but probably did not preside over it. He shared the rigorist tendency of the synod, and it may be argued from canon xxxiii. that he was himself a celibate. His presence there has a bearing on the date of the synod; the theory which places it about 313 is weakened by the fact that from 313 at latest, if not 312, he is found in the neighborhood of Constantine. What commended him to the emperor is unknown; but it is certain that for a number of years, perhaps up to about 326, he was near Constantine as his chief adviser in matters ecclesiastical. The Donatists held him responsible, although he was not present at the anti-Donatist Synod of Arles, for the repressive measures adopted against them by the emperor; the imperial ordinance as to the manumission of slaves in the churches (Apr. 18, 321) was addressed to him; and it was he whom Constantine sent to Alexandria in 323 or 324 to settle the troubles there. A synod held there in his presence rebuked Colluthus, an ambitious presbyter who had assumed episcopal functions and a schismatical position, declared null and void the orders conferred by him, and forced him to renounce his claims to episcopal powers.

2. At the Council of Nicæa.

Hosius is known also from his relations with the Council of Nicæa. It was natural that the confidential adviser of the emperor should have great influence upon its deliberations; and, although the expression of Athanasius (ut sup., xliv.) which attributes to him the formulation of the faith there adopted is too strong in its literal meaning, it is in a sense justified. None of the authorities asserts that he presided formally over the council; and the fact that his name appears with the Roman legates first of all does not prove that he did. Still less tenable is the Roman Catholic hypothesis that he presided with the Roman legates as a representative of the pope; if he had presided at all, it would have been in virtue of imperial, not papal, delegation. After the Council of Nicæa Hosius disappears from history for nearly twenty years. Presumably he journeyed to the West with Constantine in the spring of 326, and then, even before other influences supplanted his, returned to Spain.

3. At the Council of Sardica.

Nothing is definitely known of him until shortly before the Council of Sardica. The statement quoted by Hilary (*MPL*, x. 667 B) that he was partially responsible for its calling is at least credible. In any case, with Athanasius, who met him in Gaul, he went to the place of meeting; and there is no doubt that he presided over the sessions of the majority (the Eastern minority excommunicated him). He seems to have been concerned in drawing up the formula in the manner of a creed which represented the faith of the majority, known

as the Creed of Sardica, although it is clear from Athanasius that it was not formally accepted, but only proposed by "some" ("Book to the Antiochians," v.). Hosius and Protogenes of Sardica, who joined with him in the letter to Pope Julius that accompanied the formula, were among those who desired an exposition of the Nicene Creed; and it is probable that this formula was of his composition. Its main interest lies in the fact that it is the nearest approach to an "official" interpretation of the Nicene Creed; and from this point of view it deserves increased attention.

4. Unhappy Close of Life.

After the Council of Sardica Hosius disappears once more for ten years. The next heard of him is that in the winter of 353–354 Liberius of Rome sent him word of the steps he was taking in the direction of the convocation of a new synod, and of the lamentable weakness with which his legate, Vincentius of Capua, had yielded under pressure at the Synod of Arles. A few years later, however, the nestor of orthodoxy was in scarcely better case than Vincent, in spite of the ingenious constructions put upon the data by Roman Catholic controversialists and of some difficulties which must be admitted in the "History of the Arians." Hosius had taken no part in the synods of Arles (353) and Milan (spring of 355); but the bishops of the court party were desirous, after Liberius had fallen a victim to their wiles and been banished (summer or autumn of 355), to draw Hosius by hook or by crook into agreement with their course. Incited by them, Constantius summoned the aged bishop to his presence, undoubtedly at Milan. But Hosius was not to be induced to declare against Athanasius or to hold communion with the "Arians"; and his resistance so impressed the emperor that he allowed him to return home undisturbed. The court bishops again stirred up Constantius to write a threatening letter to him; but Hosius stood firm, and to threats and seductions alike made the brave and well-considered answer which Athanasius has preserved, containing an anathema against the Arians, warm support of Athanasius, and earnest admonitions to the emperor himself. Finally, finding a pretext in the refusal of other Spaniards, presumably influenced by Hosius, to sign against Athanasius, Constantius summoned him to Sirmium, and kept him there a whole year, beginning (on the best computation) not earlier than July, 357. It is known that Hosius signed the "second Sirmian formula," the compromise proposed by the court bishops which aimed at avoiding "unscriptural" expressions as to the *ousia* of Christ, and expressed itself in ante-Nicene and Biblical terms which now concealed a decided Arian tendency. Hilary, in his treatise *De synodis* (beginning of 359), which begins with this "blasphemy at Sirmium," distinctly asserts that Hosius was "carried away by the teaching of a new impiety." It is not necessary to understand by Hilary's strong expressions anything more than Hosius' assent to the compromise formula; but even this meant much. It was sent out far and wide as approved by him; Phœbadius says in his *Liber contra Arianos* (358) that his name was used as a battering-ram against the Gallic bishops; and, according to Sozomen (IV., xii. 7), Eudoxius had a letter at the Synod of Antioch in the spring of 358 in which, in the spirit of the Sirmian formula, Hosius declared against both *homoousios* and *homoiousios*, and which was thus taken as favoring the *anomoios* view. Whether this and other letters were genuine or not, the fact remains that the court bishops did not hesitate to make the aged man their standard-bearer. It used to be thought that his yielding took place at the end of the "whole year" mentioned by Athanasius. But the Sirmian "synod" was held before Nov., 357, and Hosius, as has been seen, did not come to Sirmium earlier than July of that year. He must have given way to the emperor's threats soon after his arrival—according to Faustinus and Marcellinus, "lest he should suffer banishment"; and Athanasius expressly says that his detention at Sirmium was "in place of banishment." It was probably, therefore, to use him in the capacity of a standard-bearer that Constantius kept him there. The attempts to prove that he died Aug. 27, 357, or that he soon recalled his assent, are unsuccessful. It is impossible to fix the date of his death; and while the fact of his weak compliance seems only too well proved, it is scarcely safe to attempt to assign its motives, or to reconcile the courageous firmness of the letter to Constantius with the courtier-like diplomacy that marks alike his entrance upon, and his departure from the stage of history. He seems to have had no importance as an author. The *Sententiæ* published by Pitra (*Analecta sacra*, v. 117), under his name can not be shown to be even probably his. (F. Loofs.)

Bibliography: His letters, preceded by a historical notice, are in *MPL*, viii. 1309–32. Consult: P. B. Gams, *Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*, ii. 1–309, iii. 2, pp. 484–490, Regensburg, 1864–79; A. W. W. Dale, *Synod of Elvira*, London, 1882; O. Seeck, in *ZKG*, xvii (1897), 1–71, 319–362; Tillemont, *Mémoires*, vii. 300–321, 711–716 of Venice ed.; Ceillier, *Auteurs sacrés*, iii. 392–398, 418–425; Neander, *Christian Church*, vol. ii. passim; Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, vol. i. passim, Eng. transl., vols. i–ii. passim; Harnack, *Dogma*, vol. iii. passim; *DCB*, iii. 162–174 (detailed); *KL*, vi. 290–295.

HOSIUS (HOSS), STANISLAUS: Bishop of Ermland and cardinal; b. at Cracow May 5, 1504; d. at Capranica (25 m. n.n.w. of Rome), Italy, Aug. 5, 1579. He began his humanistic studies at Cracow, and appears, even in boyhood, to have turned away from the world in exaggerated fashion. He owed his advancement to Bishop Tomicki of Cracow, whose nephews he instructed as tutor. Among his *Epistolæ* (published by the Cracow Historical Academy, vol. i., 1879; vol. ii., 1888) are several from this period—to Dantiscus, bishop elect of Culm, written at Venice, 1530 (vol. i., *Epist.* 6); to the governor of Bologna, the celebrated historical writer Francesco Guicciardini (i. 7; written 1532); and to the papal legate Campeggi (i. 8). Upon Hosius' return to Poland Tomicki employed him as secretary, and after the bishop's death (1535) he obtained a position in the royal chancery. Though now, by the acquisition of a canonry of Frauenburg, in possession of three benefices, he was not yet a priest; and not until 1543, when still other benefices were added, did he deem it time to receive ordination. He did not officiate

Earlier Life.

in the pastorate assigned to him at Golombie, claiming that his voice was too weak. Nevertheless, he rose rapidly in the spiritual career. In 1549 he became bishop of Culm by command of King Sigismund, who desired to send him, when vested with this dignity, to King Ferdinand and the emperor. Hosius returned to Poland with the design of suppressing the Evangelicals there also; and the realization of this design served as his life-work. In 1551 he was transferred to the bishopric of Ermland.

Establishes the Counterreformation in Poland.

His first achievement in this direction was at the Synod of Petrikau (June, 1551). He required the bishops, one and all, to subscribe to a *Confessio fidei catholicæ*, drawn up by himself, which was published in an expanded form at Cracow in 1553, and repeatedly afterward. This was to offset the Augsburg Confession, and, in particular, to combat the Evangelical tract of Secretary Fricius (Frycz Modrzewski). *De emendanda republica*, dedicated to the king. By this and other writings, by his example, and by stringent measures Hosius fanned the spirit of strict ecclesiasticism; and he had the ground well broken throughout the country when, in 1555, Bishop Lipomano, of Verona, appeared as papal nuncio to restore the exclusive supremacy of the Roman Confession in Poland. The Counterreformation was first carried through in Ermland, and at Elbing and Danzig, both subject to Polish sovereignty, Protestantism was promptly repressed. Hand in hand with Lipomano, Hosius next proceeded to act in Poland proper. That a helper for the Evangelicals arose in Petrus Paulus Vergerius (q.v.), who carried on his polemics against the Catholics from 1556 to 1560, availed little. A second antagonist of Hosius, the Polish Johannes a Lasco (q.v.), was of more consequence; but unfortunately his exertions for the Protestant cause were considerably impeded by the contrary action of Vergerius, who belonged to the "false brethren" mentioned by Johannes in a letter to Calvin (*CR, Epist. Calvini*, xvi. 415).

Later Activity and Character.

At the curia it was desired to incite the man who so effectively combated Protestantism in Poland to still greater activity; and Paul IV. (q.v.) summoned him to Rome in 1558. The pope set before him (*Epist. Hosii*, ii., pp. 931, 954) three tasks: ameliorations in church affairs, extirpation of heresy, and preparation for the reassembling of the suspended Council of Trent. Meanwhile, at Vienna in 1560, he was to confirm in the Roman faith the successor to the Austrian throne, Maximilian, who inclined to Protestantism; and arrange for the marriage of a second son of the emperor with Elizabeth of England. The latter design miscarried, but that Hosius wrought results in Vienna satisfactory to the curia appears from his elevation at this juncture to the rank of cardinal, and his nomination as one of the three papal presidents of the Council of Trent, reopened in 1562. Sarpi has no high estimation of his fitness for this post; and it is true that his peculiar ability lay in another sphere; namely, that of the straightforward, inexorable suppression of heretics. The rest of his life he spent partly at home and partly in Rome. From 1562 he carried on the Counterreformation most uncompromisingly in Ermland, at Braunsberg, at Elbing, and in all Poland. The measures he devised as bishop of Ermland and as member of the Polish Diet were cleverly reenforced by his literary activity; indeed, Hosius occupies foremost rank among Roman Catholic controversialists. He does not deserve the ascription of "fundamental dogmatist" or that of a "master in theology," awarded him in blind veneration by his latest biographer, Canon Eichhorn of Frauenburg (vol. ii., pp. 563, 565). In his polemics he was quite unable to think good of an opponent; the aspirations of the heretics were prompted by the devil. This point of view appears alike in his *Confessio*, in *De expresso Dei Verbo*, and in the *Confutatio Prolegomenon Brentii*, his chief writings, which are accessible in the Cologne edition of his *Opera* (1584), with a large number of letters edited by S. Rescius. It is significant to note what Hosius writes in a letter to Cardinal Lothringen concerning the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, the tidings of which afforded him "incredible satisfaction (*recreationem*), particularly the death of Coligny," "than whom I doubt if the world has ever produced a more pestilential man."

K. Benrath.

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HOSPINIAN, RUDOLF: Reformed preacher and theologian; b. at Altorf, in the canton of Zurich, Nov. 7, 1547; d. at Zurich Mar. 11, 1626. From 1565 he studied at the universities of Marburg and Heidelberg. In 1568 he taught at Zurich and preached in the vicinity. In 1576 he became head of the *Schola Carolina*, and held this office for nineteen years, without interrupting his pastoral functions. In 1588 he was appointed archdeacon, and in 1594 pastor of the cathedral of Our Lady. He undertook extensive studies in church history, desiring to show the papists the irrelevancy of their appeal to the supposed harmony of their doctrines and institutions with the primitive Church, especially in regard to baptism, the Lord's Supper, the church festivals, fasting, monastical orders, the rule of the pope, and funerals. There appeared in succession *De origine et progressu rituum et ceremoniarum ecclesiasticarum* (Zurich, 1585); *De templis, hoc est de origine, progressu et abusu templorum, ac omnio rerum omnium ad templa pertinentium* (1587; revised ed., 1603); *De monachis, seu de origine et progressu monachatus ac ordinum monasticorum, equitum militarium tam sacrorum quam sœcularium omnium* (1588; 1609); *De festis Judæorum et Ethnicorum, hoc est de origine, progressu, ceremoniis et ritibus festorum dierum Christianorum* (2 vols., 1592–93; enlarged and revised, 1611 and 1612); *Historia sacramentaria* (2 vols., 1598–1603), the first volume directed against papistical errors, the

second treating the sacramental disputes among Protestants under the title *De origine et progressu controversiæ sacramentariæ, de cœna Domini inter Lutheranos et orthodoxos, quos Zwinglianos et Calvinistas vocant, exortæ ab anno 1517 usque ad annum 1612.* His last work was *Historia Jesuitica* (1619; continued by Ludwig Lucius, 1632; partial Eng. transl., *The Jesuits Manner of Consecrating Persons and Weapons Employ'd for the Murdering Kings, and Princes, by them Accounted Heretics,* London, 1678; Dublin, 1681). Of his polemical works against the Lutherans may be mentioned his *Concordia discors, seu de origine et progressu formulæ concordiæ Bergensis* (1607), which was directed against the Formula of Concord. Leonard Hutter, of Wittenberg, answered in his *Concordia concors* (1614). A collected edition of Hospinian's works appeared at Geneva, 1681 (7 vols.), with life by J. H. Heidegger.

(E. F. Karl Müller.)

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HOSPITALERS (HOSPITAL BROTHERS AND SISTERS): A general term for monks, nuns, canons, laymen, or knights spiritual, usually bound by the Augustinian rule, who devote themselves to the care of the sick in hospitals. If closely connected with monastic orders or canonries, they are subject to the bishop, although some are controlled immediately by the Curia. Generally speaking, they do not take solemn vows, but bind themselves to poverty and hospitality, as well as to the care of the sick. The hospitalers probably arose in the early Middle Ages, though there is little direct evidence of the existence of such communities independent of monasteries of canonries before the crusades, the period which first evoked the chief orders and fraternities of this class, and gave independence to municipal hospitals which had previously been controlled by monasteries. Certain of these orders and congregations are treated in separate articles (see Agonizants; Alexians; Anthony, Saint, Orders of; Bethlehemites; Charity, Brothers of; Cross, Orders of the; Hippolytus, Saint, Brothers or Hospitalers of; Humiliati; John, Saint, Order of Hospitalers of; Sack Brethren; Teutonic Order; Vincent de Paul, Saint; Women, Congregations of). The following are less prominent orders of men: (1) The Hospitalers of Burgos, with Cistercian rule, founded in 1212 to protect pilgrims to St. James of Compostella, in 1474 united with the Order of Calatrava; (2) Bridge Brethren (*Fratres pontifices*), said to have been established by St. Benazet in 1177 for building and maintaining bridges for pilgrims, but probably entirely legendary, like their founder; (3) Brethren of St. James of Hautpas (Altipassus), near Lucca, founded for a similar purpose, and with a mother house near Lucca as early as 1127 and a Hospital of St. James of Hautpas founded at Paris in 1322, as well as other houses, suppressed by Pius II. in 1459; (4) Penitential Brethren of Brussels; (5) Hospitalers of Albrac (Aubrac, in southern Auvergne); (6) Hospitalers of the Immaculate Conception; and (7) Triestines, or Brethren of Love, founded at Ghent by Canon Triest in 1810.

The following are minor orders of hospital sisters, who frequently added to their duties as hospitalers the education of girls, the care of orphans, and the reformation of prostitutes: (1) Nuns of the Sack (*Saccariæ, Sachettes*), corresponding closely to the Sack Brethren, with a house at Paris beside Saint-André des Arcs, which is still commemorated by the Rue Sachettes; (2) Hospital Sisters of St. Gervais, who controlled the hospital of St. Gervais, founded at Paris in 1171, in which homeless men were given shelter and care for three days; (3) Hospital Sisters of St. Catherine (*Cathérinettes*), Augustinian in rule like the foregoing, whose Hospital of St. Catherine, founded at Paris in 1188, was for women what the Hospital of St. Gervais was for men, and who also interred those who died in prison and other unclaimed corpses; (4) the Haudryettes, or Daughters of the Assumption, established about 1250 by the wife of Étienne Haudry, the private secretary of St. Louis, who later spread throughout France, and survived until the Revolution; (5) Hospital Sisters of the Hôtel-Dieu, or "Daughters of God" (*Filles de Dieu*), who supervised the great hospital of Paris; (6) Hospital Sisters of the Holy Spirit, Augustinian canonesses who controlled the hospital built at Poligny in 1212. A name similar to the last was borne by other canonesses who devoted themselves to hospital work, and also by many non-Augustinian sisterhoods in France (at Abbeville, Beauvais, Pontoise, Cambrai, and elsewhere), Germany, and other countries.

(O. Zöcklerâ€ .)

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HOSPITALITY, HEBREW. See Stranger.

HOSPITALS. See Philanthropy.

HOSS, ELIJAH EMBREE: Methodist Episcopal bishop; b. at Jonesboro, Tenn., Apr. 14, 1849. He was educated at Ohio Wesleyan University and Emory and Henry College, Emory, Va. (B.A., 1869). He entered the ministry in 1869, and after holding pastorates at Jonesboro, Tenn., Knoxville, Tenn., San Francisco, Cal., and Asheville, N. C., was president of Martha Washington College, Abingdon, Va., from 1876 to 1881. He was then vice-president of Emory and Henry College until 1886, and professor of church history in Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn., from 1886 to 1890. In 1890–1902 he was editor of *The Christian Advocate,* and in 1902 was elected bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. He was a member of the ecumenical conferences of 1891 and 1901.

HOSSBACH, PETER WILHELM: German theologian; b. at Neustadt-on-the-Dosse (45 m. n.w. of Berlin) Feb. 20, 1784; d. at Berlin Apr. 7, 1846.

He was educated at the universities of Halle and Frankfort-on-the-Oder, and from 1806 to 1815 he officiated as private tutor, as conrector at the gymnasium at Prenzlau, and as pastor at Plänitz-on-the-Dosse. In 1815 he was appointed minister at a military academy in Berlin; and in 1821 became third preacher at the Jerusalem Church of that city. He was the author of *Johann Valentin Andreä und sein Zeitalter* (Berlin, 1819) and *Philipp Jakob Spener und seine Zeit* (2 vols., 1828), two works which established his reputation as a church historian of rank. He also published numerous collections of sermons which enjoyed wide popularity, and the first of these was dedicated to Schleiermacher, with whom he was on terms of intimate friendship. (W. Hollenberg†.)

HOST: The consecrated bread or wafer used in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The Latin *hostia* (properly "feast of sacrifice, sacrificial offering") is used even as early as Cyprian (*De unitate ecclesiæ*, xvii.) to denote the bread employed by the priest in celebrating the Eucharist. According to the definite formulation of the Roman doctrine of the sacrifice in the Mass (q.v.), this designation was properly applicable only to the bread transubstantiated by the priest into the body of Christ, whereas the name *oblata* (originating in the custom of having the natural products supplied by members of the congregation), which was likewise applied to the sacramental bread, belonged to the unconsecrated elements. That in the primitive Church the bread in use for the Lord's Supper, and furnished by the congregation, was the leavened bread which served for food is not to be doubted. But while the Eastern Church retained the leavened bread, unleavened bread became customary in the Western Church from the ninth century, and gained exclusive prevalence. The bread originally had a round, flat shape, though sometimes it was in the form of a large round disk, perforated in the center. From the eleventh century the present small form of the host appears; and this was the form best adapted to the proper sacrifice of the mass, wherein the priest alone communicated.

The sacramental wafers were quite early marked with the sign of the cross. At a later period there occur particular symbols, figures, the letters alpha and omega, and images of Christ. In 1834 the Congregation of Rites appointed the emblem of the crucifix. In early times the bread was zealously prepared by devout men and women; but after the adoption of the small host (of pure wheat flour, without any admixture) it devolved upon the monks, and called for the most painstaking care in the process.

The Lutheran Church accepted, without hesitation, the use of the host for the eucharistic festival. Luther retained the wafers for the very reason that he was offended by the rude scorn of certain fanatical spirits (e.g., Münzer; cf. *Werke*, Erlangen ed., xxxi. 329). Johann Gerhard (*Loci*, xxi., chap. vii.) vindicated their use, though not rejecting the use of other bread. On the other hand, the Reformed Church vehemently combated the employment of wafers, although Calvin and Butzer had undertaken no alterations in this respect. Subsequently, however, the use of wafers was occasionally known in Reformed congregations. Georg Rietschel.

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HOTTINGER, hot'ting-er, **JOHANN HEINRICH:** Semitic scholar, professor in Zurich; b. at Zurich Mar. 10, 1620; d. there June 5, 1667. Provided with a public stipend, he studied Semitic languages and theology in Groningen under Gomarus, Heinrich Alting, and Pasor, and in Leyden under Jacob Alting and Golius. He became private tutor in the house of Golius, but in 1642 returned to Zurich, where he was appointed professor of church history and later also of Semitic languages. In 1655 he received a call to Heidelberg to restore churches and schools after the heavy afflictions of the Thirty Years' War, and to reestablish the theological faculty. His main activity was directed toward the revival of Hebrew and cognate languages. In 1656 he was elected rector of the university. In 1661 he returned to Zurich. He accepted a call to Leyden, but, with three of his children, was drowned in the river Limmat before he had arranged his affairs to leave Zurich. He published *Exercitationes Anti-Morinianæ* (Zurich, 1644), a defense of the Hebrew text of Scripture against the Oratorian Morinus, who had tried to disparage the Hebrew text in the interest of the Roman Catholics; *Erotematum linguæ sanctæ* (1647), a small Hebrew grammar for the use of schools; *Thesaurus philologicus seu clavis scripturæ* (1649), a sort of introduction to the Old Testament; *Historia ecclesiastica Novi Testamenti* (9 vols., 1651–67); *Historia orientalis* (1651); *Methodus legendi historias Helveticas* (1654); *Smegma orientale et promptuarium sive bibliotheca orientalis* (1657 and 1658); *Grammatica quatuor linguarum Hebraicæ, Chaldaicæ, Syriacæ, et Arabicæ harmonica* (1658); *Etymologicum orientale sive lexicon harmonicum heptaglotton* (Frankfort, 1661); *Archæologia orientalis* (Heidelberg, 1662); *Bibliothecarius sive tractatus de officio bibliothecarii* (Zurich, 1664).

(Emil Egli.)

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HOTTINGER, JOHANN JAKOB: 1. Professor in Zurich, son of Johann Heinrich Hottinger (q.v.); b. at Zurich Dec. 1, 1652; d. there Dec. 18, 1735. He was a pupil of the three fathers of the Helvetic Consensus, Heidegger in Zurich, Gernler in Basel, and Turretin in Geneva. In 1680 he became pastor at Stallikon, in the canton of Zurich, 1686 assistant preacher of the cathedral in Zurich, and in 1698 professor of theology. Some of his historical works are still of value, such as his books on the Pietistic movement in Zurich from 1689 to 1717 and on the history of the *Formula Consensus* (Latin and German, 1723). His principal work is *Helvetische Kirchengeschichte* (4 vols., Zurich, 1698–1729).

2. Grandson of the preceding, professor of history in Zurich; b. at Zurich May 18, 1783; d. there May 17, 1860. He continued Johann von Müller's *Geschichte der Eidgenossen während der Zeiten der Kirchentrennung* (2 vols., Zurich, 1825–29), and wrote a biography of Zwingli (1842).

(Emil Egli.)

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HOUBIGANT, hū″bî″gāṅ′, **CHARLES FRANÇOIS:** French Biblical scholar; b. in Paris 1686; d. there Oct. 31, 1783. He entered the Congregation of the Oratory in 1704, and subsequently taught in the colleges of the order at Marseilles and Soissons. In 1722 he was called to Paris to conduct the conferences of St. Magloire. As a result of overwork in this position he became ill and almost totally deaf. He then devoted himself with remarkable energy to the study of Semitic languages. till a fall robbed him of his intellectual faculties toward the end of his long career. His principal works are: *Racines Hébraïques* (Paris, 1732); *Prolegomena in Scripturam sacram* (1746); and *Biblia Hebraica cum criticis et versione Latina* (4 vols., 1753), of which the Latin version also appeared separately under the title *Veteris Testamenti versio nova* (5 vols., 1753). This work, which is printed without vowel-points, is based upon the text published in 1705 by Eberhard van der Hooght. The entire work was published at the expense of the Oratory.

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HOUGHTON, LOUISE SEYMOUR: Protestant Episcopalian; b. at Piermont, N. Y., Nov. 22, 1838. She was educated privately and at Utica Female Seminary, Utica, N. Y., and in 1872–75 was in Europe, where she became interested in the McAll Mission (q.v.). Besides being connected with the English department of Vassar College in 1892–95, she was literary editor (1888–89), associate editor (1889–98), and editor-in-chief (1899–1902) of the *New York Evangelist*, and from 1902 to 1904 associate editor of the *Christian Work and Evangelist*. She was a charter member and first vice-president of the Jacob A. Riis Neighborhood Settlement from 1889 to 1904, and has been corresponding secretary of the New York auxiliary of the McAll Mission since 1888 and a director of the American McAll Association since 1896. In theology she belongs to the Broad Church. Among her numerous publications special mention may be made of the following: *The Sabbath Month* (Philadelphia, 1879); *Life of David Livingstone* (1881); *The Bible in Picture and Story* (New York, 1889); *The Life of Christ in Picture and Story* (1890); *From Olivet to Patmos in Picture and Story* (1891); *Cruise of the "Mystery" in McAll Mission Work* (1891); *The Log of the "Lady Gray"* (1896); *Telling Bible Stories* (1905); *Hebrew Life and Thought* (Chicago, 1906); and *The Russian Grandmother's Wonder Tales* (New York, 1906). She has also translated, among other works, Paul Sabatier's "St. Francis of Assisi" (New York, 1895); E. Stapfer's "Jesus Christ" (3 vols., 1896–1898); and Auguste Sabatier's "Religions of Authority and Religions of the Spirit" (1903).

HOURS, CANONICAL. See Breviary; Canonical Hours; and Vespers.

HOUSE, THE HEBREW, AND ITS APPOINTMENTS: The limestone hills of Palestine abound in natural caves, which served the primitive inhabitants as dwelling-places. By enlarging these caves and enclosing them in front by a stone wall, a form of house was gradually evolved, standing partly free and partly hollowed out in the rock. Examples have been found in ancient Jerusalem, on the slopes of the eastern hill. The Canaanites had regularly constructed houses, but caves long continued in use in certain portions of the land, as at Bait Jibrin and Derat (Edrei). Jerome affirms that the Idumeans dwelt in caves, because of the heat. In the Old Testament caves are mentioned as places of refuge in time of war and the like (Judges vi. 2, xv. 8 sqq.; I Sam. xiii. 6, xiv. 11). They were used also for cattle and as tombs. House architecture was influenced by the climate and the nature of the country. The former made necessary protection from the sun and rain, and also cool, cellar-like rooms; at the same time it permitted light and airy structures. Since the land did not afford abundance of timber, buildings were necessarily either of stone or brick; the former was used in the mountainous part of the country, where the easily worked limestone provided good building material, and the latter in the plains, where clay bricks were dried in the sun. In the excavations (at Taanach, for instance) it has been found that the simplest form of construction was with small stones set in clay, making so compact a mass that no single block can be detached from the ruins. Regularly formed clay bricks, measuring nineteen and a half by thirteen inches, or thirteen by thirteen, constituted an advance upon this primitive material in a second form of building. A third style of house was of small unhewn stones carefully fitted together. These houses were small, at most thirteen feet in width. In larger buildings it was customary to construct the lower courses of the wall with medium-sized unhewn stones and to finish with courses of brick, hewn stones being used only for temples and palaces (I Kings vii. 9 sqq.; Isa. ix. 10). Plastering with lime was known at an early period (Ezek. xiii. 10, etc.), though clay was the more usual material (Lev. xiv. 41). Foundation sacrifice (performed by immuring human beings in the foundations during construction) is proven by excavations to have been employed in Palestine and by the Israelites. I Kings xvi. 34 refers to this custom. Later the sacrifice was symbolical only, lamps and dishes being substituted for human beings. The so-called leprosy of houses (Lev. xiv. 33–57) has not been satisfactorily explained. Nitrous efflorescence has been thought of, and also fungus growths, such as appear on weather-beaten stones and walls.

Form, Material, etc.

The roofs of smaller buildings were made by laying poles across the walls and covering them with branches and brush, over which a thick layer of earth was trodden down and the whole then covered with another layer of clay and straw. In the case of stone buildings arched roofs were in use

at an early period; at first the false arch, and later the true one. Such heavy structures required strong foundations, and these rested on the rock or were at least carried to a considerable depth. On the outside the arched roof was built out so as to form a level roof-terrace. A stairway led directly from the court to the roof, which was a favorite place of resort (Judges xvi. 27; Josh. ii. 6; II Sam. xi. 2; Isa. xxii. 1), where the dwellers often slept in the summer (I Sam. ix. 25 Septuagint), and a booth often afforded protection against the sun's rays (II Sam. xvi. 22; Neh. viii. 16). For this reason the law required that the roof should be surrounded with a battlement (Deut. xxii. 8); nevertheless, it was easy to leap from one roof to another and so pass along entire streets (Mark xiii. 15). The ordinary house consisted only of a single room; the more pretentious had also an upper room (II Sam. xviii. 33; I Kings xvii. 19; II Kings iv. 10); the houses of the rich contained several rooms—a reception-room at the entrance, a special sleeping-room, the women's apartment in the interior, and others (II Sam. iv. 7; I Kings i. 15; Jer. xxxvi. 22; Amos iii. 15). The low wooden door (Prov. xvii. 19; in the Hauran the door was often a stone slab) turned on a mortice fitting into a socket in the threshold, which was usually of stone (I Kings vii. 50; Prov. xxvi. 14). It was fastened with a bolt which could be thrown back by a key, either from the inside or outside. At the door-posts was the place of the household-gods, and the magic signs for protection against evil spirits were also affixed to them (Isa. lvii. 8). In the Yahweh-worship a sentence from the torah was used (Deut. vi. 9); to the posts was also applied the blood of the paschal lamb (Ex. xii. 7). The floor was a simple coating of clay. The windows, which were not numerous, were provided with wooden lattices, as at the present day (Judges v. 28; I Kings vi. 4; II Kings i. 2).

Roofing and Interior.

The increasing luxury of the dwellings was shown not only in their greater size (Jer. xxii. 14), but, above all, in the material employed for their construction—hewn stones (Amos v. 11) for the walls, painted decorations on the latter (Jer. xxii. 14), olive or cedar wood for the doors and for wainscoting (I Kings vi. 31, cf. x. 27; Jer. xxii. 14; Hag. i. 4), ornamented with ivory and adorned with carvings (I Kings vi. 18, xxii. 39; Amos iii. 15), wooden planks for flooring, and the like (I Kings vi. 15). The Greco-Roman style of architecture used in the Hellenic period was confined to the larger buildings. The furnishing of the house consisted, according to II Kings iv. 10, principally of four articles: couch, table, chair, and lamp. As an open-air life was favored by climatic conditions, the Israelite required but few conveniences in his house, which was, to him, primarily a resting-place for the night; in the day-time he was usually outside. A bed for sleeping was as unknown to him as to the present fellahin; he wrapped himself in his mantle (Ex. xxii. 26; Deut. xxiv. 13) and lay upon the floor or upon a pallet. The couch of the well-to-do served as a sofa upon which they sat at table, with crossed legs (I Sam. xx. 25; Ezek. xxiii. 41), and as a bed for the sick (Gen. xlvii. 31; I Sam. xix. 13 sqq.); in later times it was also used as a bed at night (Job vii. 13; Ps. vi. 6). It consisted of a simple wooden framework with a cover; among the rich it was inlaid with ivory and otherwise ornamented (Cant. iii. 10; Amos vi. 4) and bedecked with rich coverings (Prov. vii. 16). The wooden table was quite low, and the ordinary family sat about it at meal-time, crouching on the floor; people of higher station used chairs or sofas around a higher table (Judges i. 7; I Sam. xx. 5), and this gradually became the common usage. The chair, in its simplest form, had neither back nor arms; the more pretentious armchairs of the higher classes may have been similar to those of the Assyrians, of which representations exist. The lamps preserved the same form to the Greek period—a flat, open saucer with the edge bent upward to form a mouth for the wick. Many such lamps have been found in the excavations, among them some interesting specimens with seven mouths; they were placed on an earthenware base. In the Greek period the closed lamp came into use. To these four articles may be added the coal-pan, by means of which the rooms, at least those of the better classes, were heated (Jer. xxxvi. 22). Some means of heating is very necessary in the mountainous part of the country during the winter.

Adornment and Furniture.

I. Benzinger.

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HOUSE COMMUNION, PRIVATE COMMUNION. See Lord's Supper, V., § 2.

HOVEY, huv'ę, ALVAH: Baptist; b. at Greene, N. Y., Mar. 5, 1820; d. at Newton Centre, Mass., Sept. 6, 1903. He was educated at Dartmouth College (B.A., 1844), and after being principal of New London Academy, N. H. (1844–45), entered Newton Theological Institution, from which he was graduated in 1848. He then preached for a year at New Gloucester, Me., and in 1849 returned to Newton Theological Institution, where he was librarian and instructor in Hebrew (1849–55), and professor of church history (1853–55). In 1855 he was appointed professor of theology and Christian ethics, a position which he retained until 1900, when he retired from active life. From 1868 to 1900 he was also president of Newton Theological Institution. Besides translating F. M. Perthes' *Life of St. Chrysostom* (in collaboration with D. B. Ford; Boston, 1854) and editing *The Complete Commentary on the New Testament* (7 vols., Philadelphia, 1881–90), to which he himself contributed the volumes on John (1885) and Galatians (1890), he wrote *The Life of Rev. Isaac Backus* (Boston, 1858); *The State of the Impenitent Dead* (1859); *The Miracles of Christ as Attested by the Evangelists* (1864); *The*

Scriptural Law of Divorce (Philadelphia, 1866); *God with Us; or, The Person and Work of Christ* (Boston, 1872); *Normal Class Manual* (in collaboration with J. M. Gregory; Philadelphia, 1873); *Religion and the State* (Boston, 1874); *The Doctrine of the Higher Christian Life Compared with the Teachings of the Holy Scriptures* (1876); *Manual of Systematic Theology and Christian Ethics* (1877); *Biblical Eschatology* (Philadelphia, 1888); *Studies in Ethics and Religion* (Boston, 1892); *Christian Teaching and Life* (Philadelphia, 1895); and *Barnas Sears, a Christian Educator* (Boston, 1903).

HOW, WILLIAM WALSHAM: Church of England, bishop of Wakefield; b. at Shrewsbury (38 m. s. of Chester), Shropshire, Dec. 13, 1823; d. in the west of Ireland Aug. 10, 1897. He was educated at Wadham College, Oxford (B.A., 1845), and was ordered deacon in 1846 and ordained priest in the following year. He was successively curate of St. George's, Kidderminster (1846–48), and of Holy Cross, Shrewsbury (1848–49), and rector of Whittington (1851–79). He was likewise diocesan inspector of schools in 1852–70, rural dean of Oswestry in 1853–79, prebendary of Llanfynydd and chancellor of St. Asaph's Cathedral in 1859–88, select preacher at Oxford in 1868–69, proctor of the diocese of St. Asaph in 1869–79, and examining chaplain to the bishop of Lichfield in 1878–79. After having declined no less than five bishoprics, a canonry, and three important livings, he accepted the suffragan see of Bedford, with episcopal supervision of East London, and was consecrated in 1879, drawing his income from the rectorate of St. Andrew Undershaft and St. Mary Axe, and from the prebend of Brondesbury in St. Paul's Cathedral, all of which he held from 1879 to 1888. In the latter year he was translated to the newly created see of Wakefield. While in East London he took a keen interest in the spiritual upbuilding of his diocese and founded the East London Church Fund, for which he raised large sums. Among his numerous writings special mention may be made of his *Daily Family Prayers for Churchmen* (London, 1852); *Plain Words* (4 series, 1859–80); *Psalm li.: A Course of Seven Lenten Lectures* (1861); *Twenty-four Practical Sermons* (1861); *Commentary on the Four Gospels* (4 vols., 1863–68); *Pastor in Parochia* (1868); *Manual for the Holy Communion* (1868); *Private Life and Ministrations of a Parish Priest* (1873); *The Revision of the Rubrics* (1878); *Holy Communion Companion* (1882); *Lectures on Pastoral Work* (1883); *Notes on the Church Service* (1884); *Words of Good Cheer* (1885); *Knowledge of God, and Other Sermons* (1892); and *The Closed Door: Instructions and Meditations given at Retreats and Quiet Days* (1898). Bishop How was also an excellent writer of hymns, and besides revising Mrs. C. Brock's *Children's Hymn Book* (London, 1881), assisted T. B. Morrell in preparing *Psalms and Hymns* (London, 1854), and was one of the compilers of *Church Hymns* (1871). His own hymns are collected in his *Poems and Hymns* (London, 1886). Among them some of the best-known are "O Jesu, Thou art standing;" "For all the Saints who from their labours rest;" "We give Thee but Thine own;" "Lord, Thy children guide and keep;" "O Holy Lord, content to live;" "O Word of God Incarnate;" "Who is this so weak and helpless?" and "Before Thine awful presence, Lord."

Bibliography: F. D. How, *Bishop Walsham How: A Memoir* (London, 1898); S. W. Duffield, *English Hymns*, p. 442, New York, 1886; Julian, *Hymnology*, p. 540; *DNB*, supplement, iii. 1–2.

HOWARD, EDWARD HENRY: Cardinal; b. at Nottingham, England, Feb. 13, 1829; d. at Brighton, England, Sept. 16, 1892. He was educated at Oscott and Edinburgh, and after serving as an officer in the Second Life Guards, entered the Church and was ordained to the priesthood in 1854. In the following year he attached himself to the service of the pope, and his entire ecclesiastical career, except for a year in India, where he was sent to end the Goa schism, was spent in Italy. He was consecrated titular bishop of Neocæsarea in 1872 and appointed bishop coadjutor of Frascati, although he retained the latter dignity only a few weeks. In 1877 he was created cardinal priest of San Giovanni e San Paolo on the Cœlian Hill, while in the following year he was appointed protector of the English College in Rome. Three years later (1881) he was made archpriest of the Basilica of St. Peter, and thus became prefect of the Congregation of the Fabric. He was elevated to the rank of cardinal bishop in 1884, and translated once more to his see of Frascati, but three years later (1887) was stricken with severe illness and was taken to England early in the following year, where he remained until his death.

Bibliography: *DNB*, supplement, iii. 2–3.

HOWARD, JOHN: English philanthropist and reformer; b. at Hackney, London, Sept. 2, 1726; d. at Kherson (92 m. e.n.e. of Odessa), Russia, Jan. 20, 1790. He was educated in private schools at Hertford and London, and was apprenticed by his father, a retired merchant, to a firm of wholesale grocers in London. On the death of his father in 1742 he bought his release from his debentures and went on a Continental tour. On his return he settled at Stoke Newington. In 1756 he started for Lisbon, but the vessel in which he had embarked was captured by a privateer, and crew and passengers were thrown into prison at Brest. Having been released on parole, he returned to England and negotiated an exchange for himself. The same year he was made a fellow of the Royal Society. He now took up his residence at Cardington, Bedfordshire, where he busied himself in the erection of elementary schools and model cottages for his tenants. He visited Holland in 1767, but returned in a month. In 1769 he was again on the Continent and was gone a year. On Feb. 8, 1773, he was appointed high sheriff of Bedfordshire.

Howard now entered upon his career as a prison-reformer, in the course of which he carried his investigations into almost every large city in Europe and spent some £30,000 of his fortune. Shocked by the abuses incident to the fee-system in the jails of his own county, he began visiting the jails of adjoining counties in order to find a precedent for putting the jailers of Bedford upon salaries. These investigations, which were gradually pushed further and further, till he had visited most of the county jails

in England, Ireland, and Scotland, strengthened his conviction that reform was necessary. The rooms were, in part, underground and damp, and, as a rule, gloomy and filthy, in one case the common sewer of the city running directly under one of the prisons, and uncovered. The bedding was usually straw, and the rations were unwholesome and insufficient. Jail-fever and smallpox in its most virulent form were common diseases. In 1774 Howard was called to testify before the committee of the House of Commons. That body passed a resolution "recognizing the humanity and zeal which had led him to visit the several jails in this kingdom," and the same year passed two bills for the better treatment of prisoners, and care of jails.

Howard began his inspection of Continental prisons in 1775, visiting France, Germany, Belgium, and Holland. On other tours undertaken in 1776, 1778, and 1781 he studied prison conditions in the remaining countries of Europe. In 1783 he inspected the penal and charitable institutions in Spain and Portugal. With a view to mitigating the horrors of the plague he visited, in 1785, the lazarettos of various cities of France and Italy, went as far as Smyrna, and traveled unknown on vessels infected with the plague, in order to be able the better to find out the treatment of the disease, and the nature of the quarantine regulations. At the time of his death he was making a study of Russian military hospitals. A monument to Howard's memory was placed in St. Paul's Cathedral. To his efforts are due the improved system of prison accommodation and the discipline which seeks to reform the criminal, not only in Great Britain, but, to some extent, throughout a large part of Europe. He published *The State of the Prisons in England and Wales . . . and an Account of some Foreign Prisons* (2 parts, Warrington, 1777–80; 4th ed., London, 1792); and *An Account of the Principal Lazarettos in Europe* (Warrington, 1789).

Bibliography: Howard's *Correspondence*, with a *Memoir* by J. Field, appeared London, 1855. Consult: J. Aikin, *View of the Character and Public Services of . . . John Howard*, London, 1790; J. B. Brown, *Memoirs of the Public and Private Life of John Howard*, ib. 1823; *Life of John Howard . . . from the most Authentic Documents*, Edinburgh, 1825; T. Taylor, *Memoirs of John Howard*, London, 1836; G. E. Sargent, *The Philanthropist of the World; a Life of John Howard*, ib. 1849; W. H. Dixon, *Memoir and Records of John Howard*, ib. 1854; C. K. True, *Memoirs of John Howard, the Prisoner's Friend*, Cincinnati, 1878; J. Stoughton, *Howard the Philanthropist and His Friends*, ib. 1884; R. D. R. Sweeting, *Essay on the Experiences and Opinions of John Howard*, ib. 1884; W. H. Render, *Through Prison Bars: the Lives of John Howard and Elizabeth Fry*, ib. 1894; H. H. Scullard, *John Howard*, ib. 1899; E. C. S. Gibson, *John Howard*, ib. 1901; *DNB*, xxviii. 44–48.

HOWE, JOHN: English Puritan; b. at Loughborough (10 m. n.n.w. of Leicester), Leicestershire, May 17, 1630; d. at Smithfield, London, Apr. 2, 1705. At the age of five he went to Ireland with his father, who had been ejected from his living by Laud, but returned to England in 1641 and settled with his father in Lancaster. He studied at Christ's College, Cambridge, and at Magdalen College, Oxford (B.A., 1650; M.A., 1652), where for a time he was fellow and college chaplain. At Cambridge he came under the influence of Ralph Cudworth and Henry More (qq.v.), from whom he probably received the Platonic tinge that marks his writings. About 1654 he was appointed to the perpetual curacy of Great Torrington, Devonshire. In this place, according to his own statement, he was engaged in the pulpit on fast-days from nine to four, with a recess of fifteen minutes, during which the people sang. While on a visit to London in 1656 Cromwell prevailed upon him to preach at Whitehall, with the result that Howe, much against his preferences, became one of Cromwell's chaplains. Upon Richard Cromwell's retirement he returned to his former parish at Torrington. When the Act of Uniformity was passed he quitted his church, but remained for some time in the neighborhood, preaching in private houses. In this period he was cited before the bishop of Exeter, his old friend Seth Ward, who vainly urged Howe to be reordained.

In 1666 Howe accepted the Five Mile Act, but with the limiting clause, "so far as the laws of man are agreeable to the Word of God." In 1671 he became chaplain to Lord Massereene, of Antrim Castle, Ireland. Here he was a member of the Antrim Meeting, the precursor of the Presbyterian organization in northern Ireland. In 1676 he returned to London as the successor of Lazarus Seaman at Haberdashers' Hall. In 1685, on account of the greater severity shown to the dissenters, he accepted an invitation to accompany Lord Wharton to the Continent, and the year following settled at Utrecht. When James II. issued his declaration for liberty of conscience in 1687 Howe returned to his old position in London. From this time till his death he took an active interest in current discussions on predestination, the Trinity, and conformity. In 1688 he headed a deputation of dissenting ministers in an address of welcome to William.

Howe was conciliatory in disposition, catholic in spirit, anxious to promote Christian unity, and more than once he put his opponents in controversy to the blush by his moderation and firmness. His works, in spite of being somewhat prolix and tedious, are among the most suggestive and profound of Puritan writings. His principal works are: *The Blessedness of the Righteous* (London, 1668); *Delighting in God* (1674); *The Living Temple* (2 parts, 1675–1702), his best-known book; and *The Redeemer's Tears Wept over Lost Souls* (1684). His *Works* were issued with a *Life* by Edmund Calamy (2 vols., 1724), and edited by J. Hunt (8 vols., 1810–22). There is also an American edition (2 vols., New York, 1869).

Bibliography: H. Rogers, *Life and Character of John Howe*, London, reprinted 1879; *DNB*, xxviii. 85–88 (where a list of scattered notices may be found).

HOWIE, JOHN: Scotch Presbyterian layman; b. at Lochgoin (2 m. from Kilmarnock), Ayrshire, Nov. 14, 1735; d. there Jan. 5, 1793. He came of a family of Lochgoin farmers which for generations had been characterized by stanch devotion to religious freedom. As the farm did not require all of his time, he found leisure for literary pursuits and the collection of antiquarian relics connected with the Covenanters. He was the author of the famous *Scots Worthies*, or, more fully, *Biographia Scoticana; or a Brief Historical Account of . . . the*

Most Eminent Scots Worthies (Glasgow, 1774; 2d ed., 2 parts, 1781–82; ed. W. McGavin, 1827; ed. W. H. Carslaw, Edinburgh, 1870). This interesting work, which is still in print, contains pithy biographies of Scottish Reformers and martyrs from the Reformation to the Revolution of 1688. Howie also edited various religious works, including *A Collection of Lectures and Sermons by Covenanting Clergymen* (Glasgow, 1779; ed. J. Kerr, Edinburgh, 1880).

Bibliography: Biographies are usually prefixed to editions of *Scots Worthies; DNB*, xxviii. 121.

HOWSON, JOHN SAUL: Church of England; b. at Giggleswick-in-Craven (36 m. n.w. of Leeds), Yorkshire, May 5, 1816; d. at Bournemouth (25 m. s.w. of Southampton), Hampshire, Dec. 15, 1885. He was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge (B.A., 1837; M.A., 1841), and after being a private tutor to the marquis of Sligo and the marquis of Lorne, was ordered deacon in 1845 and ordained priest in the following year. In 1845 he became senior classical master at Liverpool Collegiate Institute, holding this position, except for a short time as tutor to the present duke of Sutherland, until 1849, when he was chosen principal of the same institution, an office which he discharged until 1865, meanwhile being active in the establishment of a girls' college at Liverpool. In 1866–67 he was vicar of Wisbech St. Peter, and from the latter year until his death was dean of Chester. In this position he practically restored his cathedral and also founded in Chester King's School and Queen's School, for the education of boys and girls respectively. He was likewise Hulsean lecturer at Cambridge in 1862, and examining chaplain to the bishop of Ely in 1865–67. He assisted materially in the revival of deaconesses in the Anglican Church, and theologically he was Evangelical rather than High-church, also being opposed to the Broad-church, despite his friendship with Charles Kingsley (q.v.). Besides preparing part of the volume on Acts for P. Schaff's *Popular Commentary* (New York, 1880), Galatians for *The Bible Commentary* (London, 1881), and Titus for *The Pulpit Commentary* (1886), he wrote *The Life and Epistles of St. Paul* (in collaboration with W. J. Conybeare; 2 vols., 1852—his popular reputation rested on this work in which he had the historical and geographical portion, while Conybeare furnished the translation of the speeches and letters of St. Paul); *Deaconesses; or, The Official Help of Women in Parochial Work and in Charitable Institutions* (1862); *The Character of St. Paul* (Hulsean lectures; 1864); *Scenes from the Life of St. Paul, and their Religious Lessons* (1866); *The Metaphors of St. Paul* (1868); *The Companions of St. Paul* (1871); *Meditations on the Miracles of Christ* (2 series, 1871–77); *"Before the Table": An Inquiry into the True Meaning* (1875); *Homely Hints in Sermons suggested by Experience* (1876); *Evidential Value of the Acts of the Apostles* (Bohlen lectures at Philadelphia; New York, 1880); *Horæ Petrinæ: Studies in the Life of St. Peter* (London, 1883); *Thoughts for Saints' Days* (1886); and the posthumous *Diaconate of Women in the Anglican Church* (with a brief memoir by his son; 1886).

Bibliography: *DNB*, xxviii. 130–132.

HOYLE, JOSHUA: B. at Sorby, near Halifax, Yorkshire, Eng.; d. Dec. 6, 1654. He was educated in Magdalen Hall, Oxford, but became fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, and took his degrees of divinity and became professor of divinity in that university. He devoted himself to Biblical studies and the Roman Catholic controversy, and was a friend and warm admirer of Archbishop Ussher. He fled from the Irish massacre and returned to England, and became vicar of Stepney, near London. In 1643 he was appointed a member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. He labored on the committee on the Confession of Faith. In 1648 he was appointed master of University College, Oxford, and king's professor of divinity in the university. His two published works are *A Rejoinder to Mr. Malone, Jesuit, his Reply Concerning Real Presence* (4to, pp. 662, Dublin, 1641) and *Jehoiadah's Justice against Mattan, Baal's Priest*, a sermon (London, 1645).

C. A. Briggs.

Bibliography: A. à Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, ed. P. Bliss, iii. 382, 507, 1146, iv. 398, 4 vols., London, 1813–20; *DNB*, xxviii. 134–135.

HOYT, WAYLAND: Baptist; b. at Cleveland, O., Feb. 18, 1838. He was educated at Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y., Brown University (B.A., 1860), and Rochester Theological Seminary, from which he was graduated in 1863. He has held pastorates in Ninth Street Baptist Church, Cincinnati (1864–67), Strong Place Baptist Church, Brooklyn (1868–81), Memorial and Epiphany Baptist churches, Philadelphia (1882–89, 1896–1905), and First Baptist Church, Minneapolis (1890–96). He now fills the chair of science and religion in the Theological Seminary of the Temple College, Philadelphia. In theology he is Evangelical and orthodox. For twenty years he has edited the prayer-meeting department in the *Homiletic Review*, and has been a constant contributor to the religious press. He has likewise written *Hints and Helps for the Christian Life* (New York, 1880); *Present Lessons from Distant Days* (1882); *Gleams from Paul's Prison* (1883); *Along the Pilgrimage* (Philadelphia, 1885); *The Brook in the Way* (New York, 1888); *Saturday Afternoon* (Philadelphia, 1889); *Light for Life's Highway* (1889); *At His Feet* (New York, 1892); *Walks and Talks with Mr. Spurgeon* (Philadelphia, 1892); *For Shine and Shade* (1898); *Home Ideals* (1904); and *Teaching of Jesus Concerning his Own Person* (1907).

HRABANUS MAURUS. See Rabanus Maurus.

HUBER, JOHANNES NEPOMUK: German Roman Catholic philosopher; b. in Munich Aug. 18, 1830; d. there Mar. 20, 1879. He studied at the University of Munich, became privat-docent there in 1854, extraordinary professor of philosophy in 1859, and ordinary professor in 1864. He was one of the most fearless opponents of Ultramontanism, and later a leader in the Old Catholic movement. His more important works are: *Die Philosophie der Kirchenväter* (Munich, 1859), which was placed upon the Index in 1860; *Johannes Scotus Erigena* (1861); *Studien* (1867); *Das Papsttum und de Staat* (1870); *Die Lehre Darwins kritisch betrachtet* (1871); and *Der Jesuiten-Orden nach seiner Ver-*

fassung und Doctrin, Wirksamkeit und Geschichte characterisiert (Berlin, 1873), which was immediately placed upon the Index. He also had a large share in the famous book *Der Papst und das Konzil, von Janus* (Munich, 1869).

Bibliography: E. Zirngiebl, *Johannes Huber*, Gotha, 1881.

HUBER, SAMUEL: Swiss Protestant controversialist; b. at Burgdorf (11 m. n.e. of Bern) 1547; d. at Osterwiek (42 m. w.s.w. of Magdeburg), Hanover, Mar. 23, 1624. He studied theology at Bern and at German universities, became pastor at Saanen in 1570, and at Burgdorf in 1581, where he obtained the office of treasurer, or vice-dean of the chapter. On the occasion of the innovation of broken bread in the communion, in place of the hitherto customary wafer, he attacked Abraham Müslin and the preachers of Bern with such success that the ancient custom continued in force till the beginning of the seventeenth century. Soon afterward he turned upon Theodore Beza, who had sanctioned, in writing, flight from the plague. Although Beza had retracted his opinion, by advice of friends, Huber continued to combat him, without even submitting his book to the prescribed censorship. Huber made a still greater stir when, in connection with the Mümpelgart Colloquy in 1586 (see Mümpelgart, Colloquy of), he expressed himself in sharp terms against the Reformed doctrine of predestination. For this he was obliged to answer before the superior chapter-court in 1587, and in a disputation at the town-hall of Bern in 1588. Shortly afterward he was deposed from his office, and, on failing to observe the enjoined silence, he was banished from the country June 28, 1588.

In July, 1588, Huber repaired to Tübingen. Here he enjoyed the support of Duke Louis, who sought to bring about his reinstatement at Bern. When this was refused Huber subscribed the Formula of Concord, and became pastor at Derendingen, where he resumed his literary activity against his previous adversaries, as well as against the Jesuits. In 1589 he dwelt upon the importance of the sacrificial death of Christ for the sin of all mankind, thus incurring strife with the Württemberg theologians. Nevertheless, he affirmed his doctrinal agreement with them, on quitting his appointment in 1592 to accept a call to the University of Wittenberg. Here he was cordially received by Ægidius Hunn, Polycarp Leiser, and Solomon Gesner, who hoped to find in him an aggressive opponent of Calvinists and Crypto-Calvinists. But here, too, sharp differences soon came to pass, especially between Huber and Polycarp Leiser. When Hunn sought to mediate he, in turn, had to incur the reproach of Calvinism. Pacific overtures on the part of the rector of Wittenberg University, a colloquium in 1593, electoral commissioners and pleaders, as also Leipsic professors, could not effect a reconciliation. After negotiations at the imperial Diet of Regensburg, reenforced by foreign theologians, and further conferences at Torgau, had proved in vain, he was dismissed from his professorship, and banished from the country at the beginning of 1595. Though he never lacked for friends, he was now compelled to wander from place to place, an "embittered martyr of universalism." He appealed to the imperial supreme court at Speyer for vindication, but without success, and also knocked in vain at the doors of Berlin, Helmstedt, and Dresden.

Georg Müller.

Bibliography: J. A. Schmid, *Dissertatio . . . de S. Huberi vita, fatis et doctrina*, Helmstadt, 1708; A. Schweizer, *Die protestantischen Centraldogmen*, i. 501 sqq., Zurich, 1854; Trechsel, in *Berner Taschenbuch*, 1854; G. Frank, *Geschichte der protestantischen Theologie*, i. 271 sqq., Leipsic, 1862; G. Finsler, *Bibliographie der reformierten Kirche in der Schweiz*, i. 126, Bern, 1896; E. Bloesch, *Geschichte der schweizerisch-reformierten Kirche*, i. 256–258, 398, Bern, 1898; G. Kawerau, *Reformation und Gegenreformation*, p. 388, Freiburg, 1899; *ADB*, xiii. 248–249.

HUBER, VICTOR AIMÉ: Social reformer; b. at Stuttgart Mar. 10, 1800; d. at Wernigerode (40 m. s.w. of Magdeburg) July 19, 1869. After private instruction, he took up the study of medicine, languages, and history at Göttingen. Although baptized in the Roman Catholic Church, he was indifferent toward all confessions and without religious convictions. When twenty years old he passed his medical examination at Würzburg. To complete his studies he went to Paris, where he enjoyed the friendship of Humboldt, Cuvier, Benjamin Constant, Lafayette, and others. In the course of time he became dissatisfied with the medical profession. Personal experiences and contact with many famous men changed his religious and social views and brought him nearer to Christianity. In 1828 he became teacher in the business school of Bremen. In 1833 he was appointed professor of modern philology at Rostock, in 1836 at Marburg. A call to Berlin in 1843 developed the ideals of politics and social reform to which his nature inclined him.

On account of his views regarding Church and politics Huber was received coldly, and as a teacher he was not very successful; so he was thrown chiefly upon writing. In 1845 he edited a periodical called *Janus, Jahrbücher deutscher Gesinnung, Bildung und That*, but with little success. Moreover, the year 1848 made him lose his faith in a regeneration of monarchy, and he was never reconciled with the idea of constitutional government. The cardinal points of his program were association and colonization. The working classes should be organized according to their occupations upon the material basis of a common property which was to be newly produced by them and upon the religious and moral foundations which Christian education offers according to the needs and customs of each class of people. If a certain locality possessed more people than it could support, he proposed a scheme of colonization by transplanting the surplus into another locality. In their efforts to redeem themselves the laboring classes should be assisted by the ruling classes. Huber's efforts at practical realization of his ideas in Berlin were met by indolence and indifference on the part both of the conservative party and of the laboring classes, and church people did not see any importance in his scheme for the building up of congregations. Isolated from all his friends, Huber left Berlin in 1851 and settled at Wernigerode, where he tried his ideals on a smaller scale, but also without success. His most prominent works are *Reisebriefe* (2 vols., Hamburg, 1865); *Sociale Fragen*

(7 parts, Nordhausen, 1863–69); and *Konkordia*, a periodical appearing at irregular intervals. A volume of *Ausgewählte Schriften*, ed. K. Munding, with biographical sketch, appeared at Berlin in 1894.
(Theodor Schäfer.)

Bibliography: R. Elvers, *Victor Aimé Huber*, 2 vols., Bremen, 1872–74; E. Jäger, *Victor Aimé Huber*, Berlin, 1880; *ADB*, xiii. 249.

HUBERINUS (HUBER), CASPAR: Writer of devotional books in the time of the Reformation; b., according to tradition, at Wilspach (a place otherwise unknown), Bavaria, Dec. 21, 1500; d. at Oehringen (33 m. n.e. of Stuttgart) Oct. 6, 1553. It is said that he became a monk, and at the beginning of the Reformation escaped from the monastery. In 1522 he was matriculated in Wittenberg and spent some years there. From about 1525 he appears in Augsburg, apparently as an assistant to Urbanus Rhegius (q.v.). His special gifts lay in the direction of devotional literature. When the Evangelical preachers had to leave Augsburg in 1530 Huberinus remained. As almost the only theological representative of Lutheranism, he labored in intimate union with a small circle in the interest of the Lutheran views, attacking especially the Zwinglians. As the Evangelical party of Augsburg was threatened with isolation by its attacks on the Romanists, the city felt the necessity of resuming negotiations with Wittenberg, and in 1535 sent Huberinus thither as mediator. As a consequence, Johann Forster, a strict Lutheran, was called to Augsburg, and the way was prepared for the Wittenberg Concord. For the strengthening of Lutheranism, Huberinus accepted an official position as assistant preacher to Wolfgang Musculus(q.v.). In 1544 he left Augsburg and followed a call as preacher to Oehringen. He surprised the friends of strict Lutheranism by accepting the Interim. In 1551 he was called back to Augsburg to introduce the Interim there, but after a few months was expelled from the city, with other advocates of the Interim, and returned to Oehringen. He wrote *Ein tröstlich Sermon von der Urstendt Christi den Schwachen im Glauben nützlich zu lesen* (Wittenberg, 1525); *Trost aus der Schrifft für eynen, der jnn angst vnd nott zu Gott vmb Hilffe schreiet* (1525); *Vom Zorn und der Güte Gottes*, with a commendatory preface by Luther (1529). Against Schwenckfeld and the Anabaptists in Augsburg he published *Etlich Schluszrede vom gnadenbundt Christi, das ist vom Tauff vnd vom Kinderglauben* (1529) and *Siebenzig Schluss rede odder Puncte von der Rechten handt Gottes vnd der gewalt Christi* (1530; often reprinted). In his official activity as assistant of Musculus he wrote *Vom wahren Erkenntnis Gottes* (1537), containing the principal contents of his instructions for young people; *Das Streitbüchlein* (1541); *Katechismus mit vielen schönen Sprüchen* (1543); *Der kleine Katechismus* (1544), an epitome of the preceding; *Viertzig kurze Predigten über den Katechismus für die Hausväter* (1550?, edited in Latin by Johann Lonicer, 1554). He also wrote a commentary on Jesus Sirach (Nuremberg, 1553). His devotional writings were long popular and were reprinted as late as the eighteenth century. (T. Kolde.)

Bibliography: J. C. Wibel, in *Fortgesetzte nützliche Anmerkungen*, pp. 16, 18, Weimar, 1738 sqq.; idem, *Hohenlohische Kirchen- und Reformationshistorie*, Onolzbach, 1752 sqq.; H. Beck, *Die Erbauungslitteratur der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands*, pp. 171 sqq., Erlangen, 1883.

HUBERT, KONRAD: Friend and assistant of the Strasburg Reformer Butzer; b. at Bergzabern (8 m. s.w. of Landau) 1507; d. in Basel Apr. 23, 1577. He was the son of an artisan, and at twelve years old went to the Heidelberg school. In 1526 he was in Basel, where he became convinced of Evangelical truth. Œcolampadius, shortly before his death in 1531, recommended the young man to Butzer, whose assistant he became in Strasburg, not only in the ministry, but also in his literary work. After Butzer left Strasburg (1549) evil times came for Hubert. The Lutheran theologians, with Marbach at their head, gradually deprived him of his offices (1562–75), and he finally retired altogether from public life. In 1572 he edited the Strasburg hymn-book and composed some hymns. His last years were spent upon an edition of Butzer's works. Grindal, archbishop of Canterbury, was active in procuring him such as were written in England. But unfavorable circumstances delayed the work; of the proposed ten volumes only one was published, which contained especially the writings published in England but unknown in Germany, and is therefore known as "Tomus Anglicanus" (Basel, 1577). Paul Grünberg.

Bibliography: W. Röhrich, *Mittheilungen aus der Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche des Elsasses*, iii. 245–274, Strasburg, 1855; J. W. Baum, *Capito und Butzer*, pp. 586–589, Elberfeld, 1860; F. W. Cullmann, *Ehrengedächtnis Konrad Huberts*, Strasburg, 1862; *ADB*, xiii. 261–263.

HUC, üc, ÉVARISTE RÉGIS: French Roman Catholic missionary; b. at Toulouse Aug. 1, 1813; d. in Paris Mar. 31, 1860. He studied at Toulouse, joined the Congregation of St. Lazarus at Paris, and went to China as a missionary in 1839. After working in the southern provinces for a time, he proceeded to Peking, and eventually settled in the Valley of Black Waters, or He Shuy, to the north of Peking and just beyond the Great Wall. Late in 1844, accompanied by Joseph Gabet and a Tibetan convert, he set out upon his remarkable journey of exploration through Tibet. He reached Lhasa Jan. 29, 1846, and was in a fair way to establish an important mission there when the Chinese ambassador interfered and had Huc and Gabet conducted back to China. Broken in health, he returned to Europe in 1852. Huc was the author of three works that have justly enjoyed great popularity: *Souvenirs d'un voyage dans la Tartarie, le Thibet et la Chine* (2 vols., Paris, 1850; Eng. transl., *Travels in Tartary, Thibet, and China during . . . 1844–46*, 2 vols., London, 1851); *L'Empire chinois* (2 vols., Paris, 1854; Eng. transl., *The Chinese Empire*, London, 2 vols., 1855), which was crowned by the Academy; and *Le Christianisme en Chine en Tartarie et au Thibet* (4 vols., Paris, 1857–58; Eng. transl., *Christianity in China, Tartary, and Thibet*, 3 vols., London, 1857–58), which contains much valuable historical information. On account of the strangeness of the things described in the *Souvenirs* Huc was accused of fabrication; but the credibility of his account has been fully established by later researches.

HUCBALD OF ST. AMAND: Flemish Benedictine; b. about the middle of the ninth century; d. at St. Amand (6 m. n.n.w. of Valenciennes) June 20, 930. He studied at St. Amand under his famous uncle, Milo, and at St. Germain d'Auxerre under Heiric. He succeeded Milo as head of the monastery school, apparently before his uncle's death (872), but the fame of his learning brought him a call to St. Bertin, and, about 893, to Reims, where, at the request of Archbishop Fulco, he and his fellow pupil Remigius revived the school in that city. On the death of Fulco, however, Hucbald returned to St. Amand, where he spent the remainder of his life. He was the author of various legends of the saints, among which the lives of Rictrud and Lebuin are of historical value. Of his verse, only two short hymns have been preserved, together with two poems addressed to Charles the Bald, one of them a eulogy of baldness in 136 hexameters, exclusively composed of words beginning with *c*. Hucbald is an important figure in the history of music, since the beginning of the musical notation and the use of the staff may be traced to him; although Müller, who allows him only the authorship of the *De harmonica institutione*, refers the beginning of choral music and the new musical notation by means of letters to another Hucbald, about a century earlier, to whom he ascribes the *De musica enchiriadis*.

(R. Schmid.)

Bibliography: His poems are in *MPL*, cxxxii.; in J. A. Giles, *Anecdota Bedæ, Lanfranci et aliorum*, London, 1844, and were published at Paris, 1853; consult also E. de Coussemaker, *Mémoire sur Hucbald moine de St. Amand et sur ses traités de musique*, Douai, 1841 (best; but very rare); G. Nisard, *Hucbald*, Paris, 1867; *Histoire littéraire de la France*, vi. 210–211; H. Müller, *Hucbalds echte und unechte Schriften über Musik*, Leipsic, 1884; Wattenbach, *DGQ*, i (1885), 125, 232, 282, 350, 352, 376, i (1893), 301, 407, 408, ii. 515; Ceillier, *Auteurs sacrés*, xii. 799–803; *KL*, vi. 333–334; Moeller, *Christian Church*, ii. 208, 213.

HUEBMAIER (HUBMAIER, HIEBMAIER, HUEBMOER, HUBMOER), hüb'mai-er, BALTHASAR: German Anabaptist; b. at Friedberg (4m. e.s.e. of Augsburg) after 1580; d. at Vienna Mar. 10, 1528. In 1503 he began the study of philosophy and theology at the University of Freiburg, where Eck, the future opponent of Luther, was one of his instructors. In 1512 he removed to Ingolstadt, where he received a pastorate and the professorship of theology at the university. In 1516 he went to Regensburg as preacher at the cathedral, and in 1521 accepted a call to Waldshut, a town of Lower Austria, which, because of its situation and the peculiar character of its inhabitants, was well adapted for the development of liberal ideas. In Mar., 1523, he made open profession of the Reformed faith, visited Zurich and St. Gall, and entered into communication with Zwingli, Vadian, and Œcolampadius. He attended the Second Zurich Conference (Oct. 26–28, 1523) as a supporter of Zwingli. In the beginning of 1524 he published his *Schlussreden*, directed against the mass, image-worship, fasting, pilgrimages, purgatory, and celibacy. At Pentecost, 1524, Waldshut embraced the Evangelical faith and entered into an agreement for the defense of Hübmaier, whose course had aroused the bitter hostility of the government of Lower Austria. When the latter made a show of force Hübmaier sought refuge for a time at Schaffhausen, but, returning in Oct., 1524, he became the director of the religious and political policy of the town.

Early Life

About this time he showed a tendency to depart from the tenets of Zwinglianism and to adopt Anabaptist doctrines. Very soon Waldshut became the center of religious, social, and political ferment. Its bold attitude toward the Austrian power had drawn the attention of Germany; it was regarded as one of the citadels of the new faith, and its leading citizen as a leading champion of Evangelical faith. Probably at this time he fell under the influence of Thomas Münzer; and he certainly was in communication with the Zurich radicals Grebel, Manz, and Reublin, who were preaching adult baptism. Hübmaier embraced ardently the doctrine of the Swiss leaders and became convinced that adult baptism and the Lord's Supper were the only Chrisitan sacraments. Meanwhile the Anabaptist community had been established in Zurich, but its members were forced to flee, and Reublin, among others, sought refuge at Waldshut. At Easter, 1525, Hübmaier was baptized by Reublin, and his example was followed by a large number of the citizens, after which a radical change in the form of public worship ensued. In a controversy with Zwingli, which soon broke out, the Waldshut preacher issued two works, *Von dem christlichen Tauf der Gläubigen* and *Ein Gespräch von dem Kindertauf*, both published in 1526. The essence of baptism, he maintained, is the expression of personal faith and of the obligation which that faith imposes. He rejected the arguments deduced from the New Testament in favor of infant baptism, and argued that the practise is actually forbidden inasmuch as it falls under Matt. xv. 13, which prohibits idolatry. On the other hand, the baptism that proceeds from conscious and acknowledged faith is the necessary condition for the existence of a Christian community.

Becomes an Anabaptist.

Waldshut was soon brought into close relations with the participants in the peasants' uprising. Hübmaier's attitude toward the revolt has been variously estimated. While he undoubtedly had some part in the insurrection, the initial participation therein by Waldshut took place in Hübmaier's absence, and it is quite clear that he did not advocate deposition of the authorities and selection of new governmental officials. In Apr., 1525, a closer union was concluded between the peasants and the citizens of Waldshut, and the latter supplied aid to the rebels. As a result, after the defeat of the rebel bands, the town was occupied by the troops of the government in December, and in the same month under the auspices of Johann Faber the Roman Catholic religion was reintroduced. Hübmaier fled to Zurich, where he was arrested, and, from fear of being delivered to the Austrian authorities, consented [under torture] to abjure his views. This he did on Apr. 6, 1525, but, going to Constance, he repudiated the act as having been done under compulsion. This moved Zwingli to characterize him as a man actuated solely by a de-

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sire for notoriety and gain. [Zwingli's participation in the torture of Hübmaier and his cynical remarks about the recantation are blots on his reputation. He wrote to a friend that Hübmaier had changed not his mind but his nerve. A. H. N.]

In July, 1526, Hübmaier came to Nikolsburg in Moravia, where, having gained the protection of Martin Göschl, he transformed the incipient Lutheran congregation into an Anabaptist community, converting the ministers Oswald Glait and Hans Spittelmayer, and Von Lichtenstein himself. From all directions the Anabaptists flocked to Moravia, and Nikolsburg became for a time the center of the movement. Hübmaier there entered on the most active period of his literary career. Besides a number of tracts directed against Zwingli and Œcolampadius, he published *12 Artikel des christlichen Glaubens*, in which he based true belief on the Lord's Supper and baptism; *Ein einfältiger Unterricht* and *Eine Form des Nachtmals Christi* have to do with the Lord's Supper; his tracts *Von der brüderlichen Strafe* and *Vom christlichen Bann* deal with communal discipline; while *Vom Schwert* treats of the relations of Christians to established authority which he supported. He wrote also on the freedom of the soul, maintaining that thesis against the Reformed theologians. The Anabaptist movement spread from Moravia into the Tyrol, Salzburg, and the two Austrias, and as a consequence systematic persecution began. In 1527 Hübmaier's surrender was demanded and granted. He was taken to Vienna, where he attempted to make his peace by offering broad concessions based on opposition to Luther and Zwingli; but on the questions of the Lord's Supper and baptism he refused to yield, and on Mar. 10 he was burned. His place is undeniably in the front rank of German Anabaptists, along with Denk, Haetzer, and Hut. He differs from the last in his higher theological gifts, and from the first in his freedom from mystical elements. He represents the simple, conservative Anabaptist doctrine which grounded itself on the Scriptures.

Activity in Moravia.

(A. Hegler†.) K. Holl.

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HUELS, PETER: German Roman Catholic; b. at Millingen Oct. 7, 1850. He was educated at the University of Münster from 1872 to 1876, and after being private tutor to Prince Radolin (1876–81), was cathedral preacher at Münster (1881–94). In 1894 he was appointed a member of the cathedral chapter, and since 1901 has been professor of pastoral theology and liturgics at the University of Münster. He has written *Betstunden zur Verehrung des Altarssakramentes* (Münster, 1891); *Das Vaterunser* (a collection of sermons; 1893); and *Gott meine Hilfe* (1898).

HUELSEMANN, JOHANN: One of the most prominent literary opponents of Calixtus: b. at Esens (65 m. n.w. of Bremen), Hanover, Dec. 4, 1602 (o.s.); d. at Leipsic June 13, 1661. He was educated at Norden, Stade, and Hanover. Before he had reached the age of eighteen, he went to the University of Rostock, and two years later to Wittenberg. In 1627 he removed to Leipsic, where he was permitted to lecture. In 1629 he was appointed professor at Wittenberg, where he achieved an authoritative position. In 1630 he was sent to Leipsic as a delegate to a convention in behalf of the Augsburg Confession, and in 1645 he took a leading position at the colloquy in Thorn.

So far Hülsemann had leaned toward the Reformed teachings, although he did not openly confess them; but now, swept along by Calovius, who had become his opponent, he denied all his former conduct and advanced the orthodox cause by becoming one of the most prominent adversaries of Calixtus. To clear his dubious position from the justified suspicions of the Lutheran theologians he wrote his *Calvinismus irreconciliabilis* (Wittenberg, 1644) as the counterpart of Bishop Joseph Hall's *Roma irreconciliabilis*, but the appendix entitled *Quæ dogmata sint ad salutem creditu necessaria* shows how little he liked the new position which was forced upon him. In this appendix he is conciliatory again in regard to the Lord's Supper and the personal union. As the influence of Calovius increased, the author denied this appendix in later years and wished to have it considered an immature writing of his youth. His final rupture with Calixtus makes a still more unfavorable impression. Hülsemann was the friend of Calixtus, but after the disputation at Thorn he was forced to become his opponent. Calixtus had defended himself against the Wittenberg faculty by denying its sole authority and normative rule and by revealing some errors in their writings, among them in one of Hülsemann's books. Immediately the latter attacked his opponent, not only with the honest weapons of literary warfare, but by bringing down upon him an official denunciation.

Hülsemann's principal works are his *Breviarium theologiæ* (Wittenberg, 1640; enlarged with title, *Extensio breviarii theologiæ*, Leipsic, 1655); *Muster und Ausbund guter Werke* (1650); *Dialysis apologetica problematis Calixtini* (1651); and *Der Calixtinische Gewissenswurm* (1653). (F. Bosse.)

Bibliography: A. Tholuck, *Der Geist der lutherischen Theologen Wittenbergs*, p. 164, Hamburg, 1852; J. F. Erdmann, *Lebensbeschreibungen der wittenbergischen Professoren*, Wittenberg, 1804; W. Gass, *Geschichte der protestantischen Dogmatik*, i. 318, Berlin, 1854.

HUET, ü″êt′, PIERRE DANIEL: Bishop of Avranches; b. at Caen, France, Feb. 8, 1630; d. at Paris Jan. 26, 1721. He was educated in the college of the Jesuits in his native city. In 1670, with Bossuet, he was made teacher of the dauphin; in 1674 he was received among the forty of the French

Academy; two years later he was ordained priest. In 1678 the king granted him the Cistercian abbey of Auray, near Caen. In 1685 he was elected bishop of Soissons, but before papal confirmation was received he exchanged the office (1689) for that of Avranches, being consecrated bishop in 1692. He now devoted himself to the restoration of church discipline in his diocese. In 1699 he resigned his bishopric and removed to the abbey of Fontenay, near Caen. In 1701 he retired to Paris.

Huet's great literary work was his edition of Origen (2 vols., Rouen, 1668), the product of fifteen years' labor, and the first complete collection of Origen's commentaries, with Latin translation. It was preceded by an introduction, *Origeniana*, discussing the life, writings, and system of the Church Father. In *Demonstratio evangelica ad serenissimum Delphinum* (Paris, 1679), he tried to prove the truth of the Christian religion; the book made a sensation, and led Samuel Pufendorf to expect the reunion of the Roman and Protestant communions. In *Censura philosophiæ Cartesianæ* (1689) and *Alnetanæ quæstiones de concordia rationis et fidei libri tres* (Caen, 1690), Huet criticized Descartes. He also wrote *De la situation du Paradis terrestre* (Paris, 1691; Eng. transl., *A Treatise of the Situation of Paradise*, London, 1694); *De navigationibus Salomonis* (Amsterdam, 1693); *Histoire du commerce et de la navigation des anciens* (Paris, 1716; Eng. transl., *History of the Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients*, London, 1717); as well as poems and other works, historical, geographical, philosophical, and literary. His autobiography, *P. D. Huetii . . . commentarius de rebus ad eum pertinentibus* (Amsterdam, 1718), was translated into English, *Memoirs of the Life of Pierre Daniel Huet*, with notes by J. Aiken (2 vols., London, 1810). His literary remains were published by J. T. d'Olivet under the title *Huetiana* (Paris, 1722).

(C. Pfender.)

Bibliography: Besides the autobiography, ut sup., consult: C. Bartholmess, *Huet, . . . ou le scepticisme théologique*, Paris, 1849; F. A. de Gournay, *Huet, . . . sa vie et ses œuvres*, ib. 1854; J. B. M. Flottes, *Étude sur Daniel Huet*, ib. 1857; K. S. Barach, *Pierre Dan. Huet als Philosoph*, Leipsic, 1862; C. Trochon, in *Correspondant*, Dec., 1876, Mar., 1877 (uses new sources).

HUG, JOHANN LEONHARD: Roman Catholic Biblical scholar; b. at Constance June 1, 1765; d. at Freiburg, in Breisgau, Mar. 11, 1846. After a brilliant career in the University of Freiburg he became (1787) superintendent of studies in the priests' seminary connected with the university, and in 1791 professor of Oriental languages and of the Old Testament, in 1792 of the New Testament. The remainder of his life was spent in the service of the university. Hug's chief work was in the field of Biblical criticism and isagogics. He furnished contributions of lasting value to the conception of New Testament isagogics as a historical science and to the careful division of its different spheres according to the requirements of historical criticism. In spite of his critical attitude and unprejudiced, fearless spirit of investigation, his results bear a thoroughly positive and essentially conservative character. His chief work is his *Einleitung in die Schriften des neuen Testaments* (2 vols., Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1808; later eds., 1821, 1826, 1847; Eng. transl., *An Introduction to the Writings of the New Testament*, by D. G. Wait, London, 1827, and by David Fosdick, Jr., with notes by Moses Stuart, Andover, 1836). Of other theological works may be mentioned *Die mosaische Geschichte des Menschen* (Frankfort, 1793); *De antiquitate codicis Vaticani commentatio* (Freiburg, 1810); *Das hohe Lied in einer noch unversuchten Deutung* (1813); and *Schutzschrift für seine Deutung des Hohenliedes und desselben weitere Erklärung* (1815); *De conjugii christiani vinculo indissolubili commentatio exegetica* (1816); and *De Pentateuchi versione Alexandrina commentatio* (1818).

(O. Zöcklert.)

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HUGH, SAINT: The name of two English saints, both connected with the city of Lincoln.

1. Bishop of Lincoln; b. at Avalon (26 m. s.e. of Auxerre), Burgundy, c. 1135; d. in London Nov. 16, 1200. At the age of eight, with his father, he entered a priory of regular canons at Villarbenoit. Here he received his education in company with other children of noble birth. He was ordained deacon about 1155 and appointed to the mission chapel of St. Maximin about 1159. Shortly after 1160 he entered the monastery of the Grande Chartreuse and became procurator in 1170. At the request of Henry II. of England he went to England about 1175 to take charge of a Carthusian monastery at Witham, Somersetshire. He became bishop of Lincoln in 1186, and took up his residence at Stow, about twelve miles from Lincoln. Hugh showed no slight moral courage. He never suffered encroachment upon his rights, fearlessly opposed the demands of Henry, Richard, and John, and won their admiration by his unflinching steadfastness. He was much esteemed in life, and after his death his tomb in the cathedral at Lincoln at once became a place of pilgrimage. He was canonized in 1220.

2. An alleged victim of ritual murder by the Jews, called "Little Hugh"; b. at Lincoln c. 1246; d. there 1255. The body of the boy, who had been missing for a month, was found Aug. 28, 1255, in a well on the premises of a Jew named Copin, and the Jews of Lincoln were at once accused of having crucified the child. There was no evidence to support the charge; but such accusations were common as a means of extorting money from the Jews. A "confession" having been forced from Copin, he and eighteen others were executed and their property confiscated. Ninety-one other Jews were condemned to death, but were released in consideration of a large ransom paid to Richard, earl of Cromwell. The body of young Hugh was buried in great state in the cathedral at Lincoln, and a shrine was erected over his tomb. The martyrdom of Hugh has furnished the theme of various French, English, and Scottish ballads. Chaucer refers to it in his *Prioress' Tale*, and Marlowe in his *Jew of Malta*.

Bibliography: 1. The early anonymous *Vita* is in *MPL*, cliii., also ed. J. F. Dimock, London, 1864; the same editor issued another *Vita* by Giraldus Cambrensis, ib. 1877, and also a *Vita metrica*, Lincoln, 1860; cf. T. D. Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue*, ii. 542–550, nos. 711–724, in *Rolls*

Series, no. 26, London, 1865. Other early material is in Roger de Hoveden, *Chronica*, ed. W. Stubbs, no. 51 of *Rolls Series*, London, 1868–71. Consult: G. G. Perry, *The Life of St. Hugh of Avalon*, ib. 1879; P. Piolin, *Voyage de S. Hugues . . . en l'année 1199*, Angers, 1890; C. Bellet, *S. Hugues d'Avalon*, Grenoble, 1891; W. R. W. Stephens, *The English Church 1066–1272*, pp. 187–188 et passim, London, 1901; *DNB*, xxviii. 165–167; H. Thurston, *Life of St. Hugh of Lincoln*, London, 1898; C. L. Marson, *Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln*, London, 1901.

2. Matthew of Paris, *Chronica*, ed. H. R. Luard, no. 57 in *Rolls Series*, v. 516–519, 546, 552, 7 vols., London, 1872–84; *Annales Burtonienses*, ed. H. R. Luard, no. 36 in *Rolls Series*, i. 340–341, 348, 371, ib. 1864; and *Annales . . . de Waverlaia*, in the same no., ii. 346, ib. 1865; *ASB*, July, vi. 494–495.

HUGHES, EDWIN HOLT: Methodist Episcopal bishop; b. at Moundsville, W. Va., Dec. 7, 1866. He was educated at Ohio Wesleyan University (B.A., 1889) and the theological department of Boston University (S.T.B., 1892), and after being pastor of churches of his denomination at Newton Centre, Mass. (1892–96), and at Malden, Mass. (1896–1903), was president of De Pauw University, Greencastle, Ind., until 1908, when he was elected bishop, with his residence at San Francisco. In theology he terms himself "moderate-progressive," and has written *Letters on Evangelism* (Cincinnati, 1906).

HUGHES, HUGH PRICE: English Wesleyan; b. at Carmarthen, Wales, 1847; d. in London Nov. 17, 1902. He studied at University College, London (B.A., 1869), and at the Wesleyan Theological College, Richmond. He was pastor at Dover, 1869–72; at Brighton, 1872–75; at Stoke-Newington, London, 1875–78; at Mostyn Road, London, 1878–1881; at Oxford, 1881–84; and at Brixton Hill, London, 1884–87. In 1887 he was made superintendent of the West London Mission, and carried the enterprise on with increasing success up to the time of his death, the three-year rule being suspended in his case by the Wesleyan Conference. On Sundays he preached to large congregations at St. James's Hall, the public center of the mission, and was recognized as one of the most popular preachers and platform speakers in England. For twenty years he was prominent in every important religious or semi-religious controversy. He was a leader of the Forward Movement aiming at social as well as individual salvation, and carried on with far-reaching effect crusades against drinking, gambling, music-hall indecencies, and the inefficient state regulation of vice. From the beginning he was a leading spirit in the movement for the federation of the non-conformist churches, and became president of the National Council of Evangelical Free Churches. He was president of the Wesleyan Conference in 1898–99, and for fifteen years was editor of the *Methodist Times*, the organ of the more advanced Methodists. He published *The Atheist Shoemaker* (London, 1889); *The Philanthropy of God* (1890); *Social Christianity* (1890); *Ethical Christianity* (1892); *Essential Christianity* (1894); and *Morning Lands of History: A Visit to Greece, Palestine, and Egypt* (1901).

Bibliography: A *Life* was written by his daughter, London, 1904; by J. G. Mantle, ib. 1901; and by A. Walters, ib. 1907. Consult also: *Hugh Price Hughes as we knew him, by the Dean of Westminster and others*, ib. 1902.

HUGHES, JOHN: First archbishop of New York; b. at Annaloghan, County Tyrone, Ireland, June 24, 1797; d. in New York Jan. 3, 1864. He came to America in 1817, and entered the Mount St. Mary's Catholic College at Emmittsburg, Md., in 1820. In 1826 he was ordained priest, and settled over a parish in Philadelphia, where he remained until 1837, when he was appointed coadjutor-bishop of New York. Soon after his consecration in 1838 he assumed the virtual administration of the diocese, and on the death of Bishop Dubois in 1842 he succeeded to the bishopric. In 1850, when the see of New York was made an archbishopric, he went to Rome to receive the pallium at the hands of the pope. In 1847 he delivered before both houses of Congress, and at their request, a discourse upon *Christianity, the only Source of Moral, Social, and Political Regeneration* (New York, 1848). On Aug. 5, 1855, he laid the corner-stone of St. Patrick's Cathedral, the high altar of which was dedicated May 25, 1879. In Nov., 1861, with Mr. Thurlow Weed, he made a semiofficial journey to Europe, at the request of Secretary Seward, to secure the friendly neutrality of European nations, especially of France.

Archbishop Hughes played a more prominent part in America than any other Roman Catholic of his day and enjoyed much respect and popularity. He was, however, a determined Romanist, and took the Roman Catholic view of the public-school system. He was ever ready to defend himself and his Church. He had memorable controversies with John Breckinridge, Nicholas Murray, and Erastus Brooks, editor of the *New York Express*. One of his acts as bishop was to remove the lay trustees of church property, and to secure the titles in his own name. In this way he stopped litigation, which had brought Romanists into disrepute. He also established (1841) St. John's College, Fordham, N. Y. His *Complete Works*, consisting of occasional sermons and controversial writings, were edited by L. Kehoe (2 vols., New York, 1864–65).

Bibliography: J. R. G. Hassard, *Life, Correspondence and Writings of Archbishop Hughes*, New York, 1866; J. G. Shea, *Archbishop J. Hughes*, Boston, 1889; T. O'Gorman, *American Church History Series*, ix. 374–375 et passim, New York, 1895.

HUGHES, JOSEPH: English Baptist; b. in London Jan. 1, 1769; d. there Oct. 12, 1833. He studied at Bristol College and at the University of Aberdeen (M.A., 1790), became classical tutor at Bristol College in 1791, assistant minister at Broadmead Chapel, Bristol, in 1792, and pastor of the Baptist Chapel at Battersea, London, in 1797. He was secretary of the Religious Tract Society and of the British and Foreign Bible Society from their organization till his death. His writings include several sermons and the celebrated paper, *The Excellence of the Holy Scriptures* (London, 1803).

Bibliography: J. Leifchild, *Memoir of Joseph Hughes*, London, 1835.

HUGHES, JOSHUA PRITCHARD: Church of England, bishop of Llandaff; b. at Llandovery (24 m. e.n.e. of Carmarthen), Carmarthenshire, Wales, Feb. 13, 1847. He was educated at Balliol College, Oxford (B.A., 1870), and was ordered deacon in 1871 and ordained priest in the following year. He

was curate of Neath, Glamorganshire (1872–77), and vicar of Newcastle, Bridgend, Glamorganshire (1877–84), and of Llantrisant, Glamorganshire (1884–1905), in addition to being chaplain to the bishop of Llandaff from 1900 to 1905. In 1905 he was consecrated bishop of Llandaff.

HUGHES, THOMAS PATRICK: Protestant Episcopalian; b. at Henley (near Ludlow, 9 m. w. of Wariwck), Shropshire, England, Mar. 26, 1838. He was educated at Ludlow School, Islington College, and Cambridge University, but did not take a degree. He was ordained priest in 1864, and after being assistant at St. Silas, Islington, London, for a few months in the same year, went to India in 1865. From that year until 1885 he was a missionary of the Church Missionary Society and acting chaplain to the British troops at Peshawar, Afghanistan. He was also president of the Board of Examiners in the Afghan Language from 1875 to 1885, founder and editor of *The Church Quarterly* in 1882, and associate editor of *The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, in 1883. In 1885 he left India for the United States, and was successively rector of St. Savior's, Lebanon Springs, N. Y. (1885–88), assistant rector of All Souls', New York City (1888), rector of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, New York City (1889–1902), and associate rector of the Church of the Epiphany, New York City (1902–03). Since 1905 he has been on the staff of *The New York Globe*. He has written *Poems of Abdur Rahman* (Lahore, 1872); *Kilid-i-Afghani* (1872); *Notes on Mohammedanism* (London, 1875); *Ganj-i-Pukhto* (Lahore, 1882); *Dictionary of Islam* (London, 1885); *Ruhainah, the Maid of Herat* (New York, 1886); *American Ancestry* (5 vols., Albany, N. Y., 1887–90); *Heroic Lives in Foreign Fields* (New York, 1895); and *The Stage from a Clergyman's Standpoint* (1896).

HUGO OF FLEURY (HUGO DE SANCTA MARIA): Historian; d. not before 1118. He first appears as an inmate of the abbey of St. Benedict at Fleury (Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, 20 m. e.s.e. of Orléans), in the diocese of Orléans, a famous home of scholarship and learning. Hugo composed the following historical works: (1) *Historia ecclesiastica*, extant in two editions; the first, in four books, comes down to the death of Charlemagne, and was produced in 1109; after Hugo had become acquainted with the *Chronographia tripertita* of Anastasius Bibliothecarius, he undertook a revised edition, and brought the narrative down to 855; this new edition came out in 1110, and contains six books (in *MPL*, clxiii. 821–854). (2) *Liber qui modernorum regum Francorum continet actus* comprises the time from Charles the Bald (892) to the death of King Philip (1108; *MPL*, clxiii. 873–912). (3) *Historia Francorum brevis*, from Lothair, son of Louis the Pious, to 1108 (*MPL*, clxii. 611–616). Of greater interest than these historical writings, only the second of which has value as a source, is the treatise dedicated to Henry I. of England, *Tractatus de regia potestate et sacerdotali dignitate* (*MGH, Lib. de lite*, ii., 1892, pp. 466–494). The author advocates that the spiritual and the temporal powers shall take joint part in the government of the world, and let both work together peaceably (cf. C. Mirbt, *Die Publizistik im Zeitalter Gregors VII.*, pp. 514–515, Leipsic, 1894). By his *Vita S. Sacerdotis episcopi Lemovicensis* (d. 530; *ASB*, May, ii. 14–22, *MPL*, clxiii. 979–1004), and the continuation of the miracles wrought at Fleury by St. Benedict (*Les Miracles de Saint Benoît*, ed. E. de Certain, Paris, 1858, pp. 357 sqq.) Hugo contributed his portion to ascetic literature. He is reported also to have composed a *commentarius super Psalterium*.

CARL MIRBT.

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HUGO DE SANCTA MARIA. See HUGO OF FLEURY.

HUGO OF ST. CHER (*De Sancto Caro*): Dominican and cardinal; b. toward the end of the twelfth century at St. Cher, a suburb of Vienne; d. at Orvieto Mar. 19, 1263. He entered the Dominican monastery of St. Jacob at Paris in 1224, and was soon promoted. In 1244 Innocent IV. made him cardinal, and under Alexander IV. he was an active member of the Commission of Anagni (*Chartulæ universitatis Parisiensis*, i. 297, 333 sqq., 337 sqq.). Hugo was very active as theological writer, and was one of the first to write a commentary (not yet printed) on Peter Lombard; his *Postilla seu commentariola juxta quadrupliem sensum* on the whole Bible has often been published, though it has no special merit. He is regarded as the author of the oldest Biblical *correctorium*, i.e., a list of more correct readings of the Latin text of the Bible (Prologue in Denifle, pp. 293 sqq.). He wishes to go back to the original text, whereby, of course, two different tasks are confounded: the restoration of the genuine text of the Vulgate, and the restoration of the most correct Latin version. Hugo's principles were adopted by most of the later medieval correctors. Another, still more important, work, whereby he became the founder of a new kind of helps for the study of the Bible, is his *Sacrorum bibliorum concordantiæ*, an alphabetically arranged compilation of the inflected words (substantives, adjectives, and verbs) found in the ecclesiastical translation of the Bible, with all the passages in which they occur. English Dominicans soon enhanced the usefulness of the work by adding the text of the different passages. The uninflected words were also added, and in this form the work was often printed in the sixteenth century. The division into chapters is wrongly attributed to Hugo; it had already been undertaken by Stephen Langton (d. 1228).

S. M. DEUTSCH.

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HUGO OF ST. VICTOR.

Life (§ 1).
Survey of Writings (§ 2).
His Mystical System (§ 3).
The Eruditio didascalica (§ 4).
The Summa and De sacramentis (§ 5).
His Influence (§ 6).

Of the life of Hugo, one of the three most influential theologians of the twelfth century, few details are known. He was born in Saxony or Flanders about 1097, and died at the monastery of St. Victor, in Paris, according to the most reliable authorities, Feb. 11, 1141. The assertion of his epitaph that he was "a Saxon by birth" is supported by the fact that he was educated up to his eighteenth year in the monastery of Hamersleben, near Halberstadt; by an autobiographical note in his *Eruditio didascalica* (iii. 20); and by the later statements of old Saxon chronicles, which make him a scion of the family of the counts of Blankenburg and Regenstein, resident in the Harz Mountains. Impelled probably by his desire for knowledge, about 1115 he undertook a journey to France, accompanied by his uncle, Archdeacon Hugo of Halberstadt. Attracted by the fame of the school attached to the monastery of St. Victor in Paris, he and his uncle both joined the regular canons of St. Augustine there. Under the guidance of Gilduin as abbot, and Thomas, the successor of the famous William of Champeaux, as prior and prefect of studies, he had spent about fifteen years there when his remarkable learning and intellectual power marked him out as the successor of Thomas in the direction of the school; this position he held for about eight years. The importance of his influence is evidenced not only by the production of such brilliant scholars as Adam and Richard of St. Victor (qq.v.), but by the traces of the high consideration he enjoyed among his contemporaries found in the scanty remains of his correspondence. He seems to have left his monastery but seldom, and a delicate constitution rendered it impossible for him to share in all the ascetic exercises prescribed by the statutes of his order.

1. Life.

An accurate chronological arrangement of Hugo's numerous writings, some of which were begun at Hamersleben, can scarcely be attained. The more exclusively mystical treatises, such as the three connected works, *De arca morali*, *De arca mystica*, and *De vanitate mundi*, the commentary on Ecclesiastes, etc., belong to the earlier period; while the great systematic works which show the scholastic and encyclopedic elements of his training in a richer development belong to the latter part of his life. In these, such as the *Eruditio didascalica*, the *De sacramentis fidei*, and the learned commentary on the *Hierarchia cælestis* of Dionysius the Areopagite, the mystical element is rather confined to a definite sphere than allowed to color and dominate the whole; and it is precisely this proportion that has made Hugo's influence so far-reaching in both mystical and scholastic theology. His exegetical writings, belonging to both the earlier and later periods, constitute another division. Dominated by the method of the threefold sense, they are the least original of his works, and have little interest outside of their practical and edifying aspect. To this class belong the short introductory treatise *Prænotatiunculæ de scripturis et scriptoribus sacris;* the commentary on the Pentateuch, based largely on Bede, and specially full on the period before the fall; the similar *Annotationes elucidatoriæ* on Judges and Kings; nineteen homilies on the first four chapters of Ecclesiastes; an allegorical-mystical commentary on the Lamentations; and a more literal one on Joel and Obadiah. Other works of this kind attributed to Hugo are doubtful, such as the *Quæstiones et decisiones in Epistolas D. Pauli*, which Hauréau and Denifle think to have been written by one of his pupils. The authenticity of the *Summa sententiarum*, one of his principal dogmatic works, has recently been attacked by Denifle, but successfully vindicated by Gietl and Kilgenstein, with the exception of the closing section on marriage, which they abandon. Some of the works long current under Hugo's name, but now generally given up, may contain sections of his genuine work. In the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, as well as by Hauréau, painstaking attempts have been made to distinguish these elements, which have resulted in the recovery of valuable bits of Hugo's real work. Among these may be mentioned the *Annotationes elucidatoriæ in quosdam Psalmos* which occur in the generally valueless *Miscellaneorum libri*, and certain parts of the *Allegoriæ in Vetus et Novum Testamentum*. These are not only the *Opusculum de quinque septenis* and the *Explanatio in canticum Mariæ*, but also an *Expositio orationis dominicæ* which joins with an explanation of the seven petitions a warning against the seven deadly sins. Still a subject of controversy is the authenticity of the chronicle ascribed to Hugo in numerous manuscripts, under the title of *Liber de tribus maximis circumstanciis gestorum*, which consists of a summary of the history of the world from Adam to Christ, followed by chronological tables, and then, in two parallel columns of popes and emperors, a synchronism of Christian history down to 1035; a continuation by another hand brings it down to near 1200. It has been defended by Hauréau, but pronounced not to be Hugo's by the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, apparently by Wattenbach, and by Waitz, who gives a critical edition of it (*MGH, Script.*, xxiv. 88–101).

2. Survey of Writings.

Hugo's mystical system is dominated by the thought of a threefold progression in knowledge of divine things. In the introduction to the commentary on Ecclesiastes he distinguishes three stages: *cogitatio*, or conception by means of sensual notions; *meditatio*, or searching into the hidden sense of that which has been thus conceived; and *contemplatio*, or the final free insight into the inwardness of things. To the three organs of perception, the bodily eye, the speculative reason, and the contemplative insight, correspond the three fundamental objects, matter, soul, and God. This Areopagite division of the stages of progress reappears in various portions of his works, sometimes with slight differences, as when the stages of cogitation and meditation are preceded by preliminary steps; before *cogitatio* comes *lectio*, and before *meditatio* prayer and good works (*oratio*, *operatio*).

3. His Mystical System.

Throughout the theoretical is subordinated to the practical, the mystical subjective to the ecclesiastical objective. The pantheizing element of the older mystical tradition is kept out as far as possible; even when he follows the speculations of the pseudo-Dionysius most closely, he still teaches an Areopagitism which is converted into ecclesiastical orthodoxy. Even when he depicts the contemplative union with God under the aspect of complete annihilation of the human self, of the passing of the ego into God, and the like, there is no question of a pantheistic conception.

Hugo's mystical theories take their broadest sweep in the encyclopedic work in which, following Isidore of Seville, the *De universo* of Rabanus Maurus, and the *Imago mundi* of Honorius of Autun, he attempts to give a comprehensive view of the whole of secular and spiritual knowledge.

4. The Eruditio Didascalica.

The first half of the *Eruditio didascalica* offers in three books a survey of the secular or empirical sciences, while the second half, also in three books, forms an introduction to the study of Scripture and church history. What in some editions is appended as a seventh book under the title of *De opere trium dierum* or *De creatione primi hominis* is really a separate mystical treatise on the rise of human intelligence from the consideration of creatures to the Trinity. The first part of the large work divides knowledge into intelligence, or the higher; science, or the lower; and logic, or the formal. The last-named, as a necessary tool, comes first in treatment, divided into the *trivium*—grammar, rhetoric, dialectic. The department of intelligence is divided into theoretical and practical or ethical; of these the former again falls into three divisions, theology, mathematics, and physics, while mathematics is once more subdivided into the branches of the *quadrivium*—arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy; the latter has ethics, economics, and politics for its branches. The domain of science in this sense, also called mechanics, includes the knowledge necessary for trades, professions, and arts. The theological section of the work follows in the main, as to its methodological counsels, the works of Cassiodorus and Isidore, and Jerome for its introduction to Scriptural study, on the importance of which Hugo lays great stress. He seems to include with the Scriptures the Church Fathers, canons, and decretals—at least he applies a great part of what he says about the system and value of Scriptural study to them, although elsewhere (e.g., *De sacramentis*, I., i. 17) he properly subordinates them to the canonical writings.

Hugo's fundamental religious views and doctrinal peculiarities may be seen most clearly in the *De sacramentis christianæ fidei* or in the shorter compendium *Summa sententiarum*, works based principally on Augustine and Gregory the Great, but influenced by Erigena and Abelard.

5. The Summa and De Sacramentis.

To the dialectic and skeptical tendency of the last-named, however, Hugo's own ecclesiastical and dogmatic habit of mind is fundamentally opposed. None the less, he has evidently exercised a stimulating influence, and the treatment in the *Summa* of the Trinity and the Incarnation has decided reminiscences of him. The traditional ecclesiastical teaching is more closely followed in the sections on the creation and fall of the angels and of man, on the sacraments of the old covenant and on the law as the basis of all ethical doctrine, and on the sacraments of baptism, confirmation, communion, and unction.

But the ripest fruit of Hugo's intellectual labors is found in the great work "On the Mysteries of the Christian Faith," the *Sacramenta*, composed about 1140. He lays down at the very beginning his objection to the more skeptical standpoint of Abelard, but agrees with him that the task of theology is to promote understanding of the faith. Its main objects are "not according to reason, but above reason," while all that is either a product of reason alone or contrary to reason is excluded from its province. It consists of two parts, *cognitio*, or the matter of faith, and *affectus*, or the act of faith. It is in this latter or subjective element that the real value of faith lies—the direction of the heart, the apprehension of God by the will. The objects of faith are divided into two classes, works of creation and works of restoration. Starting from the existence of creation, he first considers the Creator in his various attributes, including the triune nature, as to which he is indebted not only to Abelard, but to Anselm. Next he treats the creation and fall of the angels, soberly and without the superfluity of idle questions in which later scholasticism indulged. In the doctrine of the nature and sin of man he shows himself a moderate Augustinian, and defines original sin (as did Melanchthon) as consisting in ignorance and concupiscence. In his doctrine of grace and the law he offers a number of weighty suggestions which were worked out by later scholastics. Thus he divides grace into *gratia creatrix*, the grace of the original condition, to which for the performance of actually good works by unfallen man must be added *gratia apposita* (the *gratia superaddita* of later scholasticism); and *gratia salvatrix*, which is subdivided into *operans* and *cooperans*. Similarly fruitful were his teachings as to the natural and the written law, and the means of grace corresponding to these two stages in human history. Like Anselm in *Cur Deus homo*, he teaches not an absolute necessity for the incarnation, but that it was the method of redemption most suitable and worthy of God. The consideration of the Church as the mystical body of Christ, of the constitution of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, of sacred vestments and the consecration of churches brings him to the doctrine of the sacraments in the narrower sense. He enumerates more than the four of the *Summa*, but without teaching the number seven as definitely as Peter Lombard was to do. After treating as of primary importance baptism with confirmation and the Lord's Supper, he discusses a number of subordinate ceremonies (the use of holy water, blessing of palms and candles, the sign of the cross, the insufflation in exorcism, etc.), and reckons ordination and the blessing of sacred vessels among these minor "sacraments of administration and preparation," which he distinguishes from the necessary "sacraments of salvation"; but then he returns to more important sacraments, relatively if not absolutely necessary,

under which head he treats matrimony, confession and absolution, and unction. In his doctrine of vows and the chapter on virtues and vices he takes an almost Evangelical position. After these valuable ethical sections, whose content is partly repeated in some of his smaller practical ascetic treatises, especially the epistle *De laude caritatis*, he has a relatively short sketch of eschatology, noteworthy for the sober, almost Scriptural, manner in which the invocation of saints is discussed.

6. His Influence.

It is the *Sacramenta* which gives Hugo his basic position in the development of Western theology and makes it possible for Harnack to call him "really the most influential theologian of the twelfth century." If it is asked why later scholasticism nevertheless adopted as the foundation of its system not his *De sacramentis*, but the "Sentences" of Peter Lombard, a work wholly dependent upon it, but far inferior, especially in its doctrine of God and in speculative depth, the answer is to be found in the fact that the very independence, the subjective quality of Hugo's theology, however useful it may have been for the vivid conception of individual truths, was not so well suited to the purposes of a text-book that should give a calm and clear survey of the whole faith as the simple, objective presentation of the Lombard, with its clear definitions, its sharp and easily seen distinctions. None the less, Hugo's importance in the history of religious thought must not be underestimated. Apart from his influence on dogmatic development, he was the most powerful mystical thinker that France had seen since Erigena, and in fact the real founder of the French mystical school of the Middle Ages, since Bernard of Clairvaux is dependent upon him in all the main lines of mystical speculation; and it is not to be wondered at that admiring posterity called him a second Augustine, or that Thomas Aquinas said that his words "were those of a master and had the force of authority." (O. Zöckler†.)

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HUGO THE WHITE (*Candidus, Albus, Blancus*): Cardinal; d. probably soon after 1098. He was one of the Lotharingians drawn to his court by Pope Leo IX., and had been a monk of Remiremont in the diocese of Toul. Leo appointed him cardinal priest about 1049. When, subsequent to the death of Nicholas II. (1061), the schism broke out, Hugo took sides with Bishop Cadalus of Parma (Honorius II.; see Honorius II., Antipope), and even played a decisive part in the latter's elevation. But on submitting to Alexander II. he not only obtained pardon, but was forthwith employed as Roman legate in Spain. Most zealously he devoted himself to this commission, to enforcing priestly celibacy, and to supplanting the Mozarabic liturgy by the ritual of Rome. In 1072 he was legate in France, though only for a short time; he was accused of simony, and the accusation came up for discussion at the Roman lenten synod of Alexander II. in Mar., 1073. However, he does not appear to have been condemned.

Very intimate relations prevailed between Hugo and Hildebrand in 1073. Hugo had done much to promote the election of Gregory VII., and was straightway entrusted by him with an embassy to Spain. Before long, however, the cardinal sided with Gregory's opponents, and thenceforth combated him with implacable enmity. The breach probably occurred as early as 1074. Hugo's excommunication was voted by the Roman lenten synod of 1075. Through Guibert of Ravenna, he now began to affiliate with the newly appointed Archbishop Theobald of Milan, and went as confidential agent of the anti-Gregorian party to Germany, to King Henry IV. At the Council of Worms, Jan. 24, 1076, he exercised an unsalutary influence, and the inconsiderate resolutions of this assembly were primarily due to Hugo. At the Roman lenten synod of 1078 Gregory deprived him of St. Clement's Church, in Rome, degraded him from the priesthood, and anathematized him. Hugo was present at the synod convened by Henry IV. at Brixen (June 25, 1078) among the Italian bishops who formed the majority there, and was the first to subscribe the decree of deposition against Gregory. The former cardinal exerted himself passionately in favor of the antipope, Clement III., and his violent efforts bore fruit at Rome in 1084, when, conjointly with the successes of Henry IV., there occurred the great defection from Gregory VII., wherein no fewer than thirteen cardinals participated.

After the death of Gregory VII. Hugo continued to support Clement III., both under Victor II. (1086–87), and under Urban II. (1088–99). Clement created him bishop of Præneste. Possibly Hugo was vested with this dignity as early as 1089; he certainly was in 1093, and still in 1098.

Carl Mirbt.

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HUGUCCIO, hū-gū'chî-ō **(HUGO OF PISA):** Annotator of the Gratian decretals; b. in Pisa; d. at Ferrara 1210. He studied Roman and canon law at Bologna, where he also taught canon law; in 1190 he was bishop of Ferrara, where he began the work on which his fame rests, the *Summa* to the decretals of Gratian, using the *Compilatio prima* of Bernhard of Pavia.

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HUGUENOTS.

I. Huguenots in France.
Beginnings (§ 1).
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The Netherlands and Switzerland (§ 1).
England and America (§ 2).
Germany and Elsewhere (§ 3).
Influence of Huguenot Refugees (§ 4).

I. Huguenots in France: The term "Huguenots," a party name of uncertain origin, was applied by their opponents to the Protestants of France from Mar., 1560, onward (possibly from *Eidgenossen*, "confederates" or "conspirators"; possibly from *Hugo* in the sense of ghost of the night, from the popular superstition that the spirit of Hugh Capet wanders about at night, in allusion to the nocturnal and secret meetings of the persecuted people). The influence of the radical Evangelicals of the twelfth and following centuries, notwithstanding inquisitorial proceedings against them intended to be exterminating, still persisted in considerable force at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The interest of Francis I. (1515–47) in ecclesiastical matters was political and humanistic. His sister Margaret drew around her a coterie of humanists and religious enthusiasts (see MARGARET OF NAVARRE). Among the humanistic reformers who influenced Margaret, and were influenced by her, were Guillaume Briçonnet and Faber Stapulensis (qq.v.). The last-named anticipated Luther in denying the efficacy of external works and in rejecting transubstantiation (1512). The excommunication of Luther (1520) and his condemnation by the Diet of Worms (1521) was followed by a denunciation of Luther's books by the Sorbonne and an order from the Parliament of Paris for the surrender of Briçonnet and Faber Stapulensis. Briçonnet submitted; Faber Stapulensis, protected by Briçonnet and Margaret, held his ground. Guillaume Farel (q.v.), a zealous young disciple of Faber, soon made his way to Switzerland. Gérard Roussel (q.v.) was, like Faber, obliged to leave the diocese in Oct., 1525. A woolcarder, Jean Leclerc, provoked persecution by tearing down a papal indulgence bull and posting in its place a denunciation of the pope as Antichrist (Dec., 1524). His continued zeal led to his execution at Metz (July, 1525).

1. Beginnings.

The defeat and imprisonment of the king by the emperor (1524–26) left France bleeding and discouraged in the hands of the queen-mother, Louise de Savoie, who attributed the misfortunes of France to the divine displeasure at the toleration of heresy. An inquisitorial commission was established in Mar., 1525. Several of the leaders of the Reformation in Meaux, a town only a dozen miles east of Paris, had to flee for their lives. Having suffered such humiliation at the hands of the emperor, without effective protest on the part of the pope, it was natural that the king should allow his humanistic spirit of tolerance to control for the time his policy, especially as his sister Margaret had entered into correspondence with Protestant nobles and led him to believe that he might retrieve his fortunes by forming an alliance with them against the house of Hapsburg. The Meaux Evangelicals returned to France, and Faber Stapulensis became tutor to the king's son. The fact that two of the French princes were still held by the emperor as hostages to guarantee the treaty on which Francis had been liberated made alliance with the Lutheran princes impracticable. The sending of a Lutheran army by the emperor to capture and sack Rome and to imprison the pope provoked the indignation of French Roman Catholics, who, at an assembly of notables (Dec., 1527), offered to contribute to the exhausted royal exchequer 1,300,000 livres if the king would "uproot and extirpate the damnable and insufferable Lutheran sect." This he rashly promised to do. Cardinal Bourbon caused provincial ecclesiastical councils to be held (1528) at Sens, Bourges, and Lyons for the intensification of anti-Lutheran sentiment. The shocking mutilation of an image of the Virgin Mary with the infant Jesus in her arms by some overzealous Evangelical in a street of Paris precipitated the onslaught on the "Lutherans." Expiatory processions intensified Catholic zeal, while the martyrdom of Louis de Berquin (q.v.) made many friends for the Evangelical cause. The preparation of the Protestants of Germany for armed resistance to the emperor after the rejection of their confession at the Diet of Augsburg (1530) revived the hope of the king for an alliance with the Lutheran princes and with Henry VIII. of England. Persecution ceased; an Evangelical minister was invited to preach in the Louvre; and members of the Sorbonne were banished for accusing Margaret of Navarre of heresy. On Nov. 1, 1533, Nicholas Cop, rector of the University of Paris, delivered an Evangelical address, in the composition of which his young friend John Calvin is thought to have had a part, which created such commotion that both fled precipitately from France. Catholics and Evangelicals alike made large use of strongly worded broadsides, which were printed and posted in public places in Paris and elsewhere.

2. History, 1525–34.

In Oct., 1534, an unusually denunciatory placard was posted throughout the principal streets of Paris entitled "True Articles respecting the horrible, great, and insupportable abuses of the Papal Mass." Pope, clergy, and monks were stigmatized as "false prophets, damnable deceivers, apostates, false shepherds, idolaters, seducers, liars, and execrable blasphemers, murderers of souls, renouncers of Jesus Christ, . . . false witnesses, traitors, thieves, and robbers of the honor of God, and more detestable

3. History, 1534–47.

than devils." A copy of the placard was affixed to the door of the king's bedchamber. The king, infuriated beyond measure, now became a violent persecutor. Margaret interceded in vain. He even went so far as to prohibit (Jan., 1535) any exercise of the art of printing, but when parliament refused to register the decree, its execution was suspended. It was reported that the Protestants had formed a plot on a certain occasion to assassinate Roman Catholics gathered for worship in all the churches. Large numbers were executed, and an expiatory procession aroused Roman Catholic enthusiasm to the highest pitch. At the close of the ceremony Francis declared that if one of his arms were infected with the poison of heresy he would cut it off, and if his own children were contaminated he would immolate them. The remonstrance of Lutheran princes and measures of toleration in the Netherlands may have influenced Francis to discontinue the frightful persecution that followed. He now (Mar., 1535) invited and urged Melanchthon to come to Paris to aid in restoring religious harmony, hoping to further an alliance with the Lutheran princes against the emperor; but the elector peremptorily refused to let Melanchthon go. Appeals for toleration came from Swiss and Lutheran theologians alike. Calvin dedicated his "Institutes" "to the Very Christian King of France," with the hope of allaying his persecuting fury. With the publication of this monumental work and his settlement in Geneva, Calvin soon became the recognized leader of French Protestantism, and Geneva the training-school from which hundreds of ministers returned to France (see Calvin, John; and Geneva). Royal edicts (1538, 1539, 1540, 1542) intensified efforts for the extermination of heresy. The Waldenses of Piedmont had come into close relations with the Swiss Reformers (1532). Francis protected them until 1545, when he ordered their extermination. Twenty of their villages were burned, and nearly 4,000 were massacred, while 700 of the stronger men were sent to the galleys. A considerable number fled to Switzerland. The Calvinists at Meaux were seized at a meeting and many of them executed.

4. Persecutions, 1547–60.

Francis died in Mar., 1547. Henry II., who had married Catherine de Medici, was influenced toward a thoroughgoing policy of extermination by his mistress, Diana of Poitiers, the Constable Montmorency, and the Guises, who had risen to high consideration under Francis. Calvinists were now represented in every part of France except Brittany. Disguised evangelists traversed the country holding secret meetings and distributing literature. At the beginning of his reign Henry II. established a new inquisitorial tribunal, the Chambre Ardente, "the burning chamber." Many executions followed the Edict of Fontainebleau prohibiting the printing and importation of books pertaining to the Scriptures. In Nov., 1549, ecclesiastical judges were given power to deal independently with ordinary cases of heresy. The Edict of Chateaubriand (June, 1551) renewed and fortified the inquisitorial measures; so that the burning of heretics became a matter of almost daily occurrence. Just at this time (1551) Henry joined hands with Maurice of Saxony (q.v.) and Albert of Prussia against the emperor, and assisted in saving German Protestantism from disaster (see Charles V.; and Schmalkald Articles). Congregations had been organized at Meaux (1546) and at Nîmes (1547), but these had been broken up. In 1555, following Calvin's advice and methods, an organizing movement was inaugurated. Paris led. Meaux, Poitiers, Angers, Saintonge, Agen, Bourges, Issoudun, Aubigny, Blois, Tours, Lyons, Orléans, Rouen, and many others quickly followed. By 1560 there were about fifty fully organized churches, besides many unorganized congregations. In May, 1559, the first national synod compiled a confession and a book of discipline. The confession was an adaptation of one prepared by Calvin two years before and addressed apologetically to the king. The book of discipline provided for consistories in the local churches, colloquies of representatives from several consistories, provincial synods, and a national synod. No church was to have a rank above other churches. All ministers must sign the confession and subject themselves to the provisions of the discipline. For some years before the death of Henry II. several of the colleges (Angers, Bourges, Fontenay, La Rochelle, etc.) were accused of encouraging Protestantism. In 1559 a minority of the Parliament of Paris protested against the cruel proceedings of the Chambre Ardente. Four of the boldest members were sent to the Bastile. On the death of Henry II. (July 10, 1559), Francis II. being a minor, the government fell into the hands of the Guises (Charles, cardinal of Lorraine, and Francis, duke of Guise). They compassed the death of the imprisoned members of parliament. The execution of Antoine du Bourg, a man of heroic type, provoked a reaction in favor of the Protestants. The Bourbon princes, Louis de Condé and Antoine de Bourbon, and their many friends among the nobles resented the obtrusive assumption of authority by the Guises. Antoine had married Jeanne d'Albret, daughter of Margaret of Navarre, who was a zealous Evangelical. Neither Antoine nor Louis was deeply religious; but the influence of Jeanne and hostility to the Guises made them willing to put themselves at the head of the persecuted Evangelicals. A fearful popular onslaught on the Evangelicals of Paris led to an appeal to Catherine for protection. As she had become jealous of the Guises, she gave encouragement to the persecuted.

5. Growth of Protestantism, 1560–61.

Under the leadership of La Renaudie, a conspiracy was formed at Amboise for the seizure of the Guises (Feb., 1560). The betrayal of the plot led to a massacre. Under the influence of Gaspard de Coligny (q.v.), soon to become the soldier and statesman of the Huguenots, and the Chancellor Michel de l'Hôpital (see L'Hôpital, Michel de), Catherine undertook to mitigate the persecution. At an assembly of the notables at Fontainebleau (Aug. 21, 1560) Coligny read a petition of the Evangelicals for toleration. He declared that 50,000 signatures could be secured in Normandy alone. Soon afterward another conspiracy was reported in which Antoine and Condé were involved. They were summoned to court and Condé was condemned to death. The

Guises were thought to be preparing for a wholesale massacre. On the death of Francis II. (Dec. 5, 1560) Catherine assumed the regency on behalf of her young son, Charles IX. She associated with her in the regency Antoine de Bourbon, released Louis de Condé, restored to confidence Montmorency, and made L'Hôpital chancellor. The States General assembled on Dec. 13. The Chancellor urged the unification of religion; and Coligny presented a petition of the Evangelicals for toleration. The royal "ordinance of Orléans" (Jan. 28, 1561) suspended persecution. Rash proceedings on the part of the Evangelicals and mob violence on the part of the Catholics intensified the animosity of the parties. Many nobles, had now cast in their lot with the new religion. Vast assemblies, often armed for defense, were held in many places. Coligny, Jeanne d'Albret, and other nobles refused to obey a royal edict (July, 1561) forbidding such assemblies; and at the reassembling of the States General (Aug., 1561), nobles, and third estate demanded toleration and a national council for the settlement of religious difficulties. A suspension of persecution followed; prisoners were released; and fugitives returned. Charles IX. urged the Genevan authorities to withdraw their preachers, and threatened the city. Calvin replied that the city authorities had sent no missionaries and that the work was purely voluntary. Becoming convinced that there was a secret compact between Antoine and Catherine to turn France over to the Huguenots, Montmorency formed a compact with Francis of Guise and St. André (Apr., 1561) to thwart the scheme (Triumvirate). A conspiracy, in which the king of Spain was involved, for the destruction of the Calvinists and all the Bourbons; of Geneva, with the massacre of every inhabitant; and ultimately of Protestantism throughout Europe, was reported to have been formed. Riotous outbreaks led the government to prohibit the use of the terms "Papist" and "Huguenot" and the invasion of homes for interfering with religious meetings, though the Parliament of Paris protested against such recognition of the Huguenots.

6. First and Second Wars, 1562–68.

In pursuance of Catherine's policy of conciliation, the Religious Conference of Poissy (q.v.) was held in Sept., 1561, between the Roman Catholic bishops and representatives of the Evangelicals. A royal edict followed (Jan., 1562) requiring the Evangelicals to surrender all church buildings that they had appropriated, and forbidding Evangelical meetings inside of walled cities, but permitting them in private houses within the towns and anywhere outside the towns. This compromise was regarded as highly satisfactory by Calvin and by the Huguenot leaders. The peace was broken (Mar., 1562) by a bloody attack on a Huguenot congregation at Vassy, a walled town, by order of the duke of Guise, who was passing through. This was followed by similar attacks in many places. At Toulouse 3,000 Evangelicals were treacherously slain. War was soon raging with Montmorency and Guise at the head of the Catholic forces, and Coligny and Condé as leaders of the Evangelicals. Calvin tried to assuage, as he had tried to prevent, the religious war. Guise was shot by a Huguenot (Feb., 1563); Montmorency and Condé had been made prisoners; the marshal Saint-André and Antoine de Bourbon died during the war. Catherine had abandoned her policy of conciliation; yet she desired peace, and the Edict of Amboise (Mar. 18, 1563) embodied the results of negotiations to this end. To nobles and gentry was accorded the right to practise the "religion which they call reformed" in their own houses. In every bailiwick the Evangelicals could on petition secure one suburban meeting-place. In cities where Evangelical worship was already practised one or two places to be designated by the king might be retained. The Huguenots were to enjoy liberty of conscience, but were to restore Catholic property seized by them, and to dismiss all foreign troops. The nobles were to receive back all honors, offices, and dignities possessed before the war. A papal bull outlawing and turning over to the inquisition heretical prelates and nobles, including Cardinal Odet de Coligny (q.v.) and Jeanne d'Albret, called forth an earnest protest from the royal council. The close relations into which Catherine had been drawn with Philip II. of Spain (he had married her daughter in 1559) through the Duke of Alva (Conference of Bayonne, June, 1565) and the many indignities the Evangelicals were suffering led the latter to break the truce and to enter upon the second war. Coligny, Condé, and other leaders became convinced that a massacre was imminent, and decided to take the initiative. The plan, which came near succeeding, was to arrange a general uprising of Huguenots, to drive from court or capture the cardinal of Lorraine, dispel the Swiss guards, the chief instrument of royal tyranny, and take charge of the king. The Constable Montmorency was killed in the battle of St. Denis. Catherine was from the first anxious for peace, and the Huguenots were treacherously led (Condé and Coligny opposing) to agree to a cessation of hostilities (Peace of Longjumeau, 1568). The government proceeded to put large garrisons in Huguenot cities, quartering the soldiers upon families. Even if the government had had the best intentions toward the Huguenots, it would have been impossible fully to protect them, especially when their zeal led them to acts of iconoclasm and to the use of opprobrious language.

7. Third and Fourth Wars, 1563–73.

The organization of zealous Catholics into a "Christian and Royal League" (1568) for the extirpation of Protestantism made the situation still more critical. Papal, Spanish, and Jesuit influences were at work. The government had advanced to Condé and Coligny funds to pay off the German troops. The ruinous demand for immediate repayment was an effort to array the masses against the Evangelicals. The Huguenots were still further embarrassed (Aug. 1568) by a requirement to take an oath of allegiance to the king. For some time the cardinal of Lorraine and Chancellor L'Hôpital had striven for the mastery in the direction of the government. The latter was friendly to the Huguenots; but the cardinal now triumphed. A plot to seize Condé and Coligny was frustrated by their flight to La Rochelle. Seeing

that war was unavoidable, they hastily marshaled their forces. Louis d'Andelot gathered an army in Breton and Normandy; Jeanne d'Albret with her young son, Henry (b. Dec. 13, 1553), rode at the front of the troops of Gascony and Provence. Notwithstanding a crushing defeat at Moncontour, Jeanne and Coligny refused to submit, and by Aug., 1570, they had gained such advantages as to be able to secure in the Edict of St. Germain freedom of conscience throughout France, freedom of worship wherever it had been enjoyed before the war, the holding of La Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and La Charité (strongly fortified towns) as pledges of the good faith of the government, and withdrawal of the king from alliance with Spain. Catherine had set her heart on the marriage of one of her sons with Elizabeth of England, and of her daughter with Henry of Navarre. Charles IX. now began to assert his kingship, and was anxious to assist the Dutch Evangelicals in their struggle with Spain. Coligny became his favorite adviser, and was the recipient of large gifts; and Henry of Navarre married (Aug. 18, 1572) the king's sister, Margaret of Valois. The ascendency of Coligny over the young king imperiled Catherine's influence and the continuance of peace with Spain. The Guises (a new generation) were intensely hostile to Coligny. Catherine resolved on the death of Coligny, and planned the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day (Aug. 24, 1572; see Coligny, Gaspard). Henry of Navarre and Henry of Condé were spared, but compelled to bow before the altar. While most of the leaders had been destroyed, the great mass of the Huguenot membership remained. A fourth war resulted from efforts of the government to capture Sancerre and La Rochelle, still in the hands of the Huguenots. The former town, after enduring the horrors of a long siege, was obliged to surrender; the latter suffered much, but succeeded in driving away the besiegers. The Peace of Boulogne (July, 1573) restricted Evangelical worship to La Rochelle, Nîmes, Montauban, and the houses of the nobles. The Huguenots went on with their preparations for war. Councils at Nîmes and Montauban demanded freedom of worship throughout France, maintenance of Huguenot garrisons by the government, two cities of refuge in each province, condemnation of the massacre and punishment of its perpetrators, and a guaranty of their rights by the Protestant states of Europe. The massacre had called forth a vigorous national party (*Les Politiques*) that was ready to join with the Huguenots in the struggle against the tyranny of the foreigners, Catherine, and the Guises in alliance with Spain and the pope.

8. Further Struggles, 1574–89.

Charles IX. (d. May 30, 1574) was succeeded by his brother, then king of Poland, as Henry III. His younger brother, the duke of Anjou, escaped from the court Sept. 15, 1575, and joined Henry of Condé, who was gathering an army of Huguenots and Politiques (fifth war); Henry of Navarre escaped Feb. 3, 1576. In the following May the king issued the Edict of Beaulieu, which granted freedom of worship in all towns except Paris and places of royal residence, gave to the Huguenots eight fortified cities, disowned all share in the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day and gave the Huguenots representation in the parliaments. Henry III. soon repudiated the peace on the ground that it had been extorted from him, and, with the duke of Guise and Catherine, promoted the formation throughout the country of Catholic leagues. The States General (Dec., 1576) adopted a policy of drastic repression and brought on the sixth war. The Huguenots failed to receive the aid they had hoped for from England and Germany, and suffered heavy losses. The Edict of Poitiers (Sept. 15, 1577) ended the war and materially reduced the privileges of the Huguenots. The conference at Nerac between Catherine and Henry of Navarre, in which the former tried in vain to persuade the latter to give up the cities held by the Huguenots and to take back her daughter, from whom he had been separated for three years, resulted favorably to the Huguenots. Henry III. took Geneva under his protection to prevent its falling into the hands of the duke of Savoy. The conditions of the peace were repeatedly violated by the Huguenots as well as by the government. Henry of Navarre and Henry of Condé arranged for a general uprising of the Huguenots (Apr. 15, 1580). Only a minority of the Huguenots participated in the seventh war. The Peace of Fleix (Dec., 1580) did little more than confirm that which had just been broken. For nearly five years France enjoyed a profound peace. The duke of Anjou, Catherine's youngest son, who had been cooperating with the Huguenots, died June 10, 1584. As Henry III. had no son, Henry of Navarre now became the heir-apparent. Urged to renounce Protestantism and to come to court, he resolutely refused. The League, made up of Catholic nobles supported by the pope and Philip of Spain, and led by Henry of Guise, weary of the dilatory measures of Henry III., and fearful of the succession of Henry of Navarre, published a manifesto (Mar. 30, 1585) in which the government was reprimanded for the toleration of heresy. The king sought to make peace with the League by promising to revoke all edicts of toleration and to banish all who would not embrace the Catholic faith (July, 1585). The pope declared Henry of Navarre incapable of succession.

An eighth war, the "war of the three Henrys" (king, Guise, Navarre), broke out before the close of the year. The Leaguers gave the king only a conditional and partial support, and aimed to put Cardinal de Bourbon on the throne. After some early reverses Henry of Navarre steadily gained ground, and at Coutras (Oct. 20, 1587) he almost annihilated the main army of his opponents. An army of 8,000 German cavalry and 20,000 Swiss infantry, to whose equipment England had contributed, was marching to join Henry of Navarre, but was intercepted and driven out of the country. The Guises, as leaders of the League, now insisted that the king should publish the decrees of the Council of Trent (q.v.), admit the Inquisition, execute Huguenot prisoners, and remove all army officers whose loyalty to Catholicism was doubtful. A secret government for Paris was formed, and a plot to seize the king came near succeeding. The

king now brought into Paris 4,000 Swiss as an additional body-guard. Paris, under the influence of the League, rose in revolt (" the day of Barricades," May 18, 1588), and the king was obliged to yield to the demands of Henry of Guise in order to be permitted to flee from the city. The meeting of the States General at Blois (Oct., 1588) further demonstrated that Guise was in control. The Estates gave to Guise full control of the army. The Spanish Armada had just been destroyed, and the king hoped, by tolerating the Huguenots, to secure the aid of England against the League. He had the duke and the cardinal of Guise put to death and the leading members of the League imprisoned. Revolution followed. Catherine de' Medici died Jan. 5, 1589. The king felt compelled to call to his aid Henry of Navarre and the Huguenots. After a number of victories Henry of Navarre and the king had invested Paris and were preparing for an assault, when the king was assassinated Aug. 1, 1589.

9. Henry IV., Edict of Nantes, 1589–1624.

Henry of Navarre was now the legitimate heir to the throne; but he was deserted by the royalist troops, and the Leaguers declared Cardinal de Bourbon king as Charles X. Catholic opponents of the League urged Henry to become a Catholic, promising him their support on that condition. He refused, but promised that Catholicism should remain the religion of the state. During the ensuing year, with greatly inferior numbers and resources, he more than held his own. When Charles X. died (May 10, 1590), some of the leading Leaguers were in favor of offering the sovereignty of France to the king of Spain. Finding his party in a small minority, and his opponents resolved never to submit to a Huguenot king, Henry made up his mind that " Paris is worth a mass," and resolved, as the only way to give peace to the country and security to his kingship, to conform to the Roman Catholic Church. It must be borne in mind that Henry was a soldier and politician rather than a moral or religious hero, and that the throne of France had for years been the object of his aspirations. The League at once withdrew its opposition; Paris received him with acclamations of joy; the Spanish troops were dismissed; and universal amnesty was proclaimed. War with Spain delayed the formulation of Henry's promised provision for the security of the Huguenots. In their General Assembly (1593–94) they pledged themselves to continue in the faith, discussed fully the politico-ecclesiastical situation, and appointed four delegates to confer with the king. By the Edict of Nantes of May 2, 1598 (see Nantes, Edict of), all public institutions and offices were thrown open to the Huguenots, and 200 towns, several of them strongly fortified, to be garrisoned by state-paid Huguenot troops, were left in their hands. The assassination of Henry IV. (May 14, 1610) put the Huguenots in a distinctly less favorable position. Though the Edict of Nantes was again and again confirmed by Louis XIII. and Louis XIV., its provisions were frequently violated. The Huguenots were naturally jealous of such liberties as they enjoyed, and resented even the slightest infringement. They constituted a state within a state. After ten years of irritation, for which both sides were to some extent responsible, war broke out early in 1621 and raged till Oct. 19, 1622. The Edict of Nantes was confirmed, but all recent Huguenot fortifications were to be demolished and political assemblies were strictly prohibited. Nearly one-half of their cities of refuge were left them, but their tenure was made dependent on the king's pleasure.

10. Richelieu and Mazarin, 1624–61.

After a brief period a second war (Jan., 1625–Feb., 1626) followed, resulting in severe loss of military power and further narrowing of privileges. The third war, in which the Huguenots were incited, aided and abetted by the English, and of which the siege, the heroic defense, and the fall of La Rochelle are the most striking features (1626–29), resulted disastrously to the Huguenots. The terms of pacification were more favorable than might have been expected. The Edict of Nantes was reaffirmed; but all fortifications had to be given up, and freedom to raise and maintain armies was at an end (see Nîmes, Edict of). Richelieu (q.v.), now the director of the government, assumed a conciliatory attitude, promised to make loyalty the only ground of discrimination among the king's subjects, and gained the confidence of the Huguenots to a remarkable degree. From 1629 to 1659, under the government of Richelieu and Mazarin (Louis XIII. and minority of Louis XIV.), the conditions of the Edict of Nantes were well observed on both sides. The government was too much occupied with international affairs to be willing to enter again upon civil strife, and the Huguenots were measurably contented with the privileges they enjoyed. This was for the latter a period of remarkable prosperity. " Rich as a Huguenot " became a proverbial expression. Manufacturing, commercial, and banking enterprises, with control of the merchant marine, were largely in their hands. The learned professions were filled with their members. Their educational institutions, liberally supported, became famous throughout the learned world. In their great churches the most eloquent preachers of the age preached to thousands of eager hearers. Among the most eminent preachers were Du Moulin, Le Faucheur, Mestrezat, Daillé, Amyraut, Gaches, Claude, Du Bosc, De Superville, and Saurin. The school at Nîmes came to represent an irenic tendency which led many to accept the Roman Catholic faith. Among its great teachers and alumni may be mentioned Viret, Ferrier, Petit, Turretin, Claude, De Serres, Baduel, Brousson, and Martin. Saumur became noted for its development of a liberal type of doctrine. Its great representatives were Michel, Béraud, Boyd, Cameron, Amyraut, Placeus, and Pajon. Sédan and Montauban stood for the defense of rigorous Calvinism. Among the representatives of the former may be mentioned Du Moulin, Des Marests, Jurieu, and of the latter Chamier, Pierre Béraud, Garissolles, Abbadie, Bayle, Benoist, Rapin Thoyras, and Pélisson. Toward the close of Mazarin's ministry severe restrictive measures against the Huguenots, in response to urgent petitions of the prelates, were put in force. In 1656 Louis XIV. promulgated a law to the effect that Huguenots were to be restricted to the privileges

of the Edict of Nantes, which in many cases they had transcended, and that all restrictive measures which had been added from time to time because of their rebellion should be enforced. Commissioners were appointed to see to the rigorous enforcement of repressive measures. Huguenot ministers were not to call themselves pastors, and were to use no other epithet but Catholic in speaking of the national church; were not to call together for consultation the principal members, to take collections, or to sing psalms at the execution of a criminal. In 1659 the last national synod was held. The use of the term "antichrist" in the liturgy, and of the terms "idolatry" and "deceit of Satan" in the confession, in condemnation of the Catholic faith, was prohibited. Huguenots were gradually excluded from public offices. Efforts to enforce the restrictions led to local disturbances, and insubordination was severely punished.

With the death of Mazarin (Mar. 9, 1661) the autocratic reign of Louis XIV. began. For twenty-four years systematic persecution was carried on, which culminated in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes Oct. 17, 1685. Public worship was prohibited, and ministers were to leave France in fifteen days, or embrace Roman Catholicism. Huguenot schools were to be abolished at once. Refugees who did not return would have their property confiscated. Thousands, some of them educated ministers, were sent to the galleys, where many died of hardship; thousands died in prison; and hundreds, if not thousands, were cruelly executed. The dragonnades were continued with increasing barbarity. Some hundreds of thousands professed conversion, while several hundred thousand left France, despite the fact that emigration was forbidden. It has been estimated that about 100,000 found homes in Holland, 100,000 in England, Ireland, and America, 25,000 in Switzerland, and 75,000 in Germany. Thus France lost a large proportion of its best intellect and manufacturing skill, and the exiled Huguenots, by establishing manufactures abroad, raised up ruinous competition for the French. In many parts of France the persecuted people took all risks and met secretly for worship. They maintained themselves in greatest numbers in the Cévennes mountains. From 1702 to 1710 the Cévennes Huguenots carried on a terrible guerrilla warfare against the Catholics (see Camisards). With the death of Louis XIV. (1715) persecution was somewhat relaxed, but it was renewed with fearful vigor in 1724 under Cardinal Fleury (q.v.). From 1715 onward Antoine Court (q.v.) carried on a work of stupendous importance in truly apostolic spirit in reorganizing and planting churches. In 1730 he established at Lausanne a training-school for preachers, from which scores of self-sacrificing young men went forth to minister to the persecuted in France. Equally apostolic and fruitful were the labors of Paul Rabaut (q.v.). At the death of Fleury (1743) persecution almost ceased. As a result of agitation by the clergy, a furious persecution was carried on 1745–52. Skeptical writers like Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, and D'Alembert from the middle of the eighteenth century diffused a spirit of toleration that redounded to the benefit of the Huguenots (see Deism, II.; and Encyclopedists). Largely through the efforts of Rabaut St. Etienne and Court de Gébelin, sons of Paul Rabaut and Antoine Court, an edict of toleration was secured in 1787. A large proportion of the Huguenots, as of the Catholics, were swept into infidelity by the French Revolution (q.v.). In 1802 Huguenots were placed by Napoleon side by side with Roman Catholics as a state-controlled and state-supported body. This relationship continued until the separation of Church and State in 1905. See France. A. H. Newman.

11. Revocation of Edict of Nantes.

II. Huguenot Refugees.—1. First Period, 1520–1660: The history of the Huguenot refugees begins with the history of the Reformation in France, though the name "Huguenot" was not used till about 1560. François Lambert (q.v.) had to leave France in 1522, and Guillaume Farel (q.v.) in 1524. After the beginning of a general persecution in 1535 many refugees found a home in Geneva and other Swiss cities. In 1545 about 700 Waldenses sought refuge in Geneva, and under Henry II. (1547–59) 1,400 French families settled there. The churches established by Huguenot refugees were known as "churches of refuge" [for the article here condensed, cf. Hauck-Herzog, *RE*, s.v. "Réfuge, Églises du"]. On the initiative of John Calvin (q.v.) the first church of refuge was established at Strasburg in 1538. In 1575 the French refugees in this city alone numbered 15,398, though at the close of the Thirty Years' War there were only thirty-six families left, and the parish did not secure complete freedom of worship till 1788. In 1550 Edward VI. placed the foreign Protestants in England under the care of Johannes a Lasco (q.v.). The French church established in London in 1550 became important as a center of organization for other churches in England and America. Under Queen Mary, Johannes a Lasco, with about 175 refugees, settled at Emden, in East Friesland, though on the accession of Queen Elizabeth most of these refugees returned to England. Altogether about 6,000 Huguenots sought refuge at Emden. Under Francis II. (1559–60) thousands of Huguenots settled in the Netherlands, where, in 1562, there were over 100,000 Protestants. While the southern parts of the Netherlands were made almost entirely Roman Catholic by the Spanish Inquisition, numerous Huguenot settlements in the northern provinces continued to receive reenforcements up to the time of Henry IV. As a result of persecution in the Spanish Netherlands, Huguenot churches were established in various German cities, e.g., Stade, Altona, Frankfort, Mannheim, Heidelberg, Wetzlar, and Otterberg. Under Queen Elizabeth 3,000 or 4,000 French Protestants settled in England within a few years. They established a synod which was later strong enough to protest against the demands of Archbishop Laud. Several Huguenot settlements in America (New Amsterdam [i.e. New York], Boston, etc.) date from the time of the persecutions of Laud. Cromwell was a warm friend of the French refugees.

2. The Second Period, 1661–1791: Just as in the first, so in the second period of emigration, the refugees settled largely in the Netherlands. On account of the war with the Netherlands, there was a lull in both persecution and emigration during the years 1672–79; but this was only the calm before the storm of emigration in the years immediately preceding and following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685). Friesland offered (May 1, 1681) a free asylum and full citizenship to all who were driven from their homes by religious persecution, and even freedom from taxation for twelve years. The states of Holland and Amsterdam soon followed this example; and the States General ordered (Dec. 3, 1682) a collection in all provinces for the emigrants. Amsterdam alone had 15,000 Huguenots toward the end of the seventeenth century, while about 60,000 were settled in other cities and provinces. In 1715 the emigrants were granted naturalization. Each class took particular interest in the Protestants of its own class, and assisted them by procuring work, advancing money, etc. In 1688 there were in the army of William of Orange 736 officers of French birth, not to speak of privates in both army and navy. At this time there were in the Netherlands sixty-two French churches. About 3,000 French Protestants accepted the invitation of the Dutch East India Company to settle on the company's possessions on the Cape of Good Hope. Switzerland became a haven of refuge to the Huguenots from the eastern and southern provinces of France. Geneva, the temporary headquarters for most of them, was not able to offer permanent shelter, owing to the threats of Louis XIV. Between 1682 and 1720 the citizens of Geneva distributed 5,143,266 florins among 60,000 refugees. Similarly, Zurich assisted 23,345 emigrants between 1683 and 1689. Other cities acted in the same spirit, although on a smaller scale. About 25,000 Frenchmen are said to have settled permanently on Swiss soil.

1. The Netherlands and Switzerland.

England was on the whole well disposed toward the Huguenots, though James II. did not favor them. He had to yield, however, to popular pressure, and a collection taken during his reign—although by his orders not recommended from the pulpits—amounted to £40,000. Between 60,000 and 70,000 Protestants had settled in England up to 1695, and London and neighborhood had at one time thirty flourishing French churches. William of Orange granted the French Protestants in England £17,200 annually, which was—with intermissions and in a diminishing ratio—continued until 1812, when a last payment of £1,200 was made. But the large number of the emigrants awakened the distrust of the population, and their naturalization was granted and rescinded several times by parliament. The Huguenots were, nevertheless, gradually absorbed by the English people and the English Church. By the close of the seventeenth century thousands of Huguenots had settled in New York, Massachusetts, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Pennsylvania. The largest number of Huguenots settled in South Carolina; and in Charleston there is still a French church with a pure Calvinistic liturgy. One colony of Huguenots was established at Paramaribo, Dutch Guiana (South America), where missionary work was begun among the Indians.

2. England and America.

Huguenot refugees to Germany settled chiefly in Brandenburg. In 1672 the Huguenots in Berlin (about 100) were granted the right to hold services in French. When the Edict of Nantes was revoked Frederick William of Brandenburg openly espoused the cause of French Protestantism and censured Louis XIV. publicly. He offered the emigrants a free asylum in his country, and extended them numerous privileges with full citizenship. He went even further by publishing an invitation to the Huguenots to come to Brandenburg, and by having his representatives in Hamburg, Cologne, Frankfort, Amsterdam, and elsewhere to look after the emigrants. Although Louis XIV. forbade the publication of this invitation, it soon became known all over France, and about 25,000 Frenchmen accepted it before 1700. The Margrave established a French college in Berlin (1689) and a French professorship at the University of Frankfort-on-the-Oder. Twelve French societies assisted newly arrived emigrants, and otherwise encouraged the immigration of their countrymen. There were thirty-three colonies at one time in Brandenburg, but most of them became German during the eighteenth century. After the death of Frederick the Great and during the rebirth of Prussia during the Napoleonic wars the last bond was cut which united the emigrants with France. Berlin is the only city in Old Prussia where French services are still held regularly. Other parts of Germany, e.g., Ansbach, Baireuth, Baden, Württemberg, Saxony, and Hesse, extended to the Huguenots many privileges and always a free refuge. Nearly all of them soon became German. Among the free cities, Hamburg has the distinction of still maintaining a French service, in a new church since 1904. The other free cities, Frankfort-on-the-Main, Bremen, and Lübeck, received many transitory emigrants; but they were soon absorbed by the Germans, though at Frankfort a small congregation still exists in connection with the Reformed synod. Denmark has a French Huguenot church in Copenhagen which dates from 1685; Sweden one at Stockholm; Russia two, one in Moscow and the other in St. Petersburg.

3. Germany and Elsewhere.

It is small wonder that the French Protestants were made welcome wherever they went, since they represented the most intelligent, moral, and industrious portion of the French population. They carried with them the arts, scholarship, and knowledge of military affairs to various countries. Frederick William of Brandenburg had 600 French officers and thousands of soldiers in his army; French scholars were among the founders of the Prussian Academy of Sciences; mechanics and craftsmen of all kinds assisted in promoting the industries of that country, and the skilled farmers soon turned the sandy plains of Brandenburg into fertile fields. Frederick the Great had seven generals of French descent in his army, and the Prussian

4. Influence of Huguenot Refugees.

army has at present about 1,200 officers with French names. The influence of the Huguenot exodus upon France was as disastrous as it was beneficial to other countries. The austerity of the Huguenots had exercised a wholesome influence upon the French; but when their number was reduced from 1,800,000 in 1660 to 400,000 in 1700, and when this small company was deprived of all civil and religious rights, the corruption of the French court under Louis XIV. had full sway. The year after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Vauban reported to the minister of war, Louvois, that France had lost 100,000 inhabitants, 60,000,000 francs in cash, 9,000 sailors, 12,000 soldiers, and 600 officers. The Roman Catholic Church became the sole arbiter of the destinies of France, but she lost constantly in authority. The industries of France suffered terribly. In Touraine there were left, in 1698, only fifty-four tanneries out of 400, only 1,200 looms out of 8,000, only 4,000 silkweavers out of 40,000, only seventy mills out of 700. Normandy had 26,000 empty houses; the Dauphiné had lost 15,000 inhabitants, and other places in proportion; e.g., Paris 1,202 Huguenot families out of 1,938. Ferdinand Brunetière, a loyal Roman Catholic, says: "The revocation of the Edict of Nantes arrested the moral progress of France, because it drove into exile the people who called themselves men of the Bible, and who carried their morality, faith, and intelligence everywhere. . . . From Dunkirk to Bayonne, from Brest to Besançon, he (Louis XIV.) cut the nerve of French morality for the metaphysical satisfaction of having God praised only in Latin" (*RDM*, Oct. 15, 1898). (Eugen Lachenmann.)

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HUIDEKOPER, FREDERIC: Unitarian; b. at Meadville, Pa., Apr. 7, 1817; d. there May 10, 1892. He studied at Harvard for a year (1834–35), but was forced by failing sight to cease his studies. From 1839 to 1841 he traveled in Europe, and after his return studied theology privately for two years. In 1844 he aided in the organization of Meadville Theological School, in which he had charge of the New Testament department for five years (1844–49), and where he was professor of church history from 1845 to 1877, being also librarian and treasurer for many years. From 1877 until his death he lived in retirement at Meadville, and in the latter years of his life was totally blind. Besides editing the *Acts of Pilate* (Cambridge, Mass., 1881), he wrote *Belief of the first Three Centuries Concerning Christ's Mission to the Underworld* (Boston, 1854); *Judaism at Rome B.C. 76 to A.D. 140* (New York, 1876); and *Indirect Testimony of History to the Genuineness of the Gospels* (1878).

HULBERT, ERI BAKER: Baptist; b. at Chicago July 16, 1841; d. there Feb. 17, 1907. He was educated at Madison University, Union College (B.A., 1863), Hamilton Theological Seminary (M.A., 1865), and the University of Göttingen. He held pastorates at Manchester, Vt. (1865–68), Coventry Street, Chicago (1868–69), the First Baptist Church of St. Paul, Minn. (1869–71), and San Francisco (1871–76), and the Fourth Baptist Church, Chicago (1876–82). From 1882 to 1892 he was professor of church history in Baptist Union Theological Seminary, Chicago, and was professor of the same subject and dean of the divinity school of the University of Chicago (1892–1907). He was also acting president of Baptist Union Theological Seminary in 1884–85.

HULSE, JOHN, and the **HULSEAN LECTURES:** An English clergyman and a course of lectures founded by him, for which he is chiefly remembered. He was born at Middlewich (18 m. e. of Chester), Cheshire, Mar. 15, 1708; d. there Dec. 14, 1790. He was graduated from Cambridge University (1728), took orders in 1732, and served as curate in several small places. He came to his inheritance on his father's death in 1753, and retired on account of delicate health. By his will he bequeathed a large part of his property to Cambridge University, founding two scholarships, a prize essay, and the offices of Christian Advocate and Hulsean Lecturer. The latter, by the terms of the will, was to deliver and print twenty sermons each year upon the evidences of Christianity or upon Scriptural difficulties. Subsequent changes in the provision have been made by statute; thus the number of sermons or lectures required was reduced, first to eight, and later to four; while the Hulsean professorship of divinity was substituted for the office of Christian Advocate (1860). Of the income eight-tenths go to the support of the professorship, the other two-tenths being divided between the essayist and the lecturer. A list of the published lectures up to 1892–93 may be found in J. F. Hurst, *Literature of Theology*, New York, 1896, pp. 32–34. The published lectures since 1892 are:

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HUMANISM.

The Term (§ 1).
The Italian Humanists (§ 2).
Character of the Movement (§ 3).
Erasmus (§ 4).
Effect on Theological Science (§ 5).

The exact point in time when the term Humanist was first adopted escapes our knowledge. It is, however, quite certain that Italy and the readoption of Latin letters as the staple of human culture were responsible for the name of Humanists. *Literæ humaniores* was an expression coined in conscious contrast, at the beginning of the movement into current medieval learning, to the end that these "letters," i.e., substantially the classic literature of Rome and the imitation and reproduction of its literary forms in the new learning, might stand by themselves as over against the *Literæ sacræ* of scholasticism. In the time of Ariosto, Erasmus, and Luther's beginnings, the term *umanista* was in effect an equivalent to the terms "classicist" or "classical scholar."

1. The Term.

Dante, an earnest son of the Roman Catholic Church, was at the same time, as to his cultural valuations and aspirations, filled with a certain awe and admiration for ancient letters. He at first seriously intended to compose his great epic in Latin verse. Petrarch considered his *Africa* a fair effort to reproduce Vergil; the choice of Scipio Africanus as the central hero reveals the new desire to consider the worthies of classic Italy as spiritual and cultural progenitors in the pursuits and concern of the new learning. In the exordium of his chief work Petrarch appeals to the Heliconian Sisters as well as to Jesus Christ, Savior of the world; also he reviews the epics of Homer (he never learned Greek), Statius, and Lucan. He was overwhelmed with the friendships of the most highly placed men of his day, among whom Cardinal Stephen Colonna was prominent. Petrarch is the pathfinder as well as the exemplar of the new movement. He idealized the classical world, he read into such Latin letters as he had, or extracted as he could, profound and surpassing verities. His classicist consciousness and his Christian consciousness are revealed in his writings like two streams that do not intermingle though they flow in the same bed. The experiences of life constantly evoke in him classic parallels, reminiscences, associations. Julius Cæsar, Papirius Cursor, are *nostri*, "our people"; Pyrrhus, Hannibal, Massinissa are *externi*, "foreigners." His epistles afford the best revelation of his soul. Of course, the craving for pure Latinity and the elevation of such practical power of imitation and reproduction involved an artificiality of which neither Petrarch nor his successors were aware. Boccaccio was not only a humanist, but he, with appaling directness, revealed the emancipation of the flesh as one of the unmistakable trends of the new movement. Both he and Poggio, Valla, Beccadelli, Enea Silvio dei Piccolomini (in his youth) show that the hatred of the clerical class was a spur to literary composition. At the same time in the caricatures of foulness which these leaders of the new learning loved to draw, there is no moral indignation, but clearly like satyrs they themselves relish these things. For this reason the Humanists of Italy, as such, were not at all concerned in the efforts for a reformation of the church as attempted in the councils of Constance or of Basel (qq.v.). Poggio, apostolic secretary, came to Constance with the corrupt pope John XXIII., but spent most of his time in ransacking the libraries of Swiss monasteries for Latin codices. The defense of Jerome of Prague before the Council reminded him of Cato of Utica; his correspondent Lionardo Bruni at Florence warns him to be more circumspect in his praise of a heretic. In the Curia itself a semipagan spirit was bred by

2. The Italian Humanists.

the Humanists. In 1447 Parentucelli, an enthusiast for codices, became pope as Nicholas V. To him wrote (Easter, 1447) the eminent humanist Filelfo, from Milan, congratulating him on his elevation, expressing the general satisfaction of scholars, extolling learning and mental distinction, citing also the *humanitas* of Christ himself, as well as writing somewhat hypocritically of *fucata gentilium . . . sapientia*. Some time later, in 1453, Filelfo personally appeared at the papal court; Nicholas kept the vile "Satyræ" of the humanist until he had perused them, and gave to Filelfo, on parting, a purse of 500 ducats. Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini ascended the papal throne in 1458 as Pius II., another humanist pope, a worldly man, and formerly long a counselor of princes.

3. Character of the Movement.

A very clear view of the Humanistic movement may be gained from the writings of the biographer and beneficiary of Leo X., Paul Giovio (Jovius). In his *Elogia* (Antwerp, 1557) he presents a gallery of literary scholars, beginning with Dante, and including Petrarch, Boccaccio, Bruni, Poggo, Beccadelli (the pornographic poet), Valla, Filelfo, Platina, the Greeks Emanuel Chrysoloras, Cardinal Bessarion, Trapezuntius the Cretan, Theodorus Gaza, Argyropulos, Chalcondylas, Musurus of Crete, and Lascaris; also Lorenzo de' Medici, Ermolao Barbaro, Politian, Pico di Mirandula, and even Savonarola. But Savonarola's attacks on Pope Alexander VI., father of Cesare and Lucrezia, are treated as treason and felony. The Platonic academy of Ficinus at Florence had certainly no power to regenerate the political and moral corruption of its patron Lorenzo. Bibienna, the favorite of Leo X., was witty at banquets; at Leo's court this cardinal produced his lascivious comedy, "Colandra," because Terence was too grave. Even Thomas More and Reuchlin are included. Among the latter's academic friends were the anonymous composers of the satiric *Epistolæ obscurorum virorum* (q.v.)—the flail of the new learning swung against the old. The Italian Humanists were not concerned in the reformatory movements of the fifteenth century. They drifted into a palpable paganism or semipaganism, curiously illustrated in the verse, e.g., of Politian, especially his Greek verse, and of him even the lax Giovio writes: "he was a man of unseemly morals." They all more or less emphasized "*vera virtus*" by which they meant "true excellence," the self-wrought development of human faculties and powers. Still they knew how to maintain friendly relations with those higher clerics who had resources with which to patronize the new learning. They often accepted clerical preferment, as did Giovio, who became bishop of Nocera. Often the Latin verse of their youth proved very awkward when they entered upon their benefices. All were more interested "in viewing the early monuments of sensual enjoyment" than in study of the New Testament. As they greatly exceeded the corruption of the clergy in their own conduct, they could not take any practical interest in any spiritual or theological reformation. In all the correspondence of Filelfo, extending from 1428 to 1462, there is but once or twice a slight (deistic) utterance of spiritual concern, when, in the siege of Milan by Francesco Sforza, 1449, the ducal city endured terrible sufferings. Jacob Burckhardt (*Die Cultur der Renaissance*, § vi., Basel, 1860) says of the Humanists that they were demoralized by their reproduction of Latin verse. But why did they delve in Ovid, Catullus, and the like with steady predilection? At best a mild deism or pantheism may be perceived in their more serious writings. Greek, on the whole, was a rare attainment among them, reproductive ostentation limited most of them to Latin.

4. Erasmus.

Erasmus of Rotterdam (q.v.) in his person and career marks the point where the "new learning" had arrived at the parting of the ways. He felt an affinity for Lucian; his *Encomium Moriæ*, a vitriolic satire, dealt not gently with clerical corruption. He edited the New Testament and dedicated it to Leo X. He had no desire to abandon the old Church; the bounties and pensions which he received were all derived from princes or clerics who adhered to the papacy. He pretended that he could not read the German writings of Luther. Erasmus wrote that "Luther's movement was not connected with learning," and, at the same time he wrote to Pope Hadrian VI.: "I could find a hundred passages where St. Paul seems to teach the doctrines which they condemn in Luther." Other utterances show his unwillingness to serve the Reformation or to be held responsible for any part of it: "I have written nothing which can be laid hold of against the established orders. . . . I would rather see things left as they are than to see a revolution which may lead to one knows not what. Others may be martyrs, if they like. I aspire to no such honor. . . . I care nothing what is done to Luther, but I care for peace. . . . If you must take a side, take the side which is most in favor." His keen sense of actual dependencies in the movement of things led him to see situations and realities with wonderful clearness; but his genius, like that of many scholars, was essentially negative. When he was fifty-one, not long before 1517, he wrote to Fabricius at Basel: "My chief fear is that with the revival of Greek literature there may be a revival of paganism. There are Christians who are Christians but in name, and are Gentiles at heart." In the fall of that grave year 1525, when central Germany had been harried by the Peasants' War, he wrote (Oct. 10, 1525): "You remember Reuchlin. The conflict was raging between the Muses and their enemies, when up sprang Luther, and the object thenceforward was to entangle the friends of literature in the Lutheran business, so as to destroy both them and him together."

5. Effect on Theological Science.

It is customary to speak of German Humanists, also Colet and More and Linacre may be so called perhaps as representing the new learning in Britain. But these in the main were men of great spiritual earnestness. As for the wider knowledge of Greek grammar and letters, of course it quickened the study of the New Testament. As to the positive aspects of theological and spiritual regeneration, little, very little, can be attributed to the movement of the Humanists. The overvalua-

tion of formal and literary and esthetical things, and a profound indifference toward spiritual things has been, and still is, a serious failing of much classicism from Petrarch to the present time. The classicists were secular to the core. E. G. Sihler.

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HUMANITARIAN: A name applied both to such antitrinitarians as consider Christ a mere man, and to such parties as profess the "religion of humanity," whose fundamental dogma is the perfectibility of the human race without superhuman aid.

HUMBERT: Cardinal; d. May 5, 1061. He was of Burgundian birth, and a monk of the cloister Moyen-moutier in Lorraine, when Pope Leo IX. called him to Rome in 1049. In the following year he was appointed archbishop of Sicily; in 1051 he obtained the bishopric of Silvia Candida, combined with the dignity of cardinal bishop. When Archbishop Leo of Achrida, in a circular addressed to Bishop John of Trani in Apulia, in 1053, sharply attacked a series of liturgical and ritual peculiarities of the Western Church, and, in consequence, the contention between Rome and Byzantium flamed up afresh, the Emperor Constantine IX., Monomachus, who needed the pope's alliance against the Normans, exerted himself to restore peace. In Jan., 1054, Leo IX. sent an embassy to the imperial court, consisting of Archbishop Peter of Amalfi, Cardinal Frederick of Lorraine, and Humbert. The patriarch, Michael Cærularius, was disposed to no advances, and treated his rival's messengers with haughtiness, while they accosted him superciliously. After termination of unpromising negotiations on July 16, 1054, the Roman envoys deposited on the high altar of St. Sophia a documentary excommunication of the patriarch and his adherents. They left Constantinople two days later (cf. Mirbt, *Quellen*, pp. 95 sqq.).

During this journey to Byzantium Leo IX. had died, on Apr. 19. Humbert was trusted by his successor, Victor II. (1055–57), and by Stephen IX., who, after the death of Victor, had proposed Humbert as his successor. The energetic aggressive policy toward which the reformed papacy advanced under Stephen's guidance was reflected by Humbert's pen in the important treatise *Libri tres adversus simoniacos* (ed. F. Thaner, *MGH, Lib. de lite*, i., 1890, pp. 95–253). He preaches uncompromising antagonism to simony, and advocates a policy with reference to Investiture (q.v.) which proved fundamental in the treatment of this problem by the later Gregorian party.

After the sudden death of Stephen IX. (1058) Humbert took part in the election of Bishop Gerhard of Florence. Under this pope, Nicholas II., Humbert's influence continued strong. When the doctrine espoused by Berengar of Tours (q.v.) in relation to the Eucharist, after having already been condemned at synods at Rome and Vercelli, under Leo IX., in 1050, came up for discussion afresh, the accused was compelled to subscribe a confession of faith drafted by Humbert, who had attended the original synods, and had worked against Berengar. Humbert stands out as an energetic and straightforward personality of great power, who by no means shrank from blunt measures. Closer parallels between him and Hildebrand are not conspicuous. With Peter Damian, he rendered invaluable service in the cause of "reform" in the Church during the middle of the eleventh century.

Carl Mirbt.

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HUME, DAVID: Philosopher and historian; b. in Edinburgh Apr. 26 (o.s.), 1711; d. there Aug. 25, 1776. He was of good Scotch descent, his father tracing his ancestry to Lord Home of Douglas. His mother was "a woman of singular merit." In 1723 he appears to have been a student at the University of Edinburgh, but he was not graduated. He halted in his choice between several callings—law, mercantile life, and that of the scholar and philosopher. His first work was a *Treatise of Human Nature* (vols. i., ii., London, 1739; vol. iii., 1740). For a time he turned aside to political subjects and published *Essays, Moral and Political* (2 vols., Edinburgh, 1741–42; final ed., 1 vol., 1788), which met with great success. In 1744, owing to opposition on theological grounds, he failed of election to the chair of ethics and pneumatic philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. He next published his *Philosophical Essays concerning Human Understanding* (London, 1748; 2d ed., 1750), and from 1749 to 1751 was engaged upon his *Dialogues on Natural Religion* (not published until 1779), *Inquiry concerning the Principles of Morals* (1751), and *Political Discourses* (Edinburgh, 1752; Fr. transl., Amsterdam, 1754). His *History of Great Britain* appeared in 2 vols. at Edinburgh, 1754–57 (with autobiography and final corrections, 8 vols., 1778), and the *Natural History of Religion* in 1757. From 1758 Hume lived in London, Paris (1763–67, where he was a member of the English embassy, and extremely popular with educated men and women), London again (1767–69), and in St. David's Street (named after him), Edinburgh, from 1769.

Hume's early fame as a historian has been overshadowed by his philosophical writings. The principal subjects of these are the human understanding, liberty and necessity, the principles of morals, immortality, the idea of cause, theism, and miracles as re-

lated to credibility and the order of nature. Following Locke, he turned from speculation to experience and thus entered the path of criticism. In his theory of knowledge he divided perceptions into impressions —the original sensations and reflections, which are therefore the more vivid—and ideas or thoughts—the fainter and less vivid reproduction of the impressions. Thus the material for all our ideas is derived from impressions. With Locke, he defines the will as "the internal impression we feel and are conscious of when we knowingly give rise to any new emotion of our body or new perception of our mind." Liberty is "a power of acting or not acting according to the determinations of the will." Moral necessity is of the same nature as physical necessity, although the operation of motives is extremely subtle and perhaps impossible completely to trace. Responsibility is, however, not destroyed; this depends not on the cause of the action, but on the disposition of the person. Goodness is necessary to the good man and in the highest degree to God. Immortality appears to have been left an open question. Neither the idea of immaterial substance nor the doctrine of personal identity, neither the nature of divine justice nor the incompatibility of the noble powers of man with the swift span of earthly existence proves that the soul survives death. All this is rendered still more precarious when Hume resolves the soul—i.e., the self—into a series of perceptions which, if removed by death, would annihilate the person. He traces the idea of cause neither to external objects, nor to reflection, nor to the senses, but to an experience of unvarying succession or custom. This idea, which has exerted a profound influence on later thought, was completed by Kant, who showed the nature of the necessity which the human mind has associated with causality. On the subject of theism Hume finds no sure footing. Neither cosmology, nor teleology, nor the moral argument is adequate as a ground of belief in God. Polytheism appears to him not a stage in the progressive apprehension of the divine; "the gods of the polytheists are no better than the elves and fairies of our ancestors." Concerning miracles conceived of as "violation of the laws of nature . . . by a particular volition of the Deity," he argues that no amount of testimony would render them credible. "There is not to be found, in all history, any miracle attested by a sufficient number of men of such unqualified goodness, education, and learning, as to secure us against all delusion in themselves; of such undoubted integrity as to place them beyond all suspicion of any design to deceive others; of such credit and reputation in the eyes of mankind as to have a great deal to lose in case of their being detected in any falsehood; and at the same time attesting facts, performed in such a public manner, and so celebrated a part of the world, as to render detection unavoidable; all which circumstances are requisite to give us a full assurance of the testimony of men." This argument of Hume has force against the scholastic idea of miracles, but not against the view of Augustine. As a psychologist Hume was unsurpassed by any who preceded him. He was a philosopher, but not a theologian, and his fame justly rests not as earlier on his historical or political writings, but on his inquiry into the nature, the source, and the limitations of human knowledge. His skepticism is not thoroughgoing, but only relates to speculative metaphysics. Starting with experience, he allows no deviation from this as providing the content of intelligence. His significance for religion and theology lies not so much in his direct discussion of these subjects as in the view of man and the world involved in his philosophy. It would have been glory enough for him had he done nothing else than waken Kant from his "dogmatic slumbers." See Deism. C. A. Beckwith.

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HUME, ROBERT ALLEN: Congregationalist; b. at Bombay, India, Mar. 18, 1847. He received his education at Williston Seminary, at Yale College (B.A., 1868), Yale Divinity School (1869–71), and Andover Theological Seminary, being graduated from the latter in 1873. He was a teacher in the Collegiate and Commercial Institute at New Haven, Conn. (1868–69), and in the Edwards School at Stockbridge, Mass. (1871–72). He has been a missionary of the Marathi Mission of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions since 1874, and principal of Ahmednagar Theological Seminary since 1878. During the year 1900–01 he was chairman of the *Christian Herald* Indian Famine Relief Committee, and in 1900–02 was secretary of the Americo-Indian Famine Relief Committee, receiving the Kaiser-i-Hind gold medal in 1901 in recognition of his services. In theological position he is conservatively liberal. He has written *Missions from the Modern View* (New York, 1905), and has edited the Marathi weekly *Dnyanodaya* at Bombay for several years.

HUMERALE. See Vestments and Insignia, Ecclesiastical.

HUMILIATI, hiū"mil-i-ā'ti: A religious order, also called "Barettines of Penitence," from their headcovering (Ital. *barettino*), which traced its origin to the period of Emperor Henry II. and Pope Benedict VIII. (d. 1024). The real founder, however, was probably Johannes Oldratus, a noble of Milan (d.

about 1159), who is said to have established the first house of the Humiliati about the middle of the twelfth century at Rondenario, near Como. The first actual Humiliate monastery was probably the house established about 1178 near Milan, where male and female penitents lived and worked together. They were laymen, and many who were closely affiliated with them still maintained the family life. Refusing at the command of Alexander III. to refrain from holding conventicles and preaching in public, many of them were excommunicated in 1179 and developed into the Lombard division of the Waldenses, while the remainder were faithful to the Church and became the Ordo Humiliatorum. In the beginning of the thirteenth century the Humiliati formed three divisions, the first of which, the original lay community, lived in their own houses, married, and engaged in manual labor, although they observed certain ascetic and religious principles, abstaining from oaths and receiving spiritual instruction on Sunday from one of their number under the supervision of the bishop of their diocese. The second division was the Humiliate monks and nuns, who led a celibate cloister life, and the third was the Humiliate canons, both these classes differing from the lay brethren only in their monastic and priestly character.

All three classes were confirmed by Innocent III. (d. 1216). Although theoretically the lowest, the lay Humiliati were the most numerous and the most influential, and they were later regarded as tertiaries of the order. In the sixteenth century the corruption of the Humiliati led Pius V. to attempt their reform, but in 1569 an attempt was made on the life of Carlo Borromeo, who had been commissioned to carry out the wishes of the pope, and in 1571 the order was suppressed, a portion of its monasteries being given to the Barnabites.

The Humiliate nuns (also called Blassonite Nuns after their supposed first head, Clara Blassoni, of Milan, who flourished about the middle of the twelfth century; and likewise termed Observantine Hospitaller Nuns) were exempted from the papal condemnation and still exist, having five convents in Italy, all independent of each other. Their habit is white, with a black veil in Rome and Vercelli, and that of the lay sisters is gray.

(O. Zöckler†.)

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HUMILIATION OF CHRIST. See Christology; Kenosis; Jesus Christ, Twofold State of.

HUMILITY: A virtue opposed to pride and arrogance, best defined, according to St. Augustine, by Matt. xi. 29. It is clear from this passage that the model of mankind is humility in Jesus, who brought it to the world as a new virtue, whereas humility in the sense of mere self-abasement did not first appear in Christ, but forms a part both of all genuine religion and also of mysticism. According to St. Augustine, *humilitas* implies the complete bowing of the sinner and the creature before God.

Augustine's Definition.

Religiously speaking, this can only be a work of God in man, for inasmuch as it is dependent on God, it can become intelligible to man only when God reveals it. Yet even in St. Augustine humility is construed not alone as contemplation of God, but also as study of self. This is, however, a fictitious humility, and not the attitude of the "lowly in heart," of whom Jesus speaks. Nevertheless, this very definition of humility as self-abasement produced through self-knowledge, taught both by St. Augustine and St. Bernard, has become the prevalent view, despite its divergence from the words of Christ.

Teaching of the New Testament.

The New Testament clearly shows that Jesus gave his disciples an entirely new teaching regarding humility. The phrase "lowly in heart" does not designate merely the pious, for in the few passages in the New Testament in which humility is mentioned stress is laid upon abasement. Little that is definite, however, can be gained from this until it is determined how far Jesus voluntarily abased himself. It is clear, in the first place, that Jesus did not practise introspection, which would have been far different from the simple consciousness of his divine mission. His life was the recognition and the performance of the will of God, and he who loves God with all his heart is above conscious self-examination. Only when it becomes difficult for him to perform the divine will does the thought arise that the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak. In the second place, the humility which the disciples learned from Jesus was a joyous devotion to humility, but such a feeling could not result from horror at one's own sin. The joyous desire of humility, in the third place, taught in the New Testament is by no means the result of self-knowledge. Despite the current definition of humility as the consciousness of falling short of the perfection of God, as well as of absolute dependence on divine grace and might, this does not imply the "lowly in heart." This connotes a task of the will which is solved in the following of Jesus, but the mental attitude produced by the self-knowledge resulting from the revelation of God can not be feigned.

Humility Defined as Service.

If the impulse toward humility, of which Jesus was conscious and which he wished his disciples to learn from him, is not the joyous submission to the command of God, it can imply only that Jesus desired them to have the same wish to serve God as he himself possessed. This is a humility springing from the heart, by which man seeks nothing for himself, but only to be a means to something higher. Such humility characterized the activity of Jesus and formed the thought and purpose of his life. An imitation in this sense is by no means impossible, and such humility is declared by Christ to be the measure of greatness in the kingdom of heaven. While it is true that the man of humility is not inclined to think highly of himself, this is not because he consciously endeavors to

despise himself, but because in his service and his devotion he forgets self. Here, however, as in certain other cases, the result is regarded as the cause and is made a task which can and should be solved directly. Yet this very preoccupation with self gives the ego an importance which is fatal to real humility, and involves the danger of Phariseeism. If, on the other hand, humility be construed in the light of the teaching of Christ, this peril disappears, and the full possibility of the true fulfilment of the command in Phil. ii. 3 becomes evident.

Possibility of Realizing Humility.

The humility taught by Jesus is apparent everywhere in Christian life. He bade his disciples learn of him hearty willingness to serve, but he alone is able to do this who is either abundant and joyous in himself, or has one near him whose personality can raise him above the necessity of thinking of himself. This the disciples found in Jesus, and hereby they were enabled to perform the impossibilities which he required of them, thus explaining such passages as Matt. xix. 26 and Luke xviii. 27. In his need, man is unable to conceive of service as the highest incentive to action, this motive being care for himself. Jesus, on the other hand, opposed this attitude with the requirement to serve, to deny one's self, and to lose one's life. The difficulty of the realization of this ideal is obvious, yet it may be attained by one who is overwhelmed by the personal life of Christ, since he who alone is worthy to rule assumed the duty of service as necessary and thus inspires obedience. In like manner, the basal problem of history, the unity of a life of power and self-abnegation, finds its interpretation in the personal, historic life of Jesus. The humility inspired by the activity of the personal Christ is the beginning of faith, for the new life of actual faith is possessed by him alone who is overwhelmed by the deeds of Jesus and is ready from his heart to live for others. (W. Herrmann.)

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HUMPHREY, WILLIAM GILSON: Church of England; b. at Sudbury (19 m. w. of Ipswich), Suffolk, Jan. 30, 1815; d. in London Jan. 10, 1886. He was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge (B.A., 1837; M.A., 1840), and was elected fellow of his college in 1839, retaining this position, as well as those of steward and assistant tutor, until 1847, being also proctor in 1845–46. After a brief trial of the law, he was ordered deacon in 1842, and ordained priest in the following year. He was examining chaplain to the bishop of London (1847–55), rector of Northolt, Middlesex (1852–55), and vicar of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, London, from 1855 until his death. He was Hulsean lecturer in 1849–50, Boyle lecturer in 1857–58, prebendary of Twyford in St. Paul's Cathedral after 1852, and rural dean of St. Martin-in-the-Fields after 1855. He was also one of the original members of the New Testament Company of the Bible-Revision Commission, and for thirty years was a treasurer of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. Besides editing Theophilus of Antioch's *Ad Autolycum* (Cambridge, 1852) and Theophylact's "Commentary on Matthew" (1854), he wrote *A Commentary on Acts* (London, 1847); *The Doctrine of a Future State* (Hulsean Lectures 1850); *The Early Progress of the Gospel* (Hulsean Lectures 1851); *An Historical and Explanatory Treatise on the Book of Common Prayer* (1853); *The Miracles* (Boyle Lectures 1858); *The Character of St. Paul* (Boyle Lectures 1859); *A Commentary on the Revised Version of the New Testament for English Readers* (1882); and the posthumous *Occasional Sermons* (London 1887) and *The Godly Life* (sermons; 1889).

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HUNDESHAGEN, hūn″des-hā′gen, **KARL BERNHARD:** Theologian of the Reformed Church of Germany; b. at Friedewald (33 m. s.s.e. of Cassel) Jan. 10, 1810; d. at Bonn June 2, 1873. Before he had reached his fifteenth year he began philological studies at the University of Giessen, but soon turned to theology, devoting himself chiefly to church history. Being expelled from the university for connection with the *Burschenschaft*, he went to Halle in 1829, but the next year returned to Giessen and established himself in the philosophical faculty, lecturing on church history and Christian antiquities. By a treatise on the mystic theology of Gerson (1833) he became licentiate of theology and in 1834 followed a call as professor to the newly established University of Bern. In 1836 he was received into the clergy of Bern, and in 1841 he became rector of the university. From 1847 to 1867 he was professor of New Testament exegesis and church history in Heidelberg, and from 1867 till his death he was professor at Bonn.

A work which caused a great sensation and made Hundeshagen's name famous in the theological world was his (anonymous) *Der deutsche Protestantismus, seine Vergangenheit und seine heutigen Lebensfragen, im Zusammenhang mit der gesammten nationalen Entwickelung, beleuchtet von einem deutschen Theologen* (Frankfort, 1846). It is one of the few theological works of the nineteenth century which influenced the general movement of culture beyond the smaller circle of professional theologians. He aimed to show in his book that the diseased conditions of the religious and national life in Germany were intimately connected with each other and could be healed only in their mutual relation. He starts from the idea of the Reformation as the fundamental factor in German history, and shows it to be in its innermost essence a matter of conscience, and not of knowledge. In the course of time this fundamental factor of ethics united with an intellectual factor—the principle of free investigation for the sake of conscience. The soundness of the intellectual principle is conditioned by its synthesis with the ethical. The history of German Protestantism shows how the neglect of the ethical factor and the one-sided development of the intellectual principle was the cause of the old orthodoxy, then of rationalism, and finally of the so-called higher criticism in our modern time, and that always in connection with a condition in state affairs, which deprived the national spirit of its natural roots in a powerful principle of ethics and pressed it toward

a one-sidedly intellectual life. After the development of these fundamental thoughts Hundeshagen turns toward the ecclesiastical questions of the time, throwing light upon Pietism, ecclesiastical science, the theological and churchly reaction, the question of symbols from the standpoint of theology and church polity, the Christian State, the "Friends of Light," the question of church constitution, the supposed "mission of the German Catholics," and finally "Protestantism as a political principle."

Hundeshagen's principal scientific work is the presentation of his positive, though liberal, ideas on church polity in his *Beiträge zur Kirchenverfassungsgeschichte und Kirchenpolitik, insbesondere des Protestantismus* (vol. i., Wiesbaden, 1864; no more published). It consists of three parts. The first treats "the religious and ethical condition of Christian piety according to their mutual relation and their respective influence upon the doctrinal peculiarities and church organization of older Protestantism." The second part treats "the Reformatory work of Ulrich Zwingli, or the theocracy in Zurich," which may be designated as the most important and the classic presentation of the Zurich Reformation. Hundeshagen finds the main fault of Zwingli's Reformatory efforts in his theocratical organization. The third and most comprehensive part discusses "the distinguishing religious peculiarities of Lutheran and Reformed Protestantism and their reaction upon the capacity of both for church organization." Hundeshagen finds little talent for church organization in the Lutheran Church because doctrinal interests are confounded with those of a churchly and religious nature. (W. Beyschlag†.)

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HUNGARIAN CONFESSIONS: The chief supporter of the Reformed doctrine in Hungary was Mátyas Biró Dévay (q.v.), who in his first efforts followed the lead of Luther, but after 1542 favored the Swiss tendency. Owing to the activity of Peter Melius, Debreczin became, after 1558, the spiritual center of the Reformed movement, to which almost all Hungarian Protestants submitted, while Transylvania remained Lutheran. The first confession of the Reformed was occasioned by the attempts at a Counterreformation by Bishop Anton Verantz of Erlau, who was under the influence of the Jesuits. The confession appeared in 1562 as *Confessio Catholica . . . exhibita sacratissimo et Catholico Romanorum Imperatori Ferdinando et filio suæ Majestatis Regi Maximiliano . . .*, and also as *Confessio ecclesiæ Debreciensis*. The document was not well digested or arranged, and was unsymmetrical. This, therefore, led to a still closer affiliation with the Swiss theology. A synod of Tarczal in 1562 adopted, with slight changes, Beza's *Confessio Christianæ fidei* under the title *Compendium doctrinæ Christianæ, quam omnes pastores et ministri ecclesiarum Dei in tota Ungaria et Transsylvania, quæ incorruptum Jesu Christi evangelium amplexæ sunt, docent ac profitentur*. This document was supplanted again by the *Confessio Helvetica posterior* of Bullinger, although, at the synod of Debreczin in 1567, the former confessions were not annulled. A number of other synods set up new orthodox articles occasioned by the antitrinitarian controversies and the controversy on the Lord's Supper, as, for instance, the *Confessio Czengerina* of 1570. The modern Reformed Church in Hungary and Austria accepts only the Helvetic Confession and the Heidelberg Catechism. (E. F. K. Müller.)

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HUNGARY.

I. Roman and Greek Catholic Churches.
- Roman Catholics (§ 1).
- Uniats (§ 2).
- Greek Orientals (§ 3).

II. Protestant Churches.
- Lutherans (§ 1).
- Reformed Church (§ 2).
- Other Bodies (§ 3).

The kingdom of Hungary, in southern Europe, forms, with Austria, the Austro-Hungarian monarchy (see Austria). The lands of the Hungarian crown, comprising Hungary proper (with Transylvania), Croatia and Slavonia, and the district of Fiume, have an area of 125,430 square miles and a population (1901) of 19,254,559, of whom 8,742,301 (45.4 per cent) speak the Magyar language; 2,135,181 (11.1 per cent) the German; 2,019,641 (10.5 per cent) the Slovak; 2,799,479 (14.5 per cent) the Rumanian; 429,447 (2.2 per cent) the Ruthenian; 1,678,569 (8.7 per cent) the Croatian; 1,052,180 (5.5 per cent) the Servian; and 397,761 (2.1 per cent) other languages. At the census of 1901 there were 9,919,913 (51.5 per cent) Roman Catholics; 1,854,143 (9.6 per cent) Greek Uniats; 2,815,713 (14.6 per cent) Greek Orientals; 1,288,942 (6.7 per cent) Lutherans; 2,441,142 (12.7 per cent) of the Reformed Church; 68,568 (0.4 per cent) Unitarians; 851,378 (4.4 per cent) Jews; and 14,760 (0.1 per cent) of other sects (Anglicans, Baptists, Nazarites, etc.). By law 20 of the year 1848 full equality and reciprocity were guaranteed to the Roman Catholic, Greek, Lutheran, Reformed, and Unitarian churches, the expenses of the above churches for ecclesiastical and school purposes to be borne by the State, but the complete fulfilment of this promise still lies in the future. Law 42 of the year 1895 added the Jewish religion, and the Baptists were recognized by the ministerial order of Nov. 2, 1905.

I. Roman and Greek Catholic Churches: The Roman Catholic Church in Hungary was founded by King Stephen I., who was crowned with the apostolic crown given by Sylvester II., in the year 1001. Since his time the kings of Hungary have exerted apostolic rights, and since 1404 they have had the right of giving or withholding their sanction to the papal bulls (in abeyance from 1855 to 1870). The head of the Church in Hungary is the archbishop of Esztergom (Gran), who has been the primate of the kingdom since 1279. He crowns the king and administers to him the oath; he has the right to summon the national synod. Under his rule are

1. Roman Catholics.

part of the Greek Uniat churches. The organization of the Roman Catholic Church in Hungary is as follows: archbishopric of Esztergom (Gran; founded 1001), with the suffragan bishopric of Nyitra, Györ, Veszprém, Pécs, Vácz (all five founded 1001) Beszterczebánya, Székesfehérvár, and Szombathely (all three founded 1777); archbishopric of Kalocsa (founded 1001, raised to archbishopric 1135), with the suffragan bishopric of Magyarcsanád (see at Temesvár; founded 1001), Nagyvarád (founded 1095), and Transylvania (see at Gyulafehérvár; founded 1001); archbishopric of Eger (Erlau; founded 1001, raised to archbishopric 1804), with the suffragan bishoprics of Rozsnyó (founded 1776), Szepes (founded 1776), Szatmár (founded 1804), and Kassa (founded 1804); archbishopric of Zágráb (Agram; founded 1093, raised to archbishopric 1853), with the suffragan bishoprics of Zengg (formed by uniting Corbav and Modrus 1833) and Diakovár (formed by uniting Szerém [founded 1230] and the Bosnian diocese 1773); and the arch-abbey of St. Martin (founded 1001). There are 112 archdeacons, 405 deacons, and 3,804 priests, not including the arch-abbey, which has one deacon and 15 priests. There are 27 cathedral chapters with 424 canons (152 honorary), 180 abbots (150 honorary), and 146 provosts (109 honorary).

Members of orders can be admitted to the country, orders can be founded or dissolved only with consent of the king or by decree of parliament. Joseph II. (1780–90) dissolved 134 monasteries, with 1,544 monks and six convents with 191 nuns. The present number of monasteries is 227, with 2,196 monks, and 365 convents with 5,420 nuns. Every archbishopric and bishopric, with the exception of three, has its theological seminary; there were in 1909 for the seculars 18, and for the monastics 13, also a central institute in the University at Budapest. The language of instruction is Latin. Since 1868 the Roman Catholic bishops have tried to create a movement against the influence of the State in church affairs and for the acquirement of real autonomy by the Roman Catholic Church, but so far without success. Only in Transylvania does the Church possess a kind of self-government, where under the presidency of the bishop, 68 clerical and 136 lay representatives yearly deliberate on financial and educational matters. In the department of church life and domestic missions are active several organizations, notably the St. Stephen's Union.

2. Uniats. Through the influence of the archbishop of Esztergom, George Lippay, 400 clergy of the Greek Church from the midst of the Ruthenian people in the neighborhood of Munkács joined themselves to the Roman Catholic Church, and consecrated their first bishop in 1655. Count Leopold Kolonics, also an archbishop of Esztergom, with the help of the Jesuits, induced more than 100,000 Greek Catholics of the Rumanian population of Transylvania to enter the union, and at the synod of Gyulafehérvár the bishop Theophilus and twelve Greek deacons subscribed to the union which was supported by King Leopold I. (1697), and the bishopric of Fogaras was founded for the united church. Fogaras was raised by Franz Joseph I. in the year 1850 to an archbishopric by the name of Gyulafehérvár, with the see at Balázsfalva. It has six suffragan bishoprics: Lugos (1850), Szamosujvár (1850), Grosswardein (Nagyvárad; 1777), Munkács (restored, 1771), Eperjes (1816), and Körös (formed from former Szvidnicz, 1751). There are seven cathedral chapters with 45 canons, 59 archdeacons, 155 deans, 1,361 priests, 731 chaplains, 9 monasteries, 44 monks, 5 seminaries, 228 students, and 34 professors.

3. Greek Orientals. The legal status of the Greek Orientals was fixed by law 27 of 1791, when they were given a share in the privileges already granted to the Roman Catholics. Their bishops were given a seat in the upper house and lands were also granted to them. The Church is divided by nationality and speech, consequently since 1861 they have had two metropolitan dioceses. They have two archbishops, eight bishops, 92 archdeacons, 2,311 parishes, 283 chaplains, 2,906 priests, four seminaries, and 28 religious houses with 158 monks. In order to escape from the oppression of the Turks, 38,000 Servians, with their patriarch, fled to the Hapsburg dominions and were granted ecclesiastical privileges by Leopold I. (1691). The head of the church is the patriarch of Karlowitz, and the governing body is the Servian National Church congress, consisting of 25 clerical and 50 lay members, elected for three years. Besides the patriarchate there are the following bishoprics: Bács, Ofen (Buda), Temesvar, Versecz (all founded 1690), Karlstadt and Pakracz. The Roumanian Church (independent since 1865) is governed by the national church congress of 30 clerical and 60 lay members, elected for three years. The archbishopric of Hermanstadt (founded by Joseph II., 1780–90; raised to archbishopric, 1864) has two suffragan bishoprics, Arad (founded by Leopold I., 1657–1705) and Karansebes (1865).

II. Protestant Churches: The Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession is divided into two bodies, of separate origin historically, and each with an independent constitution of its own; the church of the Hungarians, and that of the Transylvanian Saxons.

1. Lutherans. The Hungarian Lutheran Church dates from the Reformation. It is divided into four ecclesiastical districts, each with a superintendent and an inspector. Since the time of Maria Theresa (1774) there has been a general meeting of 90–100 members chosen from all the districts. The four districts (each governed by a bishop) are as follows: the Bánya (see at Budapest); the Cis-Danubian (see at Balassagyarmat); the Trans-Danubian (see at Pápa); and the district of the Theiss (see at Miskolcz). The church has 39 synods, 661 congregations, with 665 ministers and 169 chaplains, and 1,085,603 communicants. There are three theological academies, with 16 professors and 138 students. The communicants are Magyars, Germans, and Slovaks. The church of Transylvania also dates from the Reformation. It consists of one district with its see at Hermanstadt (Nagyszeben). It has 10 synods, 247 congregations, and 220,362 communicants, all Saxon, with German as their mother tongue. They were called into the country in 1142, were granted many privileges, and have

kept intact their nationality until the present day. The church was granted religious freedom in 1557, and became independent under the rule of the prince of Transylvania, and kept its autonomy when Transylvania was united with Hungary in 1848. It has one theological academy.

2. Reformed Church.

At first the teachings of Luther spread among the Magyar, the German and the Slavonic population of Hungary; but with the appearance of Calvinism almost all the Magyars ranged themselves under the banner of the Reformed confession, and this division of Protestantism was carried out from 1561 to 1591; it was fully completed by synods summoned for that purpose (in Transylvania in 1564, in the region of the Tizra in 1567). Since 1841 proposals have been made for union, but with almost no results. The constitution and organization of the Reformed Church were settled by the synods of 1623 and 1646. The details of the organization have been arranged lately by three general synods (1881; 1891–92; 1904–07). The church is divided into five districts (each under the rule of a bishop): the Cis-Danubian (formed 1544; see at Kunszentmiklos); the Trans-Danubian (formed 1591; see at Komarom [Komorn]); the Cis-Tibiscan (formed 1572; see at Miskolcz); the Trans-Tibiscan (formed 1559; see at Debreczen); and the Transylvanian (formed 1564; see at Kolozsvár [Klausenburg]). The church numbers 57 consistories, 2,030 congregations with 1,981 pastors and 188 associate pastors, and 2,452,773 communicants. There are five theological academies. The Hungarian Reformed Churches have shown great sympathy for the Alliance of the Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian System, which they finally joined in 1905. Both the Lutheran and the Reformed Church maintain various domestic missions.

3. Other Bodies.

Most of the Unitarians are in Transylvania. They date from 1566 (religious freedom guaranteed in 1568; full equality with other churches in Hungary granted in 1848). They have a bishop, whose seat is at Kolozsvár, nine deans, and 113 congregations with 109 pastors and a theological academy. The church has been largely supported by the English and American Unitarians. The Unitarians are mostly Magyars. Since the Revolution of 1848 a new sect has arisen chiefly among the lower classes, the Nazarites or "followers of Christ." Their religion seems to be a mixture of that of the Plymouth Brethren, the Baptists, and the Mennonites. The Baptists first appeared in Hungary in 1874; their first church was in Budapest. They were recognized by the State in 1905. [This recognition involved some measure of State aid, which some were unwilling to accept, and controversy and a schism arose. A mission from the English branch of the Baptist World Alliance in 1907 succeeded in settling some of the difficulties. The Baptists now number about 16,000. A. H. N.]

In Hungary in 1904 there were 3,415,587 children of school age, of whom 2,657,263 were actually attending school. There were 17,866 schools, of which 1,921 were State schools, 2,804 communal, 375 private, and 12,766 church (5,280 Roman Catholic, 1,991 Greek Catholic, 1,756 Greek Oriental, 1,362 Lutheran, 1,863 Reformed, 36 Unitarian, and 478 Jewish). There were 31,678 teachers. There were 89 normal schools with 10,362 students. There were 199 high schools in 1904, of which 63 were State schools, 11 communal, 4 private, and 121 church. There were 3,953 professors and 6,304 scholars. There are three universities: at Budapest, with 328 professors and 6,586 students; at Kolozsvár (Klausenburg), with 110 professors and 1,925 students; and at Zágráb (Agram), with 83 professors and 1,055 students. (K. Révész.)

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HUNNIUS, hün'nî-us, **AEGIDIUS:** Lutheran theologian; b. at Winnenden (7 m. n.e. of Stuttgart) Dec. 21, 1550; d. at Wittenberg Apr. 4, 1603. He went rapidly through the preparatory schools of Württemberg, and studied from 1565 to 1574 at Tübingen. In 1576 Jacob Heerbrand recommended him as professor to the University of Marburg, where Hunnius exerted himself to do away with all compromises and restore Lutheran orthodoxy. He gained many adherents, and the consequence was a split in the State Church of Hesse which finally led to the separation of Upper and Lower Hesse. The cardinal point of all controversies was the doctrine of ubiquity which Hunnius maintained in his writing *De persona Christi*. Bartholomäus Meier, one of Landgrave William's theologians, replied, but could not prevail against Hunnius' learned eloquence. In 1592 Hunnius removed to Wittenberg. In the electorate of Saxony, Calvinism had made great headway under the elector Christian, but his successor, Duke Frederick William, desired to introduce Lutheran orthodoxy, and for this purpose called the Swabian theologians, among them Hunnius, to Wittenberg. Immediately after his arrival he was made member of a committee on visitation, instituted for the purpose of purifying the country from Calvinism. For the same purpose he was called into other German territories, as, for instance, into Silesia by Duke Frederic of Liegnitz. Hunnius was the most able representative of the Swabian theology of Brenz, and consequently of the doctrine concerning the majesty and omnipresence of Christ as man. But he advanced the Lutheran cause also in reference to other doctrines, and his influence is traceable in the development of Lutheran dogmatics after his time. The later doctrine concerning the authority of Holy Scripture is based upon Hunnius' *Tractatus de maiestate, fide, autoritate et certitudine sacræ scripturæ*. In the same way he established the orthodox Lutheran doctrine of

predestination by following J. Damascenus in his distinction between *voluntas antecedens* and *consequens*, and considering faith as the instrumental cause of election.

The literary activity of Hunnius was mainly polemical. His most important works are *De persona Christi* (1585), which is an enlargement of an earlier treatise entitled *Bekenntnis von der Person Christi* (1577); *Tractatus de maiestate, fide, auioritate et certitudine sacræ scripturæ* (1588); *Calvinus iudaizans, sive Judaicæ glossæ et corruptelæ in explicandis testimoniis Scripturæ Sacræ de trinitate*, etc. (1593); *Anti-Parens* (1594); and *Anti-Parens alter* (1599). He wrote also numerous dogmatic monographs and commentaries on the Gospels of Matthew and John, the Epistles of Paul, and the first Epistle of John. He composed several Biblical dramas in Latin, among them *Josephus, comœdia sacra*, which was presented at Strasburg in 1597. A complete edition of his Latin writings was edited by his son-in-law, H. Garthius (5 vols., Wittenberg, 1607–09).

(Johannes Kunze.)

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HUNNIUS, NICOLAUS: Lutheran theologian; b. at Marburg July 11, 1585, third son of Ægidius Hunnius (q.v.); d. at Lübeck Apr. 12, 1643. At the age of fifteen he entered the University of Wittenberg, where he studied philology, philosophy, and theology. In 1609 he joined the philosophical faculty and lectured in philosophy and theology. He followed the same theological direction as his father, inherited his temper and talent as a polemist, and was, like him, possessed of great learning. In virtue of his ability Elector John George I. of Saxony appointed him, in 1612, superintendent of Eilenburg, where he won the respect of his superiors and the affection of his congregation. In 1617 Hunnius was called to succeed Leonhard Hutter, at Wittenberg, as professor of theology. In 1623 he was appointed pastor of St. Mary's Church at Lübeck; the following year he became superintendent. For the suppression of the enthusiasts who pervaded the region, Hunnius reunited the dioceses of Lübeck, Hamburg, and Lüneberg (*Ministrium tripolitanum*), and at a convention held in 1633 at Mölln measures were proposed and adopted for the same purpose. For the suppression of the adherents of Calvinism Hunnius frustrated the efforts of John Durie (q.v.), who tried to establish harmony between the Lutherans and the Reformed. To check the proselytizing tendencies of the Roman Catholics, he even invoked the aid of the secular powers. At the same time he made earnest efforts to elevate the religious and ecclasiastical life. It was, however, chiefly his polemical literary activity that made him known among his contemporaries. He wrote against the Roman Church *Ministerii Lutherani divini adeoque legitimi demonstratio* (Wittenberg, 1614) and *Capistrum Hunnio paratum*, etc. (1617); against the Socinians, whom he considered as Photinians, *Examen errorum Photinianorum*, 1620); and against the enthusiasts, *Christliche Betrachtung* (1622), *Nedder Sächsisches Handtbœck* (Lübeck, 1633), *Ausführlicher Bericht von der neuen Propheten Religion, Lehr und Glauben, etc.* (Lübeck, 1634; 2d ed. by J. H. Feustking, Wittenberg, 1708, under the title *Matœologia fanatica*). Against the unionistic tendencies of John Durie he wrote *Ministerii ecclesiastici Lubecensis theologica Consideratio interpositionis, seu pacificatoriæ transactionis, inter religionen Lutheranam ex una, et Reformatam ex altera parta profitentes, abs D. Johanne Duræo, ecclesiaste Britanno, his temporibus tentatæ* (Lübeck, 1677). Another writing during his activity at Lübeck is his *Διάσκεψις theologica de fundamentali dissensu doctrinæ Evangelicæ Lutheranæ et Calvinianæ seu Reformatæ* (Wittenberg, 1626), which is important in so far as the distinction between fundamental and non-fundamental articles of faith may be traced to it. But the greatest sensation was created by his *Consultatio oder wohlmeinendes Bedenken, ob und wie die evangelisch-lutherischen Kirchen die jetzt schwebenden Religionsstreitigkeiten entweder beilegen oder durch christliche und bequeme Mittel fortstellen und endigen mögen* (Lübeck, 1632). Here he proposed the institution of a perpetual theological senate for the purpose of investigating and settling all theological disputes. Among his didactic writings may be mentioned the *Epitome credendorum oder Inhalt der christlichen Lehre, etc.* (Wittenberg, 1625). This work ran through nineteen editions, and was translated into Dutch, Swedish, Polish, and Latin. It is a book of popular instruction in Christianity, was reprinted in 1844 for the seminary of American missionaries at Neuendettelsau, and a third edition appeared at Nördlingen, 1870. An epitome of it was made the basis of religious instruction in elementary schools.

(Johannes Kunze.)

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HUNT, JOHN: Church of England; b. at Bridgend (a north suburb of Perth), Perthshire, Scotland, Jan. 21, 1827. He was educated at the University of St. Andrews, matriculating in 1847, and was ordered deacon in 1855, and ordained priest two years later. He was curate of Deptford, Durham (1855–59), of St. Mary's, Lambeth (1866–74), and of St. Nicholas', Sutton, Surrey (1876–78). Since 1878 he has been vicar of Orford, Kent. He has translated *Poems from the German* (London, 1852) and *Luther's Spiritual Songs* (1853), and has written *Essay on Pantheism* (London, 1866; revised and enlarged under the title *Pantheism and Christianity*, 1884); *Religious Thought in England* (3 vols., 1871–73); *Contemporary Essays in Theology* (1872); and *Religious Thought in England in the Nineteenth Century* (1896).

HUNT, WILLIAM: Church of England; b. at Clifton (a west suburb of Bristol), Gloucestershire, Mar. 3, 1842. He was educated at Trinity College, Oxford

(B.A., 1864), and was vicar of Congresbury-cum-Wick, St. Lawrence, Somersetshire (1867–82). Since 1882 he has resided in London, devoting himself to literary work and reviewing. He was examiner in history at Oxford in 1877–79 and 1881–82, and since 1905 has been president of the Royal Historical Society. His works include *History of the Diocese of Bath and Wells* (London, 1883); *The English Church in the Middle Ages* (1888); and *History of the English Church*, 597–1066 (1899), besides an edition of *Two Chartularies of Bath Priory* (London, 1893). He has also edited the *Historical Towns Series* in collaboration with E. A. Freeman, and contributed to it *The History of Bristol* (London, 1887), while he wrote *The Political History of England, 1760–1801*, as the tenth volume of the *Political History of England*, edited by him and R. L. Poole (1905).

HUNTING AMONG THE HEBREWS: In Palestine there was no lack of animals of the chase.

1. Beasts of Prey.

The so-called Persian lion (*leo persicus*), now long extinct, was found in ancient times in great numbers in the thickets near the Jordan (Jer. xlix. 19; Zech. xi. 3), in the desert of southern Judea, and in the Lebanon (Cant. iv. 8; cf. II Kings xvii. 25 sqq.). It was caught in pitfalls (Ezek. xix. 4, 8) and strong nets were also used. The bear was equally common, but less feared (I Sam. xvii. 34; II Sam. xvii. 8; Hos. xiii. 8; Amos v. 19). The Syrian bear (*ursus syriacus*), now found but rarely in the Lebanon, is somewhat smaller than the usual type of brown bear. The wolf appears to have been the special enemy of sheep (Matt. x. 16; Luke x. 3; John x. 12), and was much employed in literary imagery as a type of rapacity. The striped hyena (*hyena striata*) is still found throughout Palestine, especially where rock-tombs and caves offer a refuge. The only allusions to it in the Old Testament are Isa. xiii. 22, and perhaps Jer. xii. 8. The jackal (*canis aureus*) appears in the Old Testament as lurking in ruins and desert places (Isa. xiii. 22, xxxiv. 13). Its howling serves as a type of the bitterest lamentation (Job xxx. 29; Mic. i. 8). The leopard (*felis pardus*), still quite common in the Lebanon, is mentioned as a dreaded beast of prey (Isa. xi. 6; Jer. v. 6; Hos. xiii. 7), and was admired for its beautiful skin (Jer. xiii. 23) and its swiftness (Hab. i. 8). The fox is the destroyer of vineyards (Cant. ii. 15; Neh. iv. 3), and was a type of craft and malice (Ezek. xiii. 4; cf. Luke xiii. 32). In the northern part of Palestine the Syrian fox (*vulpes flavescens*) is found, and in the southern part the Egyptian fox (*vulpes nilotica*).

Game Animals.

Of larger game animals, the gazelle (*antilope dorcas*) takes the first place, and is even to-day the most common of such animals. For the Hebrews the gazelle, as its name, *zebhi*, signifies, is one of the most beautiful of animals; it figures often in poetry as a type of grace (Cant. ii. 9, 17; Prov. v. 19); its name was frequently given to girls (II Kings xii. 1; Acts ix. 36). Shy and fleet as are few other animals (Prov. vi. 5; Isa. xiii. 14), the gazelle was difficult to take (Cant. ii. 17). It was caught in pitfalls and snares, and its flesh was much prized (Deut. xii. 15, xiv. 5; I Kings iv. 23). Among the antelopes belongs the *dishon* (Deut. xiv. 5; probably the *antilope addax*), the *te'o* (Deut. xiv. 5; Isa. li. 20; the *antilope leucoryx* or *bubalis*), and in all probability the *yaḥmur* (Deut. xiv. 5; I Kings iv. 23) which, however, is often understood to mean the fallow deer or the roe-buck. Next to the gazelle, the stag is the most common game animal (Deut. xiv. 5; I Kings iv. 23); it is very rare at the present time, but was well known to the ancient Hebrews and admired for its grace (Prov. v. 19; Cant. ii. 71) and its nimbleness and speed (Ps. xviii. 33; Cant. ii. 9; Isa. xxxv. 6; Hab. iii. 19). The ibex, at the present day, is found principally in the mountain-cliffs of the western shore of the Dead Sea and in the mountains of Moab, as well as in the cliffs of Sinai, whence it takes its name (*capra sinaitica*). Hares (Lev. xi. 6; Deut. xiv. 7) and rock-badgers (*hyrax syriacus*) were considered to be unclean, and were therefore rarely hunted.

Game Birds.

Of game-birds the partridge is represented by various species, especially the stone-partridge (*caccabis saxatilis*) and the *ammoperdix heyi*, the latter particularly in the desert of Judea. To judge from the metaphor used in I Sam. xxvi. 20, partridges were hunted at that time exactly as they are at present—they were persistently pursued until they became exhausted and could be killed with a stick. For doves, which were regarded as domestic birds, see Doves. Quails are mentioned only in the account of the wandering as food for the lustful people (Ex. xvi. 12–13). These birds make their appearance in Palestine during their migrations to the south. Sparrows and other small birds were a welcome prey of the bird-catcher (Prov. vii. 23; Lam. iii. 52; Amos iii. 5; Matt. x. 29), and were often eaten. On the other hand the swallow (Ps. lxxxiv. 3; Isa. xxxviii. 14; Jer. viii. 7), with the exception of one species, is in the Talmud pronounced unclean.

Purpose and Methods of the Hunt.

According to all the statements in the Old Testament the hunting of animals of prey seems to have been pursued only in self-defense; shepherds and peasants were forced to defend themselves against them in hard battles (Gen. xxxvii. 33; I Sam. xvii, 34 sqq.; I Kings xiii. 24; Isa. v. 29); and the acts of heroism shown in these combats received full recognition (Judges xiv. 6, xv. 4; II Sam. xxiii. 20). Edible game was always hunted for the flesh, which was highly esteemed (Gen. xxv. 28, xxvii. 3 sqq.; I Kings iv. 23). Hunting was rarely a pastime. Nimrod, the " mighty hunter before the Lord," was a strange figure which had no parallel in Israelitic legend. Esau is probably also an ideal figure. It is not mentioned of the Israelitic kings that they were fond of hunting. This is all the more noticeable since at the Egyptian and Assyrian courts the taste for hunting was general. Only of Herod Josephus asserts (*Wars*, I., xxi. 13) that he was an eager huntsman. The same writer also mentions pleasure-hunts on horseback of birds and wild animals with trained falcons and hunting-dogs (*Ant.* XV., vii. 7, XVI., 10, 3). On the way in which the

hunters pursued the chase there is little information. Hunting-dogs are never mentioned in the Old Testament, but Josephus speaks of their use as though it were an old custom (*Ant.* IV., viii. 9). Bow and arrow were the usual weapons of the chase (Gen. xxvii. 3; Isa. vii. 24); the ordinary weapons, spear and sword, served also in contests with wild beasts (Job xli. 26). The shepherd relied upon the use of slings (I Sam. xvii. 40) and club (Job xli. 26). Bird-catching, especially, was carried on by means of different kinds of nets (Prov. i. 17; Jer. v. 26; Hos. vii. 12; Amos iii. 5). Tame partridges used as decoys in hunting partridges are mentioned by Sirach (xi. 30); from the Romans the Hebrews learned the art of falconry. (I. BENZINGER.)

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HUNTINGDON, SELINA HASTINGS, COUNTESS OF: English religious leader and founder of the Calvinistic Methodists known as the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion; b. at Stanton Harold, an estate near Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Leicestershire, Aug. 24, 1707; d. in London June 17, 1791. She was the daughter of Washington Shirley, second Earl Ferrers. In 1728 she married Theophilus Hastings, ninth earl of Huntingdon, and took up her residence with him at Donington Park, Leicestershire. Converted through the influence of her sister-in-law, Lady Margaret Hastings, who afterward married Benjamin Ingham (q.v.), she allied herself with the Methodists, attended constantly the meetings held by the Wesleys in Fetter Lane, and joined the first Methodist society formed there in 1739. After the death of two of her sons in 1743 and of her husband in 1746 she devoted herself uninterruptedly to the advancement of Methodism. Her social position enabled her to be the chief means of introducing the new movement into aristocratic circles. In 1747 she made George Whitefield one of her chaplains and threw open her London house for religious services. Here Whitefield frequently preached to audiences that included such men as Chesterfield, Walpole, and Bolingbroke. Lady Huntingdon built, or acquired, numerous chapels in various parts of England and filled them with her domestic chaplains. In 1768 she founded at Trevecca, South Wales, a special seminary for the training of her chaplains. To reach upper classes she chose as her strongholds such places as Bath, Tunbridge, and London. She had been under the impression that as a peeress she had a right to employ as many chaplains as she pleased; but in 1779 an adverse decision of the consistorial court of London compelled her to take shelter under the Toleration Act. She and her ministers were thus placed in the position of dissenters, and her chapels were registered as dissenting places of worship. At this time several of her chaplains, including William Romaine, Henry Venn, and John Berridge, withdrew from the Connexion. When the breach occurred between Wesley and Whitefield, Lady Huntingdon sided with Whitefield, and at his death became sole trustee of his institutions in Georgia. To perpetuate her work after her death she organized her chapels into an association in 1790, and at her death bequeathed them, together with her seminary, to trustees. Her interests were not confined to her " connexion," and her influence was wider than the bounds of Methodism. See METHODISTS.

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HUNTINGTON, FREDERIC DAN: Protestant Episcopal bishop of Central New York; b. at Hadley, Mass., May 28, 1819; d. there July 11, 1904. He was educated at Amherst (A.B., 1839) and at Harvard Divinity School (1842). He was minister of the South Congregational Church (Unitarian), Boston, Mass. (1842–55), after which he was professor of Christian morals, as well as college preacher, at Harvard (1855–60). In 1860 he withdrew from Unitarianism and was ordered deacon in the Protestant Episcopal Church, being priested in 1861. He was rector of Emmanuel Church, Boston, which he had organized (1861–69), and in 1869 was consecrated bishop of Central New York. He lectured repeatedly at the Episcopal Divinity School, Cambridge, Mass., and the General Theological Seminary. Among his works mention may be made of his *Lessons on the Parables of Our Saviour* (Boston, 1856); *Sermons for the People* (1856); *Christian Believing and Living* (sermons; 1860); *Divine Aspects of Human Society* (New York, 1860); *Elim: or, Hymns of Holy Refreshment* (Boston, 1865); *Steps to a Living Faith* (New York, 1870); *Helps to a Holy Lent* (1872); *Christ and the World* (1874); *New Helps to a Holy Lent* (1876); *Christ in the Christian Year and in the Life of Man* (1878); *The Fitness of Christianity to Man* (1878); *Sermons on the Christian Year* (2 vols., 1881), and *Personal Religious Life in the Ministry and in Ministering Women* (1900).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. S. Huntington, *Memoir and Letters of F. D. Huntington*, Boston, 1906.

HUNTINGTON, WILLIAM REED: Protestant Episcopalian; b. at Lowell, Mass., Sept. 20, 1838. He was educated at Harvard (A.B., 1859), where he was instructor in chemistry in 1859–60. He received his theological training privately, was ordered deacon in 1861, and priested in 1862. After being curate at Emmanuel Church, Boston, in 1861–62, he was rector of All Saints', Worcester, Mass., until 1883, when he became rector of Grace Church, New York City. He has been active in the cause of church unity and in the revival of the order of deaconesses, and was a protagonist in the movement to revise the liturgy, being secretary of the joint committee of the general convention for the enrichment and better adaptation to American needs of the Book of Common Prayer, while in 1892 he was joint editor with S. Hart of the Standard Prayer Book. His writings include: *The Church Idea: An Essay toward Unity* (New York, 1870); *Conditional Immortality* (1878); *Popular Miscon-*

ceptions of the Episcopal Church (1891); *The Causes of the Soul* (sermons; 1891); *The Peace of the Church* (Bohlen lectures for 1891; 1891); *Short History of the Book of Common Prayer* (1893); *The Spiritual House* (1895); *Psyche, a Study of the Soul* (1899); *Four Key Words of Religion* (1899); *Sonnets and a Dream* (1899); *Theology's Eminent Domain, and Other Papers* (1902); and *A Good Shepherd and Other Sermons*, (1906).

HUPFELD, HERMANN (CHRISTIAN KARL FRIEDRICH): German Biblical scholar; b. at Marburg Mar. 31, 1796; d. at Halle Apr. 24, 1866. At the age of seventeen he entered the University of Marburg (Ph.D., 1817), where he studied philology and theology. From 1819 till 1822 he was a gymnasium professor at Hanau, until his shattered health compelled him to return to his parents' house. Here, on resuming his theological studies, he soon discovered a firm theological basis. In 1824 he proceeded to Halle, where he enjoyed the society of Gesenius, and became privat-docent in Hebrew. A few months later he went to Marburg as privatdocent. On being appointed extraordinary professor of theology at Marburg in 1825, Hupfeld promoted the study of Semitic grammar by his incisively discriminating *Exercitationes Æthiopicæ* (Leipsic, 1825), which at once attested their learned author to be an investigator of the first rank. With the regular professorship of Oriental languages, which he obtained in 1827, Hupfeld combined, in 1830, the regular chair of theology at Marburg. He finally found his largest sphere of action, in 1843, as successor to Gesenius at Halle. Here, for several decades, he conscientiously, thoroughly, and fruitfully taught the special branches of Old Testament science.

Only cursory mention may be made here of Hupfeld's varied work. He not only wrote upon university topics, but also composed manifold political tracts, wherein he proclaimed in advance the revolution of 1848, and fought for genuine liberty against undisciplined anarchy. He repeatedly took an active part in the ecclesiastical controversies of the time. In 1837 he prevented the introduction of an inferior hymn-book; and as late as 1849 he was active as a politico-ecclesiastical writer in the cause of a free internal upbuilding of the Church upon a positive Christian foundation. Undoubtedly, too, in the saddest days of the reaction, Hupfeld, by reason of his quiet academic work, was a valiant colaborer toward the inauguration of better conditions.

In view of the great multitude of Hupfeld's literary achievements, any complete enumeration of titles is out of question. The list of his writings in his autobiography fills five pages. Unfortunately his early projected *Ausfürliche hebräische Grammatik* (Cassel, 1841) was never completed. To be mentioned for its epoch-making influence is his *Kritische Beleuchtung einiger dunkeln und misverstandenen Stellen der alttestamentlichen Textgeschichte* (*TSK*, iii. 1830, and x. 1837), and also the work *Ueber Begriff und Methode der sogenannten biblischen Einleitung* (Marburg, 1844), which is still worth reading. An ingenious essay is that on *Die Stellung und Bedeutung des Buches Hiob im A. T. nach seinem didaktischen und dramatischen Charakter* (*Deutsche Zeitschrift für christliche Wissenschaft*, Berlin, 1850). Interesting, again, are his investigations respecting the Hebrew festivals, published in four Latin Easter programs (Halle, 1851–64). To be mentioned also are the classic essay on *Die Politik der Propheten des A. T.'s* (*Neue evangelische Kirchenzeitung* (Berlin, 1862), and *Die heutige theosophische oder mythologische Theologie und Schrifterklärung* (Berlin, 1861), which is important for the history of theology in Germany.

It remains to mention Hupfeld's two major works, and first, *Die Quellen der Genesis und die Art ihrer Zusammensetzung von neuem untersucht* (Berlin, 1853). One who is not repelled by the somewhat wearisome elaboration of these disquisitions will even nowadays find them profitable, the book having permanent value, and being renowned for the scrupulousness of its research, as well as for the strictness of its method. Hupfeld's most extensive work is his commentary on the Psalms, *Die Psalmen übersetzt und ausgelegt* (4 vols., Gotha, 1855–61). Of its merits and shortcomings, suffice it to say that Hupfeld sought to ascertain, in the case of difficult and contested passages in the Psalms, the earliest advocate of every interpretation he adduced, and that he sometimes made assertions that are untenable. The second edition, revised by Edward Riehm (4 vols., 1867–71), contains a great many improvements. The very serviceable third edition by W. Nowack (2 vols., 1888) is such a decided recasting of the preceding ones that to recognize the work of Hupfeld and Riehm one must have recourse to the first and second editions. A. KAMPHAUSEN.

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HURD, RICHARD: Bishop of Worcester; b. at Congreve (6. m. s. of Stafford), Staffordshire, Jan. 13, 1720; d. May 28, 1808. He studied at Emmanuel College, Cambridge (B.A., 1739; M.A., 1742; B.D., 1746; D.G., 1768), and became a fellow there in 1742. By a judicious compliment in the preface of his annotated edition of Horace's *Ars poetica* (London, 1749) he won the patronage of Bishop Warburton, through whose recommendation he was appointed one of the preachers at Whitehall in 1750. He was presented to the rectory of Thurcaston, Leicestershire, in 1757, appointed preacher at Lincoln's Inn in 1765, and collated to the archdeaconry of Gloucester in 1767. He was elevated to the see of Litchfield and Coventry in 1774, and appointed preceptor to the prince of Wales and the duke of York in 1776. He was translated to Worcester in 1781. Two years later he was offered the see of Canterbury, which he declined. Hurd was a moderate Tory and churchman and a man of considerable literary ability. His principal works are: the *Commentary* published with his edition of

Horace's *Ars poetica* (London, 1749; *Moral and Political Dialogues* (1759), in which historical personages discuss various topics; *Letters on Chivalry and Romance* (1762), which helped to initiate the Romantic movement; *An Introduction to the Study of the Prophecies Concerning the Christian Church* (1772; 5th ed., 2 vols., 1788, being Warburton lectures delivered at Lincoln's Inn; and *Sermons* (3 vols., 1776–80). He edited, among other things, Warburton's *Works* (7 vols., 1788), and left materials for an annotated edition of Addison's *Works* (6 vols., 1811). His own *Works* were published, with an autobiography, in 8 vols., 1811.

Bibliography: F. Kilvert, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Richard Hurd*, London, 1860; John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the 18th Century*, London, 1812–15; *DNB*, xxviii 314–316.

HURLBUT, JESSE LYMAN: Methodist Episcopalian; b. in New York City Feb. 14, 1843. He was educated at Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. (A.B., 1864), and after teaching for a year (1864–65) in Pennington Seminary, Pennington, N. J., entered the Methodist Episcopal ministry. He held various pastorates from 1865 to 1879, when he was appointed an agent of the Sunday School Union of his denomination, a position which he held five years. From 1884 to 1888 he was assistant Sunday-school literature editor, and from 1888 to 1900 was full editor, and also secretary, of the Sunday School Union and Tract Society. In 1900 he resumed the ministry, and was pastor at Morristown, N. J., and since 1904 has held a pastorate at South Orange, N. J. He has been active in Chautauqua work, and was one of the founders of the Epworth League, of which he was secretary in 1889–92. Special mention may be made of his *American History* (New York, 1880); *Life of Christ* (1882); *Manual of Biblical Geography* (Chicago, 1884); *Studies in the Four Gospels* (New York, 1889); *Studies in Old Testament History* (1890); *Traveling in the Holy Land through the Stereoscope* (1900); *From Saul to Solomon: Studies in Old-Testament History* (1903); *Story of the Bible told for Young and Old* (Philadelphia, 1904); *Stories from the Old and New Testaments* (1904); *Outline Studies in the Old Testament for Bible Teachers* (New York, 1905); and *Sunday Half Hours with Great Preachers* (1908). He has prepared numerous volumes on Sunday School lessons, many of them in collaboration with J. H. Vincent.

HURST, JOHN FLETCHER: Methodist Episcopal bishop; b. at Salem, Md., Aug. 17, 1834; d. in Washington, D. C., May 4, 1903. He was educated at Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa. (A.B., 1854), where he taught classics for two years (1854–56), after which he studied theology at the universities of Halle and Heidelberg (1856–57). He was then a pastor in the Newark (N. J.) conference of his denomination from 1858 to 1866, after which he was professor of theology in the Mission Institute of the Methodist Episcopl Church for the training of German ministers for his denomination, first at Bremen (1866–69), and later at Frankfort (1869–71), where the institution was removed in 1869. Returning to the United States, he was professor of historical theology in Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J., from 1871 to 1880, and president of the same institution from 1873 to 1880. In 1880 he was elected bishop of his denomination. In 1898 he was elected chancellor of the American University, Washington, D. C. Besides translating K. R. Hagenbach's *History of the Church in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (2 vols., New York, 1869); J. J. Van Oosterzee's *Apologetical Letters on John's Gospel* (Edinburgh, 1869); Romans in J. P. Lange's Commentary (New York, 1870); and a number of the moral essays of Seneca (in collaboration with H. C. Whitney, 1877), he was the author of a large number of works, among which special mention may be made of the following: *History of Rationalism* (New York, 1866); *Martyrs to the Tract Cause* (1872); *Outlines of Bible History* (1873); *Outlines of Church History* (1874); *Our Theological Century* (1877); *Bibliotheca Theologica* (1883); *Short History of the Reformation* (Cleveland, O., 1884); *Theological Encyclopædia and Methodology* (New York, 1884); *Short History of the Early Church* (Cleveland, 1886); *Short History of the Mediæval Church* (1887); *Short History of the Modern Church in Europe* (1888); *Short History of the Church in the United States* (1890); *Indika, the Country and the People of India and Ceylon* (New York, 1891); *Short History of the Christian Church* (1893); *The Literature of Theology* (1895); *History of the Christian Church* (2 vols., 1897–1900); and *History of Methodism* (7 vols., 1904).

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HURTER, FRIEDRICH EMANUEL VON: Roman Catholic historian; b. at Schaffhausen, Switzerland, of Protestant parents, Mar. 19, 1787; d. at Graz Aug. 27, 1865. He studied theology in Göttingen; in 1824 was chief pastor in Schaffhausen, and in 1835 dean of the synod, but was converted to Roman Catholicism through his historical studies, especially those made for his history of Innocent III., and in 1844 entered that church. He was called to Vienna in 1845 as imperial councillor and historiographer. Besides controversial writings, he was the author of the famous *Geschichte des Papstes Innocenz III. und seiner Zeitgenossen*, 4 vols., Hamburg, 1834–42; *Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem letzten Dezennium des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Schaffhausen, 1840, an account of his conversion, which is said to be one of the best books of its class; *Geburt und Wiedergeburt*, 2 vols., 1845; *Geschichte Ferdinand II. und seiner Zeit*, 11 vols., 1850–64; and other works dealing with Austrian history.

Bibliography: H. von Hurter, *Friedrich von Hurter . . . und seine Zeit*, 2 vols., Graz, 1876 (by his son).

HURTER, HUGO ADALBERT FERDINAND VON: Austrian Roman Catholic; b. at Schaffhausen (25 m. n.e. of Zurich), Switzerland, Jan. 11, 1832. He was educated at Rome, and was ordained to the priesthood in 1855. Two years later he entered the Society of Jesus, and in the following year (1858) was appointed professor of dogmatic theology at the University of Innsbruck, a position which he retained until his retirement as professor emeritus in 1903. He has written *Ueber die Rechte der Vernunft und des Glaubens* (Innsbruck, 1863);

Nomenclator literarius recentioris theologiæ catholicæ (5 vols., 1871–1903); *Theologiæ dogmaticæ compendium* (3 vols., 1878; 11th ed., 1903); and *Medulla theologiæ dogmaticæ* (1880); besides editing *Sanctorum Patrum opuscula selecta ad usum præsertim studiosorum theologiæ* (48 vols., 1868–85; 2d series, 6 vols., 1884–92); *Leonardi Lessii de summo bono etæterna beatitudine hominis libri quatuor* (Freiburg, 1869); *D. Thomæ Aquinatis sermones* (Innsbruck, 1874); and S. Storchenau's *Der Glaube des Christen, wie er sein soll* (Freiburg, 1895).

HUSCHKE, GEORG PHILIPP EDUARD: Jurist and authority on church government; b. at Münden June 26, 1801; d. at Breslau Feb. 7, 1886. In 1817 he went to Göttingen and studied law. He was attracted by Savigny in Berlin, but returned to Göttingen and established himself as privat-docent, lecturing on the orations of Cicero, on Gaius and the history of law; then he was appointed professor in Rostock. He accepted a call to Breslau as professor of Roman law in 1827. Soon after his arrival he became interested in the dissensions caused by the Evangelical Union which were forced upon the orthodox Lutherans by the state rulers, and took a prominent part in them. Huschke tried to solve the problem practically as soon as he came to Breslau. Out of the dispute originated the independent Lutheran Church, and Huschke, as the defender of its rights, was appointed head of the supreme church college. He was intensely hostile to the papacy, in which he saw the realization of a demoniac power. He was an eager student of the apocalypse. The fruit of his studies was a work entitled *Das Buch mit sieben Siegeln* (Dresden, 1860). His exegesis, however, is not always sound. His ideas on church government are laid down in *Die streitigen Lehren von der Kirche, dem Kirchenamt, dem Kirchenregiment und der Kirchenregierung* (Leipsic, 1863). He published many important writings on law. (R. Rocholl.)

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HUSS, JOHN, HUSSITES.

I. The Life and Work of Huss.
Early Life and Studies (§ 1).
Influence of Wyclif in Bohemia (§ 2).
The Papal Schism (§ 3).
Indulgences (§ 4).
Further Dissensions (§ 5).
The Council of Constance (§ 6).
Trial of Huss (§ 7).
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Huss' Character, Writings, and Teachings (§ 9).
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II. The Hussites.
Effect in Bohemia of the Death of Huss (§ 1).
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The Four Articles of Prague (§ 3).
Calixtines or Utraquists, and Taborites (§ 4).
The Hussite Wars (§ 5).
The Council of Basel and Compactata of Prague (§ 6).
Final Disappearance of the Hussites (§ 7).

I. The Life and Work of Huss: John Huss, the famous Reformer of Bohemia, was born at Hussinetz (Husinecz; 75 m. s.s.w. of Prague)

1. Early Life and Studies.

July 6, 1369, as commonly given; but the day is an inference from the fact that his followers honored his memory on July 6, the day of his death, and the year is probably too late; he was burned at the stake in Constance, June 6, 1415. John Huss is his common English designation, but the name is more correctly written, according to Slavic spelling, Hus. It is an abbreviation from his birthplace made by himself about 1399; in earlier life he was always known as Johann or Jan Hussinetz, or, in Latin, *Johannes de Hussinetz*. His parents were Czechs, in narrow circumstances. Like Luther, he had to earn his living by singing and performing humble services in the Church. He felt inclined toward the clerical profession, not so much by an inner impulse as by the attraction of the tranquil life of the clergy. He studied at Prague, where he must have been as early as the middle of the eighties. He was greatly influenced by Stanislaus of Znaim, who later was long his intimate friend, but finally his bitter enemy. As a student Huss did not distinguish himself. The learned quotations of which he boasted in his writings were mostly taken from Wyclif's works. A hot temper and arrogance were traits of his character, and he was not free from sophistry. In 1393 he became bachelor of arts, in 1394 bachelor of theology, and in 1396 master of arts. In 1400 he was ordained priest, in 1401 he became dean of the philosophical faculty, and in the following year rector. In 1402 he was appointed also preacher of the Bethlehem Church in Prague, where he preached in the Czech language.

2. Influence of Wyclif in Bohemia.

After the marriage of King Wenceslaus' sister, Anne, with Richard II. of England in 1382, the philosophical writings of Wyclif became known in Bohemia. As a student Huss had been greatly attracted by them, particularly by his philosophical realism. His inclination toward ecclesiastical reforms was awakened only by the acquaintance with Wyclif's theological writings. The so-called Hussism in the first decades of the fifteenth century was nothing but Wyclifism transplanted into Bohemian soil. As such it maintained itself until the death of Huss, then it turned into Utraquism, and with logical sequence there followed Taboritism (see below). The theological writings of Wyclif spread widely in Bohemia. They had been brought over, as is said, in 1401 or 1402 by Jerome of Prague, and Huss was greatly moved by them. The university arose against the spread of the new doctrines, and in 1403 prohibited a disputation on forty-five theses taken in part from Wyclif. Under Archbishop Sbinko of Hasenburg (from 1403), Huss enjoyed in the beginning a great reputation. In 1405 he was active as synodical preacher, but on account of his severe attacks upon the clergy the bishop was compelled to depose him.

The development of conditions at the University of Prague depended to a great extent on the question of the papal schism (see Schism). King Wenceslaus, who was on the point of assuming the reins of

government, but whose plans were in no way furthered by Gregory XII., renounced the latter and ordered his prelates to observe a strict neutrality toward both popes, and he expected the same of the university. But the archbishop remained faithful to Gregory, and at the university it was only the Bohemian nation, with Huss as its spokesman, which avowed neutrality. Incensed by this attitude, Wenceslaus, at the instigation of Huss and other Czech leaders, issued a decree according to which there should be conceded to the Bohemian nation three votes in all affairs of the university, while the foreign nations, principally the German, should have only one vote. As a consequence many German doctors, masters, and students left the university in 1409, and the University of Leipsic was founded. Thus Prague lost its international importance and became a Czech school; but the emigrants spread the fame of the Bohemian heresies into the most distant countries.

3. The Papal Schism.

The archbishop was then isolated and Huss at the height of his fame. He became the first rector of the Czech university, and enjoyed the favor of the court. In the mean time, the doctrinal views of Wyclif had spread over the whole country. As long as Sbinko remained obedient to Gregory XII., all opposition to the new spirit was in vain; but as soon as he submitted to Alexander V., conditions changed. The archbishop brought his complaints before the papal see, accusing the Wyclifites as the instigators of all ecclesiastical disturbances in Bohemia. Thereupon the pope issued his bull of Dec. 20, 1409, which empowered the archbishop to proceed against Wyclifism—all books of Wyclif were to be given up, his doctrines revoked, and free preaching discontinued. After the publication of the bull in 1410, Huss appealed to the pope, but in vain. All books and valuable manuscripts of Wyclif were burned, and Huss and his adherents put under the ban. This procedure caused an indescribable commotion among the people down to the lowest classes; in some places turbulent scenes occurred. The government took the part of Huss, and the power of his adherents increased from day to day. He continued to preach in the Bethlehem chapel, and became bolder and bolder in his accusations of the Church. The churches of the city were put under the ban, and the interdict was pronounced against Prague, but without result.

Sbinko died in 1411, and with his death the religious movement in Bohemia entered a new phase—the disputes concerning indulgences arose. In 1411 John XXIII. issued his *Cruciata* against King Ladislaus of Naples, the protector of Gregory XII. In Prague also the cross was preached, and preachers of indulgences urged people to crowd the churches and give their offerings. There developed a traffic in indulgences. Huss, following the example of Wyclif, lifted up his voice against it and wrote his famous *Cruciata*. But he could not carry with him the men of the university. In 1412 a disputation took place, on which occasion Huss delivered his *Quæstio magistri Johannis Hus . . . de indulgentiis*. It was taken literally from the last chapter of Wyclif's book, *De ecclesia*, and his treatise, *De absolutione a pena et culpa*. No pope or bishop, according to Wyclif and Huss, has a right to take up the sword in the name of the Church; he should pray for his enemies and bless those that curse him. Man obtains forgiveness of sins by real repentance, not for money. The doctors of the theological faculty replied, but without success. A few days afterward the people, led by Wok of Waldstein, burnt the papal bulls. Huss, they said, should be obeyed rather than the fraudulent mob of adulterers and simonists. Under the pressure of the opposing party, the king was forced to punish every public insult of the pope and all opposition against his bulls. Three men from the lower classes who openly contradicted the preachers during their sermons and called indulgences a fraud were beheaded. They were the first martyrs of the Hussite Church. The theological faculty requested Huss to present his speeches and doctrines to the dean for an examination, but he refused. In the mean time the faculty had condemned the forty-five articles anew and added several other heretical theses which had originated with Huss. The king forbade the teaching of these articles, but neither Huss nor the university approved of this summary condemnation, requesting that the unscripturalness of the articles should be first proved.

4. Indulgences.

The tumults at Prague had stirred up a sensation, unpleasant for the Roman party; papal legates and Archbishop Albik tried to persuade Huss to give up his opposition against the bulls, and the king made an unsuccessful attempt to reconcile the two parties. In the mean time the clergy of Prague, through Michael de Causis, had brought their complaints before the pope, and he ordered the cardinal of St. Angelo to proceed against Huss without mercy. The cardinal put him under the great church ban. He was to be seized and delivered to the archbishop, and his chapel was to be destroyed. Stricter measures against Huss and his adherents, the counter-measures of the Hussites, and the appeal of Huss from the pope to Jesus Christ as the supreme judge only intensified the excitement among the people and forced Huss to depart from Prague, in compliance with the wish of the king; but his absence had not the expected effect. The excitement continued. The king, being grieved by the disrepute of his country on account of the heresy, made great efforts to harmonize the opposing parties. In 1412 he convoked the heads of his kingdom for a consultation, and at their suggestion ordered a synod to be held at Böhmisch-Brod on Feb. 2, 1412. It did not take place there, but in the palace of the archbishops at Prague, Huss being thus excluded from participation. Propositions were made for the restitution of the peace of the Church, Huss requiring especially that Bohemia should have the same freedom in regard to ecclesiastical affairs as other countries, and that approbation and condemnation should therefore be announced only with the permission of the state power. This is wholly the doctrine of Wyclif (*Sermones*, iii. 519, etc.). There followed treatises from both parties, but no harmony was obtained. "Even if

5. Further Dissensions.

I should stand before the stake which has been prepared for me," Huss wrote in those days, " I would never accept the recommendation of the theological faculty." The synod did not produce any results, but the king did not yet give up his hope—he ordered a commission to continue the work of reconciliation. The doctors of the university required from Huss and his adherents an approval of their conception of the Church, according to which the pope is the head, the cardinals the body of the Church, and that all regulations of this Church must be obeyed. Huss protested vigorously against this conception since it made pope and cardinals alone the Church. Nevertheless the Hussite party seems to have approached the standpoint of their opponents as closely as possible. To the article that the Roman Church must be obeyed, they added " so far as every pious Christian is bound." Stanislaus of Znaim and Stephan of Palecz protested against this addition and left the convention. The king exiled them, with two other spokesmen. Of the writings occasioned by these controversies, that of Huss on the Church (*De ecclesia*) has been most frequently quoted and admired or criticized, and yet it is in the first ten chapters but a meagre epitome of Wyclif's work of the same title, and in the following chapters an abstract of a work by the same author (*De potestate pape*) on the power of the pope Wyclif had written his book to oppose the common view that the Church consisted only of the clergy, and Huss now found himself in a similar condition. He wrote his work at the castle of one of his protectors in Kozí hradek, near Austie, and sent it to Prague, where it was publicly read in the Bethlehem chapel. It was answered by Stanislaus of Znaim and Palecz with treatises of the same title. After the most vehement opponents of Huss had left Prague, his adherents occupied the whole ground. Huss wrote his treatises and preached in the neighborhood of Kozí hradek. Bohemian Wyclifism was carried into Poland, Hungary, Croatia, and Austria; but at the same time the papal court was not inactive. In Jan., 1413, there assembled at Rome a general council which condemned the writings of Wyclif and ordered them to be burned.

6. The Council of Constance.

To put an end to the papal schism and to take up the long desired reform of the Church, a general council was convened for Nov. 1, 1414, at Constance. The Emperor Sigismund, brother of Wenceslaus, and heir to the Bohemian crown, was anxious to clear the country from the blemish of heresy. Huss likewise was willing to make an end of all dissensions, and gladly followed the request of Sigismund to go to Constance. From the sermons which he took along, it is evident that he purposed to convert the assembled fathers to his own (i.e., Wyclif's) principal doctrines. Sigismund promised him safe-conduct. Provided with sufficient testimonies concerning his orthodoxy, and after having made his will as if he had divined his death, he started on his journey (Oct. 11, 1414). On Nov. 3 he arrived at Constance, and on the following day the bulletins on the church doors announced that Michael of Deutschbrod would be the opponent of Huss, the heretic. In the beginning Huss was at liberty, making his abode at the house of a widow, but after a few weeks his opponents succeeded in imprisoning him, on the strength of a rumor that he intended to flee. He was first brought into the residence of a canon, and thence, on Dec. 6, into the dungeon of the Dominican monastery. Sigismund was greatly angered at the abuse of his letter of safe-conduct and threatened the prelates with dismissal, but when it was hinted that in such a case the council would be dissolved, there was nothing left for him but to accommodate himself to the circumstances. Thus the fate of Huss was sealed. On Dec. 4 the pope had entrusted a committee of three bishops with a preliminary investigation against him. The witnesses for the prosecution were heard, but Huss was refused an advocate for his defense. His situation became worse after the catastrophe of John XXIII., who had left Constance to evade the necessity of abdicating (see John XXIII.). So far Huss had been the captive of the pope and in constant intercourse with his friends, but now he was delivered to the archbishop of Constance and brought to his castle, Gottlieben on the Rhine. Here he remained seventy-three days, separated from his friends, chained day and night, poorly fed, and tortured by disease.

7. Trial of Huss.

On June 5 he was tried for the first time, and for that purpose was transferred to the Franciscan monastery, where he spent the last weeks of his life. He acknowledged the writings on the Church against Palecz and Stanislaus of Znaim as his own, and declared himself willing to recant, if errors should be proven to him. Huss conceded his veneration of Wyclif, and said that he could only wish his soul might some time attain unto that place where Wyclif's was. On the other hand, he denied having defended Wyclif's doctrine of the Lord's Supper, or the forty-five articles; he had only opposed their summary condemnation. The king admonished him to deliver himself up to the mercy of the council, as he did not desire to protect a heretic. At the last trial, on June 8, there were read to him thirty-nine sentences, twenty-six of which had been excerpted from his book on the Church, seven from his treatise against Palecz, and six from that against Stanislaus. Almost all of his articles may be traced back to Wyclif. The danger of some of these doctrines as regards worldly power was explained to the emperor to incite him against Huss. The latter declared himself willing to submit if he could be convinced of errors. He desired only a fairer trial and more time to explain the reasons for his views. If his reasons and Bible texts did not suffice, he would be glad to be instructed. This declaration was considered an unconditional surrender, and he was asked to confess (1) that he had erred in the theses which he had hitherto maintained; (2) that he renounced them for the future; (3) that he recanted them; and (4) that he declared the opposite of these sentences. He asked to be exempted from recanting doctrines which he had never taught; others, which the assembly considered erroneous, he was willing to revoke; to act differently would be against his conscience. These words found no favorable reception. After the

trial on June 8, several other attempts were made to induce him to recant, but he resisted all of them. The attitude of Sigismund was due to political considerations—he looked upon the return of Huss to his country as dangerous, and thought the terror of execution would not be without effect. Huss no longer hoped for life, indeed martyrdom responded to an inner desire of his being.

8. Condemnation and Execution.

The condemnation took place on July 6 in the presence of the solemn assembly of the council in the cathedral. After the performance of high mass and liturgy, Huss was led into the church. The bishop of Lodi delivered an oration on the duty of eradicating heresy; then some theses of Huss and Wyclif and a report of his trial were read. He protested loudly several times, and when his appeal to Christ was rejected as a condemnable heresy, he exclaimed, "O God and Lord, now the council condemns even thine own act and thine own law as heresy, since thou thyself didst lay thy cause before thy Father as the just judge, as an example for us, whenever we are sorely oppressed." An Italian prelate pronounced the sentence of condemnation upon Huss and his writings. Again he protested loudly, saying that even at this hour he did not wish anything but to be convinced from Holy Scripture. He fell upon his knees and asked God with a low voice to forgive all his enemies. Then followed his degradation—he was enrobed in priestly vestments and again asked to recant; again he refused. With curses his ornaments were taken from him, his priestly tonsure was destroyed, and the sentence was pronounced that the Church had deprived him of all rights and delivered him to the secular powers. Then a high paper hat was put upon his head, with the inscription *Hæresiarcha*. Thus Huss was led away to the stake under a strong guard of armed men. At the place of execution he knelt down, spread out his hands, and prayed aloud. Some of the people asked that a confessor should be given him, but a bigoted priest exclaimed, a heretic should neither be heard nor given a confessor. The executioners undressed Huss and tied his hands behind his back with ropes, and his neck with a chain to a stake around which wood and straw had been piled up so that it covered him to the neck. Still at the last moment, the imperial marshal, Von Pappenheim, in the presence of the Count Palatine, asked him to save his life by a recantation, but Huss declined with the words "God is my witness that I have never taught that of which I have been accused by false witnesses. In the truth of the Gospel which I have written, taught, and preached I will die to-day with gladness." Thereupon the fire was kindled. With uplifted voice Huss sang, "Christ, thou Son of the living God, have mercy upon me." When he started this for the third time and continued "who art born of Mary the virgin," the wind blew the flame into his face; he still moved lips and head, and then died of suffocation. His clothes were thrown into the fire, his ashes gathered and cast into the near-by Rhine.

The Czech people, who in his lifetime had loved Huss as their prophet and apostle, now adored him as their saint and martyr. He possessed high virtues, but in his struggles with the University of Prague and his ecclesiastical opponents he can not be freed altogether from the reproach of slander and abuse. His learning was not of a universal range; wherever he goes beyond Wyclif, he falters and becomes dull or verbose. He left only a few reformatory writings in the proper sense of the word, most of his works being polemical treatises against Stanislaus and Polecz. It is doubtful whether he knew all the works of Wyclif. He translated the *Trialogus*, and was very familiar with his works on the body of the Lord, on the Church, on the power of the pope, and especially with his sermons. The book on the Church and on the power of the pope contains the essence of the doctrine of Huss. According to it, the Church is not that hierarchy which is generally designated as Church; the Church is the entire body of those who from eternity have been predestined for salvation. Christ, not the pope, is its head. It is no article of faith that one must obey the pope to be saved. Neither external membership in the Church nor churchly offices and dignities are a surety that the persons in question are members of the true Church. What he says in his sermons on the corruption of the Church, clergy, and monks, on the duties of secular powers, etc., he has taken almost literally from Wyclif. His three great sermons, *De sufficientia legis Christi*, *De fidei suæ elucidatione*, and *De pace*, with which he thought to carry away the whole council at Constance, are exact reproductions of Wyclif's sermons. He claims not to have shared Wyclif's views regarding the sacraments, but this is not certain. The soil had been well prepared for this very doctrine in Bohemia. There are reasons to suppose that Wyclif's doctrine of the Lords' Supper had spread to Prague as early as 1399. It gained an even wider circulation after it had been prohibited in 1403, and Huss preached and taught it, although it is possible that he simply repeated it without advocating it. But the doctrine was seized eagerly by the radical party, the Taborites, who made it the central point of their system.

9. Huss' Character, Writings, and Teachings.

10. Source of His Influence.

The great success of Huss in his native country was due mainly to his unsurpassed pastoral activity, which far excelled that of the famous old preachers of Bohemia. But even here Huss was the docile pupil of the Englishman. Huss himself put the highest value on the sermon and knew how to awaken the enthusiasm of the masses. His sermons are often inflammatory as regards their contents; he introduces his quarrels with his spiritual superiors, criticizes contemporaneous events, or appeals to his congregation as witness or judge. It was this bearing which multiplied his adherents, and thus he became the true apostle of his English master without being himself a theorist in theological questions. In the art of governing and leading masses he was unexcelled. Huss' warm friend and devoted follower, Jerome of Prague (q.v.), shared his fate, although he did not suffer death till nearly a year later.

II. The Hussites: The arrest of Huss had excited considerable resentment in Bohemia and Moravia. In both countries the estates appealed repeatedly and urgently to Sigismund to deliver Huss. On the arrival of the news of his death disturbances broke out which were directed at first against the clergy, especially against the monks. Even the archbishop saved himself with difficulty from the rage of the populace. In the country places conditions were not much better. Everywhere the treatment of Huss was felt as a disgrace inflicted upon the whole country, and his death was looked upon as a criminal act. King Wenceslaus, prompted by his grudge against Sigismund, at first gave free vent to his indignation at the course of events in Constance; and his wife openly favored the friends of Huss. Pronounced Hussites stood at the head of the government. A league was formed by certain lords who pledged themselves to protect the free preaching of the Gospel upon all their possessions and estates, and to obey the power of the bishops only in case their orders accorded with the injunctions of the Bible. In disputed points the decision of the university should be resorted to. The entire Hussite nobility joined the league, and if the king had entered it, its resolutions would have received the sanction of the law; but he refused, and approached the Roman Catholic league of lords, which was now formed, the members pledging themselves to cling to the king, the Roman Church, and the Council. Signs of the outbreak of a civil war began to show themselves. Pope Martin V., who, while still Cardinal Otto of Colonna, had attacked Huss with relentless severity, energetically resumed the battle against Hussism after the enactments of the Council of Constance. He intended to eradicate completely the doctrine of Huss. For this purpose the cooperation of King Wenceslaus had to be obtained. In 1418 Sigismund succeeded in winning his brother over to the standpoint of the council by pointing out the inevitableness of a religious war if the heretics in Bohemia found further protection. Hussite statesmen and army leaders had to leave the country, and Roman priests were reinstituted. These measures caused a general commotion which hastened the death of Wenceslaus by a paralytic stroke in 1419. His heir was Sigismund.

1. Effect in Bohemia of the Death of Huss.

Hussism had organized itself during the years 1415–1419. From the beginning two parties were found: the closer adherents of Huss clung to his standpoint, leaving the whole hierarchical and liturgical order of the Church untouched; the radical party identified itself more boldly with the doctrines of Wyclif, shared his passionate hatred of the monastic clergy, and, like him, attempted to lead the Church back to its condition during the time of the apostles, which necessitated the removal of the existing hierarchy and the secularization of ecclesiastical possessions. The radicals among the Hussites sought to translate their theories into reality; they preached the *sufficientia legis Christi*—only the divine law (i.e., the Bible) is the rule and canon for man, and that not only in ecclesiastical matters, but also in political and civil matters. They rejected therefore, as early as 1416, everything that has no basis in the Bible, as the adoration of saints and pictures, fasts, superfluous holidays, the oath, intercession for the dead, auricular confession, indulgences, the sacraments of confirmation and extreme unction, admitted laymen and women to the preacher's office, chose their own priests. But before everything they clung to Wyclif's doctrine of the Lord's Supper, denying transubstantiation, and this is the principal point by which they are distinguished from the moderate party.

2. Two Parties in Bohemia.

The program of the more conservative Hussites is contained in the four articles of Prague, which were agreed upon in July, 1420, and promulgated in the Latin, Czech, and German languages: (1) Freedom in preaching; (2) communion in both kinds; (3) reduction of the clergy to apostolic poverty; (4) severe punishment of all open sins.

3. The Four Articles of Prague.

The views of the moderate Hussites were represented at the university and among the citizens of Prague; therefore they were called the Prague party; they were also called Calixtines or Utraquists, because they emphasized the second article, and the chalice became their emblem. The radicals had their gathering-place in the small town of Austie, on the Luschnitz, south of Prague. But as the place was not defensible, they founded a city upon a neighboring hill, which they called Tabor; hence they were called Taborites. They comprised the essential force of Hussism. Their aim was to destroy the enemies of the law of God, and to extend his kingdom by the sword. For the former purpose they waged bloody wars, for the second purpose they established a strict jurisdiction, inflicting the severest punishment not only upon heinous crimes like murder and adultery, but also upon faults like perjury and usury, and tried to apply the conditions required in the law of God to the social relations of the world.

4. Calixtines or Utraquists, and Taborites.

The news of the death of King Wenceslaus produced the greatest commotion among the people of Prague. A revolution swept over the country; churches and monasteries were destroyed, and the ecclesiastical possessions were seized by the Hussite nobility. Sigismund could get possession of his kingdom only by the power of arms. Martin V. called upon all Christians of the Occident to take up arms against the Hussites, and there followed a twelve-years' war which was carried on by the Hussites at first defensively, but after 1427 they assumed the offensive. Apart from their religious aims, they fought for the national interests of the Czechs. The moderate and radical parties were united and they not only repelled the attacks of the army of crusaders, but entered the neighboring countries.

5. The Hussite Wars.

At last their opponents were forced to think of an amicable settlement. A Bohemian embassy was invited to appear at the council of Basel. The discussions began on Jan. 10, 1432, centering chiefly in the four articles of Prague. No agreement was

arrived at. After repeated negotiations between Basel and Bohemia, a Bohemian-Moravian state assembly in Prague accepted the *Compactata* of Prague on Nov. 30, 1433. Communion in both kinds was granted to all who desired it, but with the understanding that Christ was entirely present in each kind. Free preaching was granted conditionally; priests must be approved and sent by their superiors, and the power of the bishop must be considered. The article which prohibits the secular power of the clergy was almost reversed. The Taborites refused to conform, and the Calixtines united with the Roman Catholics and destroyed the Taborites in a battle near Lipan (May 30, 1434). From that time the Taborites lose their importance. The *Compactata* were confirmed at the state assembly of Iglau in 1436 and received the sanction of law. Thus the reconciliation of Bohemia with Rome and the Western Church was accomplished, and now Sigismund first obtained possession of the Bohemian crown. His reactionary measures caused a ferment in the whole country, but he died in 1437. Wyclif's doctrine of the Lord's Supper, which was obnoxious to the Utraquists, was rejected as heresy at the state assembly in Prague in 1444. Most of the Taborites now went over to the party of the Utraquists; the rest joined the "Brothers of the Law of Christ" (see Unity of the Brethren; also Bohemian Brethren).

6. The Council of Basel and Compactata of Prague.

The Utraquists had retained hardly anything of the doctrines of Huss except communion in both kinds. In 1462 Pius II. declared the *Compactata* null and void, prohibited communion in both kinds, and acknowledged George of Podiebrad as king under the condition that he would promise an unconditional harmony with the Roman Church. This he refused, but his successor, King Vladislaus II., favored the Roman Catholics and proceeded against some zealous clergymen of the Calixtines. The troubles of the Utraquists increased from year to year. In 1485, at the diet of Kuttenberg, an agreement between the Roman Catholics and Utraquists was obtained which lasted for thirty-one years. But it was considerably later, at the diet of 1512, that the equal rights of both religions were permanently established. Luther's appearance was hailed by the Utraquist clergy, and Luther himself was astonished to find so many points of agreement between the doctrines of Huss and his own. But not all Utraquists approved of the German Reformation; a schism arose among them, and many returned to the Roman doctrine, while the better elements had long before joined the *Unitas Fratrum*. Under Maximilian II., the Bohemian state assembly established the *Confessio Bohemica*, upon which Lutherans, Reformed, and Bohemian Brethren agreed. From that time Hussism began to die out; but it was completely eradicated only after the battle at the White Mountain (Nov. 8, 1620) and the Roman Catholic reaction which fundamentally changed the ecclesiastical conditions of Bohemia and Moravia.

(J. Loserth.)

7. Final Disappearance of the Hussites.

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HUT (HUTT), HANS: A eader of the Anabaptists; b. at Hain, near Grimmenthal, in Franconia; d. at Augsburg Sept., 1527. As an itinerant book pedler he traveled over a large part of Germany and Austria and imbibed radical ideas. At Weissenfels, probably in 1524, he came into contact with the Anabaptists. His tentative adhesion to their ideas and his promulgation of the writings of Münzer led to his expulsion from Bibra. He joined in the peasant uprising, was with Münzer during the battle of Frankenhausen where the peasant bands were overwhelmed. At Pentecost, 1525, he appeared at Bibra, and summoned the peasants to rise against the authorities. Expelled once more, he resumed his wandering life, and in the summer of 1526 was finally won over by Denk to the tenets of the Anabaptists. He now entered upon a tremendously active apostolate. A man of simple and fiery eloquence, and of passionate convictions, he wandered through South Germany and Austria preaching, baptizing, and appointing apostles to carry on the

work. In the mighty rise of the Anabaptist movement in Bavaria, Franconia, Swabia, and Austria between 1526 and 1528, his labors were of primary importance. Around his personality, mysterious and partaking somewhat of the prophet's, legend gathered. There was a popular belief that he made use of a magic potion to win men to himself, and he was reputed to be the possessor of a book given by the Lord to the prophet Daniel. He was personally convinced of his divine mission, and regarded himself as the prophet sent to announce the approaching end of things. He presented a detailed scheme of the final judgment and the resurrection and promulgated his ideas with a vehemence that brought him into conflict with the moderate Anabaptists. Thus toward the end of 1526, while at Nikolsburg, dissension arose between him and Hübmaier. A disputation took place in the presence of the territorial lord, Von Liechtenstein, in the course of which Hut is said to have formulated certain articles which, in different editions and under the general designation of the Nikolsburg Articles, played an important part in later Anabaptist history. What is certain, however, is that Hut, in opposition to Hübmaier, upheld ideas of an extreme chiliastic nature and argued for the exemption of believers from secular authority, and that he was declared defeated and forced to flee. [He insisted upon community of goods, and asserted that Christians should not pay taxes to the civil powers because the money might be used in carnal warfare. A. H. N.] Hübmaier presented fifty-two articles as emanating from Hut, the authorship of which the latter denied. Nevertheless, it is certain that some of the propositions, such as that announcing the advent of Christ within two years and the coming destruction of the godless, were taught by Hut, while more extreme statements like that asserting the humanity of Christ were held in circles with which Hut stood in close connection. In Aug., 1527, Hut came to Augsburg to attend the general assembly of Anabaptists. He was arrested on Sept. 15, and was subjected to torture, confessing, however, to no more than was already known of his teachings. Anticipating conviction, he is said to have set fire to his prison cot and died of his injuries after eight days.

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HUTCHINSON, ANNE. See Antinomianism and Antinomian Controversies, II, 2.

HUTCHINSON, JOHN: English theological writer; b. at Spennithorne (36 m. w.n.w. of York), Yorkshire, 1674; d. in London Aug. 28, 1737. Such education as he had he received chiefly from a gentleman who lodged in his father's house. He served as steward in several families, being last employed in this capacity in the household of the duke of Somerset, who secured for him a sinecure worth £200 a year to enable him to write an exposition of his system. Hutchinson's best known work is *Moses' Principia* (2 parts, London, 1724–1727), in which he defended what he considered the Mosaic cosmogony and attempted to refute Newton's theory of gravitation. He interpreted the Bible mystically, and regarded it as the infallible source of all true religion, philosophy, and science. He maintained that the original Hebrew, when read without points, would confirm his teachings. At one time his writings exerted considerable influence, and his followers, who were called Hutchinsonians, included such men as Duncan Forbes, John Parkhurst, George Horne, and William Jones of Nayland. His *Philosophical and Theological Works* were edited by two of his disciples, Robert Spearman and Julius Bate (12 vols., London, 1748; *Supplement*, 1765). There is an *Abstract from the Works of J. Hutchinson* (Edinburgh, 1753), which has been attributed to Horne.

Bibliography: The *Life*, by R. Spearman, is prefixed to the supplementary vol. of the *Works*, ut sup.; John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the 18th Century*, i. 421–422, iii. 154, 9 vols., London, 1812–15; L. Stephen, *Hist. of English Thought in the 18th Century*, i. 389–391, ib. 1880; *DNB*, xxviii. 342–343.

HUTTEN, hut'ṭen, ULRICH VON: Knight, humanist, and popular writer; b. at the castle of Steckelberg, near Fulda, in Franconia, Apr. 21, 1488; d. on the island of Ufnau, in the Lake of Zurich, Aug. (or Sept.), 1523. He descended from a noble Frankish family, and was placed in the abbey of Fulda at the age of eleven, but after six years he fled from Fulda and broke with his father. Impelled by a glowing zeal for education and culture, the knight entered the University of Cologne and became a humanist and classical scholar. He then studied in Italy, the Beulah of the humanists. During a temporary sojourn in Germany he came forward as the avenger of his family against Duke Ulrich of Württemberg, who had assassinated Hans von Hutten, the head of the Hutten family, and in a number of satirical pamphlets depicted the duke as a monster and tyrant. In 1517 he settled permanently in Germany, and immediately took part in the struggles of the time; the great aim of his life was to free Germany from the yoke under which it was held by the pope and the Curia, and for this cause he wrote and fought with great valor. He took the part of Johann Reuchlin (q.v.), contributed money for the publication of the *Epistolæ obscurorum virorum* (q.v.), and published satirical dialogues. His poetical achievements induced Emperor Maximilian to crown him with the laurel (1517). Then Hutten served at the court of Archbishop Albert of Mainz. His eyes were first opened to the real importance of the Reformation at the disputation at Leipsic in 1519. Thenceforth his only aim was to aid Luther in his struggle to deliver Germany from the Roman yoke. He demanded a restriction of papal rights in Rome as well as in Germany, a reduction of the number of ecclesiastics, and an abolition of the monasteries. Instead of benefice-hunters pious men should administer the spiritual offices. From the emoluments of prebends and monasteries and from annats, a fund should be established for the formation of a standing army of knights and common soldiers (*Landsknechte*), for the protection of the

empire, as a counterbalance against the habitual appeal to the support of the pope.

The motive power of Hutten's plans was political and social rather than religious, and he lacked a deep understanding of the religious side of Luther. This does not exclude, however, a mutual influence. Luther undoubtedly received an impulse from Hutten's edition of the famous work of Lorenzo Valla on the donation of Constantine (1518) and from his *Römische Dreifaltigkeit* (1519); and, on the other hand, Hutten owed a great deal more to the theologian, especially the Biblical and Evangelical atmosphere of his later productions and his decision to address the masses in their mother tongue. After Rome had demanded the arrest and extradition of Hutten, he found a refuge at the castle of Franz von Sickingen (1520). In his writings his language became more threatening and inflammatory. Hope that the emperor would relax toward the Reformation was destroyed by the Diet of Worms. Without trial Hutten was put under the ban and compelled to leave the security of Sickingen's castle. He tried to uphold his friends, who were on the point of forsaking his cause, but the days of his glory had gone, and his efforts had failed of tangible results. His great plans of uniting the German nobility and free cities against the princes, and of eliminating all benefice-hunters from spiritual offices miscarried completely. He sought refuge in Schlettstadt, Basel, and Mühlhausen, but none of these cities tolerated him. Robbed of his fortune, and suffering from illness, he finally came to Zurich, where Zwingli took care of him until his early death. (H. Ulmann.)

Bibliography: His *Opera* were collected by E. Böcking, 5 and 2 vols., Leipsic, 1859–70. On his German writings consult S. Szamatolski, *Ulrichs von Hutten deutsche Schriften*, Strasburg, 1891. For his life consult: D. Strauss, *Ulrich von Hutten*, Leipsic, 1871, Eng. transl., abridged London, 1874; P. Bayle, *Dictionary Historical and Critical*, pp. 539–541, London, 1735; *ADB*, vol. xiii.; J. Deckert, *Ulrich von Huttens Leben und Wirken*, Vienna, 1901; S. M. Jackson, *Huldreich Zwingli*, pp. 213–220, New York, 1903.

HUTTER, ELIAS: German Biblical scholar; b. at Görlitz 1553; d. in Augsburg or Frankfort between 1605 and 1609. He devoted himself to Oriental languages as a student at Jena and university teacher at Leipsic; in 1579 he taught Hebrew to the elector Augustus of Saxony. He gave his life with self-sacrificing industry to the issuing of Holy Scripture. The first product of these labors was a Hebrew Bible (1587), which was later incorporated in the "Hamburg Polyglot" (see Bibles, Polyglot, V.). After several unsuccessful attempts he produced, at Nuremberg (1599), the Old Testament as far as the Book of Ruth in six languages, giving in five columns the Chaldee, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and German versions, while the sixth column presented either the Low German, French, Italian, or Slavic text. In the same year the New Testament followed in twelve languages, and in 1602, the Psalter, in quadruple translations, the whole constituting the "Nuremberg Polyglot" (see Bibles, Polyglot, V.). He also issued the Prophets in twelve, and the Gospels in four languages. Owing to Hutter's arbitrary treatment of the text, these issues are no longer important. Their contemporary success fell short of his indefatigable efforts, even though he enjoyed plenty of powerful patronage. In 1600 Charles IX. of Sweden applied to him to produce a Swedish Bible. As pedagogical reformer, Hutter exerted himself to found a school of languages at Nuremberg, where Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and German should be learned within four years—a thing at that time without precedent in any school or university. One of his precious possessions was the manuscript of Melanchthon's *Loci communes*. Georg Müller.

Bibliography: *Unschuldige Nachrichten von alten und neuen theologischen Sachen*, pp. 392–400, 580–583, Leipsic, 1716; G. A. Will, *Nürnberger Gelehrtenlexikon*, ii. 213, vi. 147, 8 vols., Nuremberg, 1755–1808; J. G. Walch, *Bibliotheca theologica selecta*, iv. 8, 36 sqq., Jena, 1765; J. B. Glaire, *Introduction historique et critique aux livres de l'A. et du N. T.*, i. 226 sqq., Paris, 1839; *ADB*, xiii. 475–476.

HUTTER (HUTTERUS), LEONHARD: German Lutheran; b. at Hellingen (near Blaubeuren, 10 m. w.n.w. of Ulm), Württemberg, Jan., 1563; d. at Wittenberg Oct. 23, 1616. He studied at the universities of Strasburg, Leipsic, Heidelberg, and Jena, took his doctorate in theology at Jena in 1594, and became professor of theology at Wittenberg in 1596. After the reiterated overthrow of the Philippists in electoral Saxony in 1574 and 1591, the University of Wittenberg took the first rank as a school of Lutheran orthodoxy, and Hutter was the most orthodox of the orthodox Lutherans. He has been regarded as the prototype of orthodox Lutheran dogmatics and polemics. No one has confined himself more strictly within the borders of the Lutheran doctrine as authorized and formulated by the Church; no one has adhered with greater faithfulness not only to the spirit, but to the letter of the Lutheran symbols, especially of the Formula of Concord, to which he ascribed almost the character of inspiration. He did not recognize a developing dogmatics; for him dogma was fixed and crystallized, and he considered it as the objective norm against all attacks of other churches and sects.

Hutter's literary activity is almost entirely confined to the two sciences which at his time formed the gist of theological encyclopedia—dogmatics and polemics. His earliest writings were devoted to the explanation and defense of the Lutheran symbols, e.g. his *Analysis methodica articulorum Confessionis Augustanæ etc.* (Wittenberg, 1594), his *Collegium theologicum sive xl disputationes de articulis Confessionis Augustanæ et libri christianæ Concordiæ* (1610), and especially his extensive commentary on the Book of Concord entitled *Libri christianæ Concordiæ explicatio plana et perspicua* (1608). But his principal work is his *Compendium locorum theologicorum ex Scriptura Sacra et libro Concordiæ collectum* (1610 and often). It owes its origin to the order of Elector Christian II. requesting the Wittenberg faculty to write a simple and clear compendium in strict accordance with the Formula of Concord. This new book was to take its place as the official text-book in the learned institutions of Saxony. It consists of thirty-four *loci* following in the main Melanchthon's order and method, and is arranged in catechetical form, the questions and answers being adapted to the needs of three different stages of pupils. As far as possible, the Lutheran doctrine

is set forth in the very words of the Augsburg Confession and the Formula of Concord. Besides translations of the work into various modern languages, there appeared many commentaries, compilations, and enlarged editions. Hutter's other important work, entitled *Loci communes theologici* (1619), is an enlargement of the compendium. In his polemical writings Hutter attacked the Calvinists and Roman Catholics and all tendency to harmonize the two Protestant confessions. Against the irenical efforts of the Heidelberg theologian, David Pareus, he wrote *Irenicum vere christianum* (1616), and against the Calvinists he addressed his *Calvinista Aulico-Politicus* (1610). When the Formula of Concord was attacked by Rudolf Hospinianus in a treatise entitled *Concordia discors* (Zurich, 1607), Hutter replied with his *Concordia concors de origine et progressu Formulæ Concordiæ ecclesiarum Augustanæ Confessionis* (1614). In the same way he defended the Lutheran Church against Roman Catholic opponents such as Bellarmine, Gretser, and others.

(Johannes Kunze.)

Bibliography: H. Witte, *Memoriæ theologorum nostri seculi*, Frankfort, 1674; F. Jani, *De L. Huttero eiusque compendiis*, Leipsic, 1727; A. Weyermann, *Nachrichten von Gelehrten . . . aus Ulm*, pp. 343–355, Ulm, 1798; C. A. Hase, *Hutterus redivivus, oder Dogmatik der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche*, Leipsic, 1839; A. G. Hoffmann, in Ersch and Gruber, *Encyklopädie*, II., xiii. 222–229; W Gass, *Geschichte der protestantischen Dogmatik*, i. 251–259, Berlin, 1854; G. Frank, *Geschichte der protestantischen Theologie*, i. 330–332, Leipsic, 1862.

HUTTON, ARTHUR WOLLASTON: Church of England; b. at Spridlington (28 m. s. of Hull), Lincolnshire, Sept. 5, 1848. He was educated at Exeter College, Oxford (B.A., 1871), and was ordered deacon in 1871 and ordained priest in 1872. He was curate of St. Barnabas, Oxford, from 1871 to 1873, when he succeeded his father as rector of Spridlington. In 1876 he was received into the communion of the Roman Catholic Church by John Henry Newman. He was then a member of the Birmingham Oratory until 1883, in close association with the cardinal. He was librarian of the National Liberal Club from its foundation in 1887 to 1899. He returned to the Church of England in 1898, became rector of Easthope, Shropshire, in 1899, curate of St. Luke's, Richmond, in 1901, and rector of St. Mary-le-Bow, Cheapside, London, in 1903. In theology he is a liberal Evangelical. His writings include: *Our Position as Catholics in the Church of England* (London, 1872); *The Anglican Ministry* (1879); *Cardinal Manning* (1892); *Ecclesia discens* (1904); *Burford Papers* (1905); *The Church and the Barbarians* (1906); and *William Stubbs* (1906). He edited S. R. Maitland's *Essays on Subjects connected with the Reformation in England* (1899); J. H. Newman's *Lives of the English Saints* (2 vols., 1900); and J. Tauler's *The Inner Way* 1901).

HUTTON, WILLIAM HOLDEN: Church of England; b. at Gate Burton, Lincolnshire, May 24, 1860. He studied at Magdalen College, Oxford (B.A., 1882), and in 1884 became a fellow and tutor of St. John's College, Oxford. He was Birkbeck Lecturer in ecclesiastical history at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1895–97, and examining chaplain to Bishop Compton of Ely from 1896 to 1905, also Bampton Lecturer in 1903, and select preacher at Oxford (1898–1900), Dublin (1903), and Cambridge (1905). He became curator of the Indian Institute, Oxford, in 1900. His publications include *The Political Disturbances which Accompanied the Early Period of the Reformation in Germany* (London, 1881); *The Misrule of Henry III.* (1887); *Simon de Montfort* (1888); *Marquess Wellesley* (1893); *Sir Thomas More* (1895); *William Laud* (1895); *King and Baronage* (1895); *Philip Augustus* (1896); *Hampton Court* (1896); *The Church of the Sixth Century* (1897); *History of St. John Baptist College, Oxford* (1898); *A Short History of the Church in Great Britain* (1899); *St. Thomas of Canterbury* (1899); *Constantinople* (1900); *Influence of Christianity upon National Character Illustrated by Lives and Legends of the English Saints* (Bampton lectures, 1903); *The English Church*, 1625–1714 (1903); and *By Thames and Cotswold* (1903). He edited *Letters of Bishop Stubbs* (London, 1904), and *The Burford Letters* (1905).

HYACINTH, FATHER. See Loyson, Charles.

HYDE, THOMAS: English Orientalist; b. at Billingsley (20 m. s.e. of Shrewsbury), Shropshire, June 29, 1636; d. at Oxford Feb. 18, 1703. He studied Oriental languages under his father, and in his sixteenth year entered King's College, Cambridge. A year later he was invited to London to assist Brian Walton on his Polyglot. He corrected the Arabic, Persian, and Syriac versions, transcribed into Persic characters the Persian translation of the Pentateuch, which had been printed in Hebrew characters at Constantinople, and appended a Latin version of his own. In 1658 he entered Queen's College, Oxford (M.A., 1659; D.D., 1682), where, in the same year, he became reader in Hebrew. In 1659 he was appointed under-keeper of the Bodleian Library, and from 1665 to 1701 he was librarian-in-chief. In 1666 he was made prebendary of Salisbury Cathedral, and in 1773 archdeacon of Gloucester. He became Laudian professor of Arabic at Oxford in 1691, and regius professor of Hebrew and canon of Christ Church in 1697. Under Charles II., James II., and William III., he was interpreter and secretary in Oriental languages to the government. His principal work is the *Historia religionis veterum Persarum* (Oxford, 1700; 2d ed. by T. Hunt, 1760), which was the first attempt at a scholarly treatment of the subject. Other writings were collected by Gregory Sharpe and published, with a *Vita*, under the title *Syntagma dessertationum* (2 vols., 1667).

Bibliography: A. à Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, ed. P. Bliss, iv. 522–527, London, 1820; *DNB*, xxviii. 401–402.

HYDE, WILLIAM DE WITT: American Congregationalist; b. at Winchendon, Mass., Sept. 23, 1858. He was educated at Harvard (A.B., 1879), Union Theological Seminary (1879–80), and Andover Theological Seminary, from which he was graduated in 1882. After a pastorate of two years at Paterson, N. J., he became president of Bowdoin College in 1885. He has written *Practical Ethics* (New York, 1892); *Social Theology* (1895); *Practical Idealism* (1897); *The Evolution of a College Student* (1898);

God's Education of Man (Boston, 1899); *The Art of Optimism* (New York, 1900); *School Speaker and Reader* (Boston, 1900); *The Cardinal Virtues* (New York, 1901); *Jesus' Way* (Boston, 1902); *The New Ethics* (New York, 1903); *From Epicurus to Christ* (1904); and *Abba Father; or the Religion of Every Day Life* (1908).

HYDROPARASTATÆ (AQUARII): A sect that used water instead of wine in the Lord's Supper. They were named in three edicts of the *Codex Theodosianus* (lib. xvi. 5, 7, 9 and 11) in connection with the Manicheans, and were also called *Encratitæ*, *Apotactitæ* and *Saccophori*. Theodoret (*MPG*, lxxxiii. 369) associated them with the Encratites as adherents of Tatian (cf. Chrysostom, *MPG*, liii. 740; Philastrius, *Hær.* lxxvii.; Augustine, *Hær.* lxiv.; Prædestinatus, *Hær.* lxiv.). The existence of the sect in earlier centuries is not attested, although, undoubtedly, at a still earlier date than that of the Aquarians, encratistic tendencies might well have led to the disuse of communion wine. On the other hand, the practise which Cyprian censured (*ANF*, v. 359), of administering bread and water at communion, was not encratistic, but founded on the fear that by the use of wine in the early morning, people might betray themselves to be Christians.

G. Krüger.

Bibliography: F. Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne*, part ix. 2648–54 (exhaustive); *DCB*, iii. 183; Schaff, *Christian Church*, ii. 495; Kurtz, *Church History*, i. 116, New York, 1889; A. Scheiwiler, *Die Elemente der Eucharistie in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*, Mainz, 1903.

HYGINUS, hi-jai'nus: A bishop of Rome in the second century. In the oldest lists his name stands eighth, between Telesphorus and Anicetus, and his episcopate is assigned to the years 136–40. But no dependence can be placed on the chronological data in this case. All that is definitely known of him is that he was a prominent member of the college of presbyters in Rome before the middle of the second century. (A. Hauck.)

Bibliography: Sources are: Irenæus, *Hær.* iii. 3; Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, iv. 10, 11, v. 6; *Liber pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, i. 131, Paris, 1886, ed. Mommsen, in *MGH, Gest. pont. Rom.*, i (1898), 13, 234. Consult: *ASB*, Jan. i. 665; R. A. Lipsius, *Chronologie der römischen Bischöfe*, pp. 169 sqq., Kiel, 1869; Harnack, *Geschichte*, ii. 1, pp. 144 sqq.; Bower, *Popes*, i. 11–12; *DCB*, iii. 184; *KL*, vi. 516–517.

HYMNOLOGY.

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I. Introduction: A hymn is a spiritual meditation in rhythmical prose or in verse, the chief constituents of which are praise and prayer to God.

1. Definitions and Terms. It is the communion of the soul with God. The modern conception of a hymn is, therefore, larger than that of Augustine, who says: "[A hymn] is a song with praise of God. If thou praisest God and singest not, thou utterest no hymn; if thou singest and praisest not God, thou utterest no hymn; if thou praisest aught else, . . . although thou singest and praisest, thou utterest no hymn. A hymn, then, containeth these three things, song, and praise, and that of God" (on Ps. cxlix.; *NPNF*, 1st ser., viii. 677). On the other hand, the Greek and Latin churches, differing here from the Protestant churches, include among hymns metrical songs to Mary and the saints. The writers of the New Testament employ three terms, *psalmos*, *hymnos*, and *odē pneumatikē* (Eph. v. 19; Col. iii. 16). The word *hymnos* was common to Greeks and Romans, who sang songs to their divinities and in honor of men of renown. The poems of Homer contain such hymns, and Hesiod represents the Muses as singing hymns to the gods. Pindar calls his odes hymns. Egyptian literature also contains hymns, one of the most noted of which, to the rising and setting sun, is found in the Book of the Dead (chap. cxxv.; cf. P. le Page Renouf, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion, as Illustrated by the Religion of Ancient Egypt*, London, 1880). Paul, on Mars Hill, quoted from a hymn of Aratus of Cilicia (third century B.C.) the words "for we are also his offspring" (Acts xvii. 28). The Christian hymn differs from the hymn of heathen antiquity in its spirit and object of worship, but not necessarily in form. It is addressed to God, or to one of the three persons of the Trinity, and admits nothing unchaste.

2. General Survey. Hymns from the earliest time have been an important element in the services of the sanctuary, and in all periods have contributed to the piety of the Church. The Old and the New Testament frequently represent the heavenly bodies and the heavenly hosts as praising God (Job xxxviii. 7; Isa. vi. 3; Rev. v. 9 sqq.), while the best periods of both Hebrew and Christian history expressed religious fervor in sacred song (cf. Acts xvi. 25). In the Greek and Latin churches, from the sixth century on, the singing of hymns was confined to the churches and convents, and in the churches was restricted to the clergy, though in Germany the congregation sang the *Leisen*—certain hymns closing with the *Kyrie eleison*. The Flagellants of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries sang hymns in the Latin or in the vernacular (see Flagellation, Flagellants), while the English Lollards of the fourteenth century and the Bohemian Hussites of the fifteenth century revived the popular use of sacred song. The Reformation reintroduced congregational singing in worship. The English revival of the eighteenth century was marked by a great impulse to the composition of hymns, in which members of the national church (Toplady, Newton,

and others) vied with the leaders of the Methodist movement. Hymns "have consoled the sad, checked the joyful, subdued the enraged, refreshed the poor" (Nicetius of Treves, *De psalmodiæ bono*). They have been on the tongues of believers in the first ardor of their faith, and have ascended as the last fervid utterance of martyrs at the stake. They are the common heritage of believers, and bind together all ages. In them denominational distinctions are effaced. The hymns of Ambrose, John of Damascus, Luther, Tersteegen, Wesley, Toplady, Muhlenberg, and Newman stand side by side in the hymn-books, consentient in praise of the one God and in love for the one Savior. For hymn tunes, see Music, Sacred; see the sketches of prominent hymn-writers, etc.

II. Hebrew Hymns: Hebrew psalmody had an early origin. The songs of Miriam, Moses, Deborah, and Hannah (Ex. xv.; Deut. xxxii.; Judges v.; I Sam. ii. 1–10) are sacred poems full of sublime imagery and inspired with a fervid devotion to Yahweh. The Book of Psalms is the best of hymn-books, and in all ages of the Christian Church it has been a living fountain of devotion and praise. See Psalms, Book of; Psalmody; and Hebrew Language and Literature, III.

III. Early Christian Hymns: From the threshold of the Christian dispensation have come down hymns which are known generally by their Latin titles, usually derived from the first words in the Latin versions. These are the *Magnificat* of Mary (Luke i. 46–55), the *Benedictus* of Zacharias (Luke i. 68–79), and the *Nunc dimittis* of Simeon (Luke ii. 29–32). Other parts of the New Testament suggest by their form that they are fragments of hymns (Acts iv. 24–30; Eph. v. 14; I Tim. iii. 16; James i. 17; Rev. xv. 3). At the institution of the Lord's Supper (Matt. xxvi. 30), Jesus and his disciples sang a hymn, possibly a part of the Hallel (q.v.; cf. C. A. Briggs, *Commentary on . . . Psalms*, i., New York, 1906, pp. lxxviii–lxxix). Christians of the Apostolic Age used hymns as a means of edification (I Cor. xiv. 26; Eph. v. 19; Col. iii. 16). It seems probable that in the public assembly the hymn, like prophecy and preaching, was sometimes the spontaneous product of the moment (I Cor. xiv. 26). From the sub-apostolic age testimony to the use of hymns in Christian public service comes from heathen as well as from Christian sources. Early in the second century Pliny informed Trajan that the Christians were in the habit of meeting before daylight and singing songs to Christ as God (*Epist.* x. 97). Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* V., xxviii. 5) quotes an author from near the end of the second century who speaks of the "many psalms and hymns, written by the faithful brethren from the beginning, [which] celebrate Christ the Word of God, speaking of him as divine" (*NPNF*, 2 ser., i. 247). The oldest Christian hymn in use, apart from those mentioned above, is probably "Shepherd of tender youth," by Clement of Alexandria (c. 200), which has gained currency in the rendering of Henry M. Dexter, made in 1846 (cf. Schaff, *Christian Church*, ii. 228–31). The hymn "Light of gladness, beam divine," still sung in the Greek Church, was formerly attributed to Athenagenes (d. 169); but Basil of Cæsarea (d. 379) denies his authorship, though he refers to the hymn as an ancient composition. The Gnostics early created a body of hymns, and Origen speaks of the large number in use. Bardesanes (q.v.) and his son, Harmonius, were among the Gnostic poets (cf. E. Preuschen, *Zwei gnostische Hymnen*, Giessen, 1904).

IV. Hymns of the Eastern Church: The custom of singing hymns was so general and popular in the third century that one of the charges by the Third Synod of Antioch (269) against Paul of Samosata was that he had suppressed hymns in honor of Christ. Theodoret states (*Hist. eccl.*, ii. 19; *NPNF*, 2 ser., iii. 85) that antiphonal singing began in Antioch and spread thence in all directions in the fourth century. While Chrysostom was bishop of Constantinople, the Trinitarian party used to assemble in the squares and then march in midnight processions through the city singing sacred songs as a means of combating the Arians, who also had their own songs. Cardinal Pitra states that the number of Greek hymns is very great, sufficient having been published to fill fifteen or twenty volumes, while an equal number survive in manuscript only. Ephraem Syrus (d. about 378) is the father of Syrian Christian hymnody. Theodoret speaks in high praise of Ephraem's hymns, which commemorate the great facts in the life of Jesus, the deaths of Christians, and the lives of martyrs (cf. H. Burgess, *Select Metrical Hymns . . . of Ephraem*, London, 1853). Gregory Nazianzen (d. 390) and Anatolius (see Anatolius of Constantinople) are the two greatest writers in the earlier period of Greek hymnody. The hymn "Fierce was the wild billow" is attributed to the latter. The best hymns of this branch of the Church were written in what John Mason Neale calls the second period, 720–820. To this period are assigned Romanus (d. about 720), to whom Cardinal Pitra ascribes twenty-five hymns which exhibit originality and vigor; Andrew of Crete (d. 732); Cosmas (if there be not two writers of this name, cf. *DCB*, i. 694–695); John of Damascus, the great theologian of the Greek Church, whose "'Tis the day of resurrection" has passed into many English hymnals; and Stephen of the monastery of Mar Saba (d. 794), whose "Art thou weary, art thou languid" is the most simple and restful lyric based on the words of Jesus, "Come unto me, all ye that labor." Three later writers are Theodore the Studite (d. 826), who wrote "That fearful day, that day of dread"; Joseph the Studite (d. about 830), who wrote "Jesus, Lord of life eternal"; and Theoctistus the Studite (d. about 890), author of "Jesus, name all names above."

V. Hymns of the Latin Church: The founders of Latin hymnology were Hilary of Poitiers (d. 368) and Ambrose of Milan (d. 397). Hilary was banished from Gaul to Asia Minor and so came into contact with the Eastern Church, and on his return to his diocese made the book of hymns of which Jerome makes mention. Daniel gives six hymns as his, but it is doubtful whether there is a single hymn by Hilary extant. The singing of hymns was very popular in Milan, where Ambrose was bishop, and

1. The Earlier Period.

to him is due the so-called Ambrosian music (see Ambrosian Chant) used by the congregation, to which Augustine gives testimony (*Conf.*, ix. 7). Ninety-two hymns are attributed to the Ambrosian school, a few of which are by Ambrose himself (see Ambrose, Saint, of Milan). They combine vigor with simplicity and commemorate the great facts and doctrines of Christianity. Good specimens are the *Veni, Redemptor* ("Redeemer of all nations, come"), and the *Deus Creator* ("Maker of all things, glorious God"). Some of the finest Latin hymns are by Prudentius, a Spanish layman (d. not earlier than 405), which, to the number of about fifteen, are taken from longer poems. Two, much admired, are "Bethlehem, of noblest cities," on the birth of Christ, and "Hail, infant martyrs," on the murder of the innocents. In the fifth century Sedulius, possibly of Rome, and not to be confused with Sedulius Scotus of the eighth century, was the composer of some good hymns.

Gregory the Great (d. 604) and Fortunatus of Poitiers (d. 600) mark the transition to the medieval period of Latin hymnody. The Ambrosian music was supplanted by the Gregorian (see Music, Sacred, II., i., § 2), the recitative was introduced, and public song in the church service was restricted to the choir of priests, the congregation joining only in the responses. The best hymns of Fortunatus are the *Vexilla regis* ("The royal banner is unfurled"), and the *Pange, lingua* ("Sing, my tongue, the Savior's battle"). The hymns of the Middle Ages do not exhibit the joyous and jubilant tone of the Ambrosian and Prudentian hymns, but are set in the minor key. Born of the cloister, they echo the subdued tones of contemplative devotion. The singers linger near the cross and ponder its agonies rather than breathe the clear air of the resurrection morning; they depict the awful solemnities of the judgment and the glories of heaven. The chief centers of production of sacred poetry were the monasteries of St. Gall, St. Martial in Limoges, Cluny, Clairvaux, and St. Victor, near Paris. A vast collection of the religious poems thus produced has been made by Dreves and Blume, all, with a few exceptions, being printed for the first time. They served the purpose of devotional reading, few of them having passed into the church service. They employed rime universally after 1150, and include the varieties of proses, hymns, sequences, psalteries, and rimed prayers for the rosary, called *rosario*. The psalteries are divided into 150 parts in imitation of the Psalms, and are addressed to the Trinity, Jesus, and Mary. The term "Sequence" (q.v.) was originally applied to a melody, Notker of St. Gall being the first to adapt poems to sequences. Tropes were verses interpolated in the offices of the liturgy and joined to the gloria, the hosanna, and to other parts of the service; they originated in France and became very popular in England. Most of the religious poetry of the Middle Ages was produced in France and Germany. Some of the hymns were in German, and often Latin and German lines or words were intermingled.

2. The Middle Ages.

Among the sacred poets of the Middle Ages were Gregory the Great, Notker of St. Gall (d. 912), Peter Damian (d. about 1072), Anselm of Canterbury (d. 1109), Hildebert of Tours (d. about 1134), and Abelard (d. 1142). The best compositions by an Englishman are those of John Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury (d. 1292), from whose rimed office to the Trinity three hymns were taken (Daniel gives all three, i. 276 sqq.; cf. Dreves xxiii. pp. 5–6). Bernard of Clairvaux (d. 1153), one of the great hymn-writers, introduced the mystic strain into his compositions. Mabillon doubted the genuineness of all but two of his poems, while Vacandard (*Vie de S. Bernard*, ii., Paris, 1895, p. 103) and Hauréau (*Les Poëmes latins attribués à S. Bernard*, Paris, 1890) doubt them all. But the earliest tradition ascribes them to St. Bernard, and no other can be found so likely as he to be their author (see Bernard of Clairvaux). About 1150 Bernard of Cluny (q.v.) gave to the Church his poem on the "Contempt of the World," consisting of about 3,000 lines, from which have been derived "Jerusalem the golden" and two other hymns. The most prolific medieval hymn-writer was Adam of St. Victor (flourished c. 1170), called by Gautier, Neale, and Trench "the foremost among the sacred Latin poets of the Middle Ages." From Bonaventura (d. 1274) came the *Recordare sanctæ crucis* ("Jesus, holy cross and dying"). Thomas Aquinas contributed three hymns to the breviary. Two of them, *Pange, lingua* ("Sing, my tongue, the mystery telling"), and *Laude, Zion* ("Zion, to thy Savior singing") belong to the ritual of Corpus Christi, are addressed to the host, and teach transubstantiation. The most famous hymn of the Middle Ages, perhaps of all ages, is the *Dies iræ* ascribed to Thomas of Celano (q.v.), the friend and biographer of Francis of Assisi. As a sublime and reverential description of the awe and terror of the last judgment it has never been surpassed, and it has exercised the skill of many translators, among them Sir Walter Scott. Philip Schaff calls it "the acknowledged masterpiece of Latin poetry, and the most sublime of all uninspired hymns" (*Christ in Song*, New York, 1868, p. 372). The most tender hymn of the Middle Ages is the *Stabat mater dolorosa* ("At the cross her station keeping, stood the mournful mother weeping," attributed to Jacopone da Todi (q.v.; d. 1306). The first line is taken from John xix. 25. To this class of hymns, though later in time, belong those of St. Francis Xavier (d. 1552), "Jesus, I love thee, not because," and of St. Theresa (d. 1582). In general it may be said that the best of the later hymns of the Latin Church, such as those of Madame Guyon, John Henry Newman ("Lead, kindly light"), and Faber, are set in the key of medieval hymnody.

3. Individual Hymnists.

VI. German Hymns: Germany possesses a more voluminous hymnology than any other country. In 1786 Ludwig von Hardenberg prepared a list of 72,732 German hymns, and the present number can not fall far short of 100,000, among them many of the choicest pieces of this kind of literature. One of the first results of the Reformation in Germany was the use of

1. The Reformation Period.

hymns in congregational singing, consequently there was in that country a considerable body of hymns before any were written in English. The father of German hymnology was Martin Luther. He possibly received his stimulus from the hymns of Huss, sent him by the Bohemian Brethren, and made a free translation of the martyr's *Jesus Christus, nostra salus*. In 1523 Luther published eight hymns of his own, and by 1545 had written 125. These were carried by traveling singers from village to village and sung into the hearts of the people. Protestants and Catholics alike testify to the effect of Luther's hymns; Coleridge regards Luther as doing "as much for the Reformation by his hymns as by his translation of the Bible," while the Roman Catholic Conzenius asserted that the "hymns of Luther have destroyed more souls than his writings and sermons." His hymns are marked by a joyful and robust faith. Thoroughly characteristic is *Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott* ("A mighty fortress is our God"), which was the battle hymn of the Reformation and became the great favorite of the entire German people. But he struck other notes than those of challenge and war, as in his thoughtful *Nun freut euch, liebe Christengemein* ("Dear Christian people, now rejoice"). Among the colaborers of Luther in this field were Justus Jonas, Paul Eber, and Michael Weiss, the last of whom edited (1531) German translations of hymns of the Bohemian Brethren and added some of his own. [The Anabaptists of the seventeenth century produced a remarkably rich hymnology. The best of their hymns have been collected in *Auss Bundt* (modern ed., Basel, 1838). Most of these hymns are supposed to have been composed by martyrs shortly before execution. A. H. N.]

2. Since the Reformation.

The leadership thus achieved by the Lutheran Church in the department of hymnody has been continuously maintained by a chain of eminent writers. Among the more noteworthy of the sixteenth century was Philipp Nicolai (d. 1608), who, during the pestilence of 1597, wrote a hymn noted for its majestic sweetness, *Wachet auf! ruft uns die Stimme* ("Wake! the startling watch-cry pealeth") and *Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern* ("How lovely shines the morning star"). To the same period belongs Ludwig Helmbold (d. 1598), whose *Von Gott will ich nicht lassen* has been translated often, as by Miss Winkworth, "From God shall naught divide me." The period of the Thirty Years' War produced some noted hymns, among which may be mentioned the battle-song of Gustavus Adolphus, *Verzage nicht, du Häuflein klein* ("Fear not, O little flock, the foe"), and the rugged thanksgiving hymn of Martin Rinkart (d. 1649), *Nun danket alle Gott* ("Now thank we all our God"), which has been called the German *Te Deum*. Among the most fertile writers of the seventeenth century was Johann Heermann (d. 1647), whose experience of severe suffering is embodied in hymns of exceeding richness. With him should be placed Johann Rist (d. 1667), who wrote some 680 hymns, among them *O Ewigkeit, du Donnerwort* ("Eternity, thou word of fear"). The culmination of German hymnody was reached in Paul Gerhardt (q.v.; d. 1676). Of his 123 hymns more than thirty are classic, among which his *O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden* (ut sup.) and *Befiehl du deine Wege* ("Give to the winds thy fears") are representative. For the Reformed Church the first hymn-writer was Joachim Neander (d. 1680), who reflects the influence of Spener. One of the hymns most popular in Germany is his *Lobe den Herren, den mächtigen König der Ehren* ("Praise to Jehovah, almighty king of creation"). The Pietists were fertile producers of hymns during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Philipp Jakob Spener wrote nine hymns, three of which have been translated into English. August Hermann Francke (d. 1727) and Johann Anastasius Freylinghausen (d. 1739) were the most eminent writers of this school. Benjamin Schmolke (d. 1737), a pastor in Silesia, wrote many hymns of high merit and permanent value, the most popular of which was *Mein Jesu, wie du willst*, rendered into the favorite English "My Jesus, as thou wilt." For the Moravians of Herrnhut, Count Zinzendorf (d. 1760) wrote a large number of hymns of peculiar and glowing fervor, over 200 of which have come over into the English-Moravian hymn-book, and a large number appear in other English collections. Wesley used his compositions with freedom. A good example of Zinzendorf's composition is his *Christi Blut und Gerechtigkeit* ("Jesus, thy blood and righteousness"). Contemporary with Zinzendorf was Gerhard Tersteegen (d. 1769), a layman of the Reformed Church, the most popular of whose 111 hymns is *Gott ist gegenwärtig, lasset uns anbeten* ("Lo, God is here, let us adore"). Georg Friedrich Philipp von Hardenburgh (d. 1801 at the age of twenty-nine), who wrote over the pseudonym of "Novalis," composed, among other hymns, *Ich sage jedem dass er lebt* ("I say to all men far and near") and *Wenn ich ihn nur habe* ("If I have only thee"). Several of the hymns of Johann Caspar Lavater (d. 1801) have been rendered into English, especially *O Jesus Christ, wachs du in mir* ("O Jesus Christ, grow thou in me").

The early part of the nineteenth century witnessed a revival of interest in hymnody in Germany, contemporary with the national Luther tricentennial in 1817, if not a product of that celebration. This movement was led by Schleiermacher, Claus Harms, and Ernst Moritz Arndt. One of the purposes of the leaders was the reversal of the tendency, led by Justus Gesenius (in his collection of hymns published 1647), to mutilate and change the hymns of the older writers. Material assistance was given to this movement by the collections of C. C. J. von Bunsen, Ewald, Rudolf Stier, H. A. Daniel, and Albert Knapp. The most fertile contributors to recent hymnology have been Karl Johann Philipp Spitta (d. 1859) and Albert Knapp (d. 1864); but many fine hymns have been added to the literature by Ernst Moritz Arndt (d. 1860), Friedrich Rückert (d. 1867), Meta Heusser (d. 1876), and Karl Gerok.

VII. French Hymns: Calvin, like Luther, was an advocate of congregational singing, and contributed to the literature of hymnology. A hymn of his composition, *Je te salue, mon certain redempteur* ("I greet thee, who my sure redeemer art"), was discovered in an old Genevan prayer-book (cf. P.

Schaff, *Christ in Song*, New York, 1868, pp. 678 sqq.). While Calvin was at Strasburg he came into possession of twelve of Clement Marot's versions of the psalms, not knowing they were his, and had them set to music, along with original versions of Pss. xxv., xxvi., xci., cxxxviii., the Decalogue in verse, and with the Apostles' Creed and the Song of Simeon. This book, published at Strasburg, 1539, consisting of twenty-one pieces with the tune at the head of each psalm, but without preface and signature, was the first collection of pieces for congregational use for the French Reformed Church. Clement Marot (q.v.) received in 1541 permission to publish his *Trente Pseaumes*, which appeared the following year dedicated to Charles V., and in 1543 he published *Cinquante Pseaumes*. After Marot's death Beza continued the work of translating the Psalms, but a complete collection of the Psalter appeared only in 1562. Marot's versions, with few changes, continue in use in the French churches. They were set to music by Claude Goudimel. In hymns proper, however, the French church is very poor. Vinet accords to César Malan the honor of restoring to it this means of devotion. In connection with Paul Bost he published *Chants de Sion*, improved and issued as *Chants chrétiens* in 1841, which incorporated hymns and psalms from Roman Catholic sources (e.g., Bishop Godeau, d. 1672, who had issued a collection of excellent translations of the Psalms; Corneille, d. 1684; Racine, d. 1699; Madame Guyon, d. 1717). Malan is credited with the composition of more than 1,000 hymns. Many of the hymns of Madame Guyon, marked by grace and devotion, were translated by Cowper, who was in close sympathy with the mystical temper of the author. D. S. Schaff.

VIII. Scandinavian Hymns: Before the Reformation the northern countries possessed few hymns in the vernacular outside of translations of Latin originals. The hymns of the Roman Catholic service were rendered into Danish and Swedish prior to the Reformation (G. E. Klemming, *Latinska Sånger*, 4 vols., Stockholm, 1885–87; the Danish *Tidebog* is reproduced in C. Pederson, *Danske Skrifter*, vol. ii., Copenhagen, 1851), and after that event Norway, Denmark, and Sweden developed a hymnology. In Denmark the post-Reformation poetry began with satire and irony. The first Danish hymn-book was by Claus Mortensen Töndebinder, the Reformer of Malmö, and was called the "Malmö Hymnal," issued in 1528, reprinted the next year, enlarged in 1533, with a later edition by Hans Taufer, 1544. A large hymnal, with tunes to each hymn, containing 261 Danish and eight Latin hymns, was issued by Hans Thomissen, pastor of the *Vor Frue Kirke* in Copenhagen, in 1569, among the contributors to which were bishops Peter Palladius, Tyge Asmusen, Hans Albertsen, the nobles Knud Gyldenstjerne, Erik Krabbe, Elizabeth Krabbe Skram, the celebrated theologian Niels Hemmingsen, and others, including the editor, who contributed forty-nine hymns to the collection. The principle of arrangement was "the chief articles of the Christian faith." By the beginning of the seventeenth century the issue of hymn-books in Denmark was so frequent as almost to amount to an industry. In 1699 the "Kingo Hymn-book" was prepared by Bishop Thomas Hansen Kingo (q.v.), and in a few places this is still in use. A rival to this was issued in 1717 by Pastor B. C. Gjödesen, used in some congregations until 1850. Another, by Erik Pontoppidan, appeared 1740, was the first to designate the hymns by numbers, and had the favor of the court. It was Pietistic, and one of its contributors was Hans Adolph Brorson (q.v.). A third Danish issue was by the minister of state, Ove Hoegh-Guldberg, and L. Harboe, bishop of Seeland, was issued in 1778, and was known as the "Guldberg Hymnal." In 1698 a new departure was made in the "Evangelical Christian Hymnbook" under the direction of Nicolai Edinger Balle (q.v.), bishop of Seeland, marked by a timid supernaturalism and a varied rationalism. A supplement to this was added by a later bishop of Seeland, Jakob Peter Mynster (q.v.), in 1845. In 1855 appeared the *Roskilde Konvents Psalmebog*, to which Nicolai Frederik Severin Grundtvig (q.v.), B. S. Ingemann, and C. J. Boye made contributions, and supplements were added in 1873 and 1890. In 1899 the official hymn-book of the Danish Church was issued with the title *Psalmebog for Kirke og Hjem*.

1. Danish Productions.

In Norway the change in political conditions paved the way for the abandonment of the "Kingo," "Guldberg" and "Evangelical Christian" hymn-books which had been employed there as well as in Denmark, and in 1869 an official service of song was issued under the care of M. B. Landstad, and in 1873 a second authorized hymn-book under the care of A. Hauge. There is also a collection of hymns in the peasant dialect. In Sweden a little collection, *Svenska sånger eller visor*, was issued by the Reformer, Olaus Petri, and contained ten hymns, four or five of which were by the editor. This was enlarged in new issues of 1530 and 1536. Petri's brother, Archbishop Laurentius Petri, made a new edition of this in 1543, and in 1567 appeared the "Laurentius Petri Hymn-book," containing about 100 hymns, many of them polemics against the Roman Catholic Church. Other hymn-books of no particular moment continued to appear at frequent intervals, until an official publication was published in 1645, containing 166 Swedish and fifteen Latin hymns. A new hymn-book was projected by Jesper Svedberg, assisted by the learned Urban Hjärne and a commission. This began to appear in 1694, but aroused a storm of opposition by the polemic bishop, Carl Carlson. Under a new commission the projected and partly completed book was revised by a new commission, and became known as "The Hymn-book of 1695," the year of its issue. The spread of Pietism to Sweden led to the publication of *Mose og Lambsens visor*, continually reprinted until the present. The diffusion of the Herrnhut movement in Sweden led to the issue of *Zions nya sånger* by Anders Karl Rutström, serving for that movement the same end as the *Mose og Lambsens visor* for Pietism. A revision of the Svedberg book was undertaken by C. J. Lohmann, Samuel Troilius, and the historian Olof Celsius, two parts appearing in

2. Norway and Sweden.

1765–67, but the result was received with strong disapproval. The entrance of rationalism into Sweden led to a desire for a new hymnal, which was provided in 1793 in the "Upsala Hymnal," practically revised in 1814 by a commission. More popular was the hymnal by Johan Olof Wallin, Stockholm, 1816, and supplements were made to this from time to time. (F. Nielsen†.)

IX. English Hymns: From the Anglo-Saxon period of history only faint indications of sacred song have come down. Thus Bishop Aldhelm (q.v.; d. 709) is said to have mingled sacred and secular songs as an aid to Evangelization. The hymn of Cædmon (q.v.) was not intended for the service of song. There are Latin hymns extant with Anglo-Saxon glosses (cf. *The Latin Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. J. Stevenson for the Surtees Society, Newcastle, 1851), and there are, besides, paraphrases of the Lord's Prayer and the Gloria Patri; but these are properly meditational and do not belong to hymnody as a part of divine service. Further indications of early English hymnody are carols and hymns to the Virgin. But all that can be said with assurance of the period before the Reformation is that the practise of the Latin Church governed, that much material is known out of which hymns might be made, and some of it was utilized in later periods, but that this material was not intended as more than pious meditation on religious themes. The best of this material is represented in the so-called Primers, founded on the Sarum Use and the Roman Breviary, which are known to have been in use at least during 1360–1700. They contained prose or rimed translations of parts of the service, including prayers.

1. Before the Reformation.

After the Reformation the intensity of the contest between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism and the large place taken by the English Bible in popular affection made the use of even the great Latin hymns distasteful. Consequently, while singing became a part of public worship, hardly anything was used except versions of portions of Scripture, of which large parts, especially the Psalms, were put into metrical form (see Psalmody). As a result, the period 1550–1700 has been called the period of the Metrical Psalters, during which more than 350 versions of the Psalms were begun, and about 125 were completed. Yet throughout there were indications that the hymnody of the Church was not to be confined to Scriptural material. Thus Miles Coverdale's *Goostly Psalmes and Spiritual Songs* (before 1539) represents the desire to embody the spirit of the German Reformers, and it consequently includes translations of some of the hymns of Luther as well as paraphrases of Latin hymns and versions of the Psalms. The principal trend of the period, however, is exhibited by what came to be known in later times as "The Old Version," begun by Thomas Sternhold (q.v.), an official at the courts of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. Sternhold's purpose in publishing was to provide sacred songs for the people, though the version was begun for his own "godly solace"; the pieces were set to music by him. The meters employed were the short and common meters of popular ballads. The first edition (undated, probably 1548) contained only nineteen psalms, but the number in subsequent editions was enlarged with the aid of Sternhold's disciples, John Hopkins and Thomas Norton, till all the psalms were rendered into English verse as early as 1562, the result being the well-known "Sternhold and Hopkins Psalter" or "Old Version," which, being combined with the Book of Common Prayer, continued in use for about a century. This was followed by two varieties which had more or less of popular favor, the Genevan, influenced by the French version of Marot, and the Scottish, put forth by the General Assembly of 1564, which had more than 140 tunes attached. Another version, known as "The Scottish Psalter," included mainly settings by F. Rous, and was completed by the General Assembly of 1649 and authorized by that of 1650, to which *Biblical Paraphrases* was added in the period 1745–81. Meanwhile, in 1559 Queen Elizabeth gave permission to use at the beginning and end of divine service "any hymn or such like song to the praise of Almighty God," and this permission both shows that hymn-writing had already begun, and gave a distinct impetus to this kind of composition. Six hymns were appended to the Sternhold and Hopkins Psalter and were publicly used, and for seventy-five years such writers as Robert Herrick (1591–1674), John Donne, and George Herbert (qq.v.) composed hymns which were sung, while renderings were made of parts of the treasures of the Latin Church, including "Hierusalem, my happie home."

2. The Psalters.

The first attempt at a hymn-book as distinguished from a psalter was *Hymns and Songs of the Church* by George Wither (q.v.,) issued in 1623 with a patent from James I. permitting it to be bound with the Psalter. It consisted of two parts, (1) metrical paraphrases of Scripture, (2) hymns for the church festivals and special occasions. It was republished in enlarged form as *Hallelujah, Britain's Second Remembrancer* in 1641. But the Puritan sentiment, which soon became dominant, preferred the Psalms in meter, while the hymn-writers were principally royalists. This led the way in England to "The New Version" known also as "Tate and Brady" (1st ed. 1696; 2d ed. 1698; with supplement, 1702), issued with the approval of William III., and in America to the Bay Psalm Book (q.v.). The New Version differed from the Old in that it was written in varied meter, and it became the standard and influenced all subsequent hymnody. In 1782 five hymns were added to it, and later others were admitted. Meanwhile such writers as Henry Vaughan, Jeremy Taylor, Thomas Ken (morning and evening hymns and the Doxology), and Joseph Addison ("The spacious firmament on high") had been writing hymns which, in original or revised form, have been permanent possessions. In 1683 John Mason published *Songs of Praise*, which ran through many editions, and furnished the basis for several hymns still in current use. But under lingering Puritan sentiment the singing of hymns was still prohibited. The Baptists became involved in con-

3. The Rise of the Hymnals.

troversy over the propriety of using them, and divided into "singing and non-singing congregations." The Independents began to use hymns about 1690 (*Collection of Divine Hymns*, 1694), and the time was ripe for Isaac Watts (q.v.; 1674–1748), who has been called the creator of English hymnody. The public sentiment of the time has been indicated by the fact that Watts considered it necessary to preface his *Hymns* (1707) with an apologetic argument. The comparative excellence of his compositions forced them into acceptance, rendered psalm-singing as the only means of public praise obsolete, and made his hymns necessary to every hymnal since his time. He left about 875 hymns and psalms, and his significance lies in his departure from the literalness of the Psalters and the employment of modern thought and sentiment. Watts opened the flood-gates of English hymnody, and from his time the flow of hymns has been steady. Philip Doddridge (q.v.; 1702–51) composed nearly 400 hymns, many of which were written and sung as supplement to his sermons. He had as younger contemporaries Simon Browne (1680–1732), who left 170 hymns, among them "Come, gracious Spirit, heavenly dove," and Robert Seagrave (1693–1755), who left about fifty hymns, including "Rise, my soul, and stretch thy wings." The creations of hymnals under these influences was rapid. The Moravian hymn-book was made in 1742 and standardized in 1789; a Unitarian collection was made in 1757; the Church of England's hymnal began with Martin Madan's *Collection of Psalms and Hymns* (1760), using the previous sources; the first Wesleyan hymnal was put out in 1780; and the first Baptist hymn-book was Rippon's (1787).

4. Individual Hymnists.

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries witnessed the rise of a large number of "poets of the Church" who produced compositions which became deservedly popular and seem assured of lasting fame. Some of these are the following: Joseph Hart (1712–68), "Come, Holy Spirit"; Anne Steele (1716–78), "Father, whate'er of earthly bliss"; William Williams (1717–91), a Welsh hymnist, who wrote 800 hymns, including "Guide me, O thou great Jehovah"; John Cennick (1718–55), "Children of the heavenly king"; John Newton (1725–1807) and William Cowper (1731–1800), who cooperated in producing the "Olney Hymns"; William Hammond (1719–83), "Awake and sing the song"; Thomas Gibbons (1720–85), "Now let our souls on wings sublime"; Edward Perronet (1726–92), "All hail the power of Jesus' name"; Samuel Stennett (1727–95), "Majestic sweetness sits enthroned"; Thomas Haweis (1732–1820), who wrote 256 hymns; the brothers Wesley, foremost of whom as a hymn-writer was Charles (1739–86), who wrote some 6,000 hymns, 3,000 of which were left in manuscript; John Fawcett (1739–1817), "Blest be the tie that binds"; Augustus Montague Toplady (1740–78), "Rock of Ages, cleft for me" and 132 others; Mrs. Anna Lætitia Barbauld (1743–1825), "Come, said Jesus' sacred voice" and 143 others; Rowland Hill (1744–1833), "Cast thy burden on the Lord"; James Montgomery (1771–1834), "Oh! where shall rest be found"; Harriet Auber (1773–1862), "Our blest Redeemer, ere he breathed"; Reginald Heber (1783–1826), "By cool Siloam's shady rill"; Charlotte Elliott (1789–1871), "Just as I am, without one plea"; Henry Kirke White (1785–1806), "Oft in danger, oft in woe"; Sir Robert Grant (1785–1838), "Oh! worship the king, all glorious above"; Sir John Bowring (1792–1872), "In the cross of Christ I glory"; James Edmeston (1791–1867), "Savior, breathe an evening blessing"; Henry Francis Lyte (1793–1847), "Abide with me, fast falls the eventide"; Sarah Flower Adams (1805–48), "Nearer, my God, to thee"; Christopher Wordsworth (1807–85), "Oh! day of rest and gladness"; Horatius Bonar (1808–89), "I heard the voice of Jesus say"; Henry Alford (1810–71), "Come, ye thankful people, come"; Thomas Toke Lynch (1818–71), "Gracious Spirit, dwell with me" and 166 others; William Walsham How (1823–97), "For all thy saints who from their labors rest"; Edward Henry Bickersteth (1825–1906), "O God, the rock of ages"; Catherine Winkworth (1829–78), who produced the *Lyra Germanica* which has so influenced modern church singing; Frances Ridley Havergal (1836–1879), "I gave my life for thee"; and George Matheson (1842–1906), "O Love that will not let me go." Not mentioned in the foregoing are the members of a little circle, all connected with the Oxford movement, who influenced English hymnody less by the number of hymns which they produced than by the high value of their compositions as expressions of devotion. This circle comprised: John Keble (1792–1866), who produced the *Christian Year;* Frederick William Faber (1814–63), "Paradise, O paradise" and "Hark! hark, my soul"; John Mason Neale (1818–1866), whose rendering "Jerusalem the golden" is in every hymnal of note, and who produced also the splendid *Medieval Hymns and Sequences* (London, 1852); Edward Caswall (1814–78), who produced *Lyra Catholica;* and John Henry Newman (1801–90), whose "Lead, kindly light" is one of the best known of English hymns.

5. Recent Hymnology.

While, during the whole period just sketched, the production of hymnals was steady, with 1830 began a better use of the earlier material, evident in more careful editing and a larger employment of the earlier treasures of the Church, made available by the writers named above and others whose work was perhaps no less worthy. Critical study was made of sources, attention was paid to the reproduction of the spirit of the originals, and greater faithfulness was manifested in the employment of earlier hymns, while the tunes used were not only of a higher quality in composition, but were made to accord in their flow with the rhythm of the hymns. In this way improvement almost inestimable has been brought about in the song service of the Church. In this movement one of the most influential leaders was Sir Henry Williams Baker (1821–77), whose famous *Hymns Ancient and Modern* was at the time of its appearance high-water mark as a medium of congregational devotion. This compiler is hardly less celebrated for his setting of Psalm xxiii., "The king of love my shepherd is." In this movement the Church of England has taken great interest, and at present its hymnals are recognized as models for the compilation of service-books of song.

X. American Hymns:

1. General Description.

The connection between the colonies and England was so close until about 1770 that American hymnody had little distinctively its own. The first American praise-book was the famous Bay Psalm-Book (q.v.), which was often reprinted. Then Tate and Brady's *Psalter* came into popular use, with a supplement of hymns largely by Watts, of which many editions were issued. After the War of the Revolution, denominational activity in the production of hymnals became intense, and this movement, stimulated by the production of meritorious hymns, soon passed beyond the use of the versified psalms. Official hymnals were issued by the Protestant Episcopal Church (1789, 1808, 1826), by the Baptists (*The Philadelphia Collection*, 1790), by the Methodists (prior to 1790); the Universalists published two collections in 1792, the Unitarians one in 1795, the Congregationalists one in 1799, while the first official

Presbyterian hymnal appeared in 1828–29. While denominational activity has continued throughout the history of this country, in later times hymnologists like Edwin F. Hatfield, Thomas Hastings, Philip Schaff, who collaborated with R. D. Hitchcock, and Charles Seymour Robinson compiled hymnals which were intended for interdenominational use, and were so employed. Two movements have contributed to the volume, if not to the quality, of American hymns, the Sunday-school movement and the revivalist services under the leadership of Dwight L. Moody with the assistance of P. P. Bliss and Ira D. Sankey. Unfortunately the majority of these hymns are such that their continued use is not to be desired, while the quality of the music to which they are sung is even poorer than that of the hymns.

2. Individual Hymnists.

Among the individual writers whose work justifies the perpetuation of their memory are: Samson Occom (Ockum, Occum, 1723–92), a Montauk Indian and successful missionary to his own people, who wrote "Waked by the gospel's joyful sound," and with Joshua Smith and others compiled a small hymnal originally published at Wilkesbarre, Pa.; Samuel Davies (1723–61), who wrote sixteen hymns, among them "Lord, I am thine, entirely thine"; Nathan Strong (1748–1816), principal editor of the *Hartford Selection* (1799) and author of "Swell the anthem, raise the song"; Timothy Dwight, the editor of Barlow's revision of Watts and the author of "I love thy kingdom, Lord"; Francis Scott Key (1779–1843), the author of the *Star-Spangled Banner*, who also wrote several hymns; Asahel Nettleton (1783–1844), the compiler of *Village Hymns* (a constant source for later hymnals) and is said to have written "Come, Holy Ghost, my soul inspire"; Thomas Hastings (1784–1872), known both for his services to the music of hymnody as distinguished from the words and for the hymn "Gently, Lord, oh, gently lead us"; William Cullen Bryant (1794–1878), whose hymns have not the celebrity of his other poems; William Augustus Muhlenberg (1796–1877), "I would not live alway"; George Washington Doane (1799–1859), "Softly now the light of day"; James Waddell Alexander (1804–59), whose splendid rendering "O sacred head now wounded" so faithfully reproduces the spirit of the original (see GERHARDT, PAUL); Frederic Henry Hedge (1805–1890), author of the favorite rendering of Luther's battle hymn, "A mighty fortress is our God," which is rivaled only by Carlyle's rendering "A firm defense our God is still"; John Greenleaf Whittier (1807–92), "We may not climb the heavenly steeps"; Ray Palmer (1808–87), perhaps the most prolific of fine hymns of all American hymnodists, "My faith looks up to thee"; Samuel Francis Smith (1808–95), "My country, 'tis of thee"; Oliver Wendell Holmes (1809–94), "Lord of all being, throned afar"; James Freeman Clarke (1810–88), compiler of hymnals and writer of "Father, to us thy children humbly kneeling"; Samuel Longfellow (1819–92), editor of hymnals and author of "Go forth to life, O child of earth"; Frances Jane van Alstyne ("Fanny Crosby," 1823–), "'Tis the blessed hour of prayer." Phœbe Cary (1827–71) collaborated with Dr. Deems on *Hymns for all Christians* (1869) and wrote "One sweetly solemn thought"; and Washington Gladden (1836–), "O Master, let me walk with thee."

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HYPAPANTE, hip″ą-pan′tî *or* tê (late Gk., equivalent to the classical *hypantēsis*, "a meeting"): A festival of the Greek Church commemorating the meeting of the infant Jesus and his mother with Simeon and Anna in the temple (Luke ii. 21–40). It corresponds to the Purification, or Candlemas, of the West. See Candlemas; Mary the Mother of Jesus Christ.

HYPATIA: Neoplatonic philosopher; b. in Alexandria c. 350; d. there Mar., 415. She was the daughter of the philosopher and mathematician Theon, from whom she received her first philosophic training. On her return from Athens, whither she had gone to continue her studies, she became a distinguished lecturer on philosophy, and ultimately the recognized head of the Neoplatonic school at Alexandria. She exerted a wide influence and attracted to her classroom students of philosophy from all quarters. Among her devoted disciples was Synesius of Cyrene, afterward bishop of Ptolemais, several of whose letters to her are still extant. She was universally venerated for her beauty and purity, no less than for her wisdom and eloquence. By her friendship for the prefect Orestes, she incurred the enmity of Cyril, then bishop of Alexandria, who, in the name of Christianity, incited a superstitious mob against her. The story of her tragic fate is related by Socrates (*Hist. eccl.*, vii. 15). As she was driving through the streets in her chariot she was seized by a band of Christian fanatics led by Peter the Reader, and dragged to the church called Cæsareum, where she was stripped and cast into the street to be pelted to death with shells. Her body was then torn to pieces, and later committed to the flames at a place called Cinaron. Her writings have not been preserved. She is the heroine of Charles Kingsley's historical romance, *Hypatia* (London, 1853).

HYPERDULIA. See Dulia.

HYPERIUS (GERHARD), ANDREAS: A Lutheran theologian and preacher; b. at Ypres (30 m. s.s.w. of Bruges) May 16, 1511; d. at Marburg Feb. 1, 1564. The name *Hyperius*, from his birthplace, is that by which he is commonly known. He was early grounded in the classics by prominent humanist teachers, and pursued his education especially at Tournay and Paris. In 1537 he visited prominent scholars at the universities of Central Germany in the interest of the Evangelical cause, and then spent four years in England. In order to get a letter of introduction to Butzer he went, in 1541, to Marburg to his friend Gerhard Noviomagus, whose substitute and (1542) successor as professor of theology he became. A fruitful writer, endowed with great gifts, he soon attracted great crowds of students, paying special attention to the education of preachers. He was not a strict Lutheran, but rather influenced by Butzer, who enjoyed the highest regard of the Landgrave Philip and left an indelible stamp on Hessian Protestantism. Hyperius distinguished himself in various lines—exegetical, historical, encyclopedic, and homiletic. His exegetical works (*In D. Pauli ad Romanos epistolam exegema*, 1549; *Varia opuscula*, 1569–70, his commentary on the Hebrews, 4 vols., 1582 sqq.) are distinguished by acuteness and attention to the history of exegesis. His acquaintance with church history induced the Magdeburg centuriators to ask his advice as to method, which he expounded in 1550 in the treatise *De methodo in conscribenda historia ecclesiastica consilium* (first published by Mangold, Marburg, 1866). His efforts in the encyclopedic and homiletic departments are almost epoch-making, and became the basis of Evangelical homiletics. In the former, his principal work is *De ratione studii theologici* (Basel, 1556). The first book treats of the religious and scientific presuppositions for the study of theology; the second of exegesis and the profit derived from study of the Scriptures; the third of systematic theology, including catechetics; the fourth of the theory of practical theology. By his insistence in this, the most important of the four, on the importance of a study of church history, canon law, the method of the cure of souls, and liturgics, he became the father of practical theology. No less important are his efforts in the homiletical department, which he defines as popular exegesis. Theoretically the sermon is hereby tied to the Holy Scripture and its theological character assured. Following II Tim. iii. 16 and Rom. xv. 14, he distinguished five modes of preaching, from which originated in Lutheran orthodoxy the fivefold application of each sermon. His principal homiletic work is entitled *De formandis concionibus sacris seu de interpretatione Scripturarum populari* (Marburg, 1553). The homilists of the succeeding centuries followed Melanchthon's rhetorics; Hyperius remained an almost solitary prophet till the time of Schleiermacher. From 1542 to 1564 Hyperius was the spiritual head of the Hessian Church. His

principal work in the practical field is the first Hessian national church-order, which he drew up in 1566 in conjunction with the Marburg preacher, Nikolaus Rhodingus, and which is still the basis of the constitution of the church in Hesse. Characteristic of him is the union of Evangelical catholicity, which can prove from the Holy Scripture and the Fathers that "in substance and nature, fundamentally one and the same doctrine has always existed," with a strong Calvinistic tendency in such things as the necessity, supposed to follow from the New Testament, of the three "major orders" of bishops (superintendents), elders, and deacons.

Church and university life in Hesse was disturbed by controversy soon after Hyperius' death. The man of peace was forgotten, until the second half of the nineteenth century, when his memory was revived by the works of Steinmeyer and Mangold.

E. C. Achelis.

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HYPOCRISY: The simulation of qualities, convictions, or sentiments which are really foreign to the person simulating them, particularly the assumption of moral and religious virtues which one does not possess. With the Greeks the word *hypokrinesthai* meant to act a part on the stage; and the *hypokritēs* was originally only an actor. From this idea of assuming a character for purposes of the stage came the more general conception of hypocrisy. It includes all affectation or posing by which one seeks to appear as something which one is not; and it is not confined to the field of religion. The intellectual hypocrite, who affects certain views in order to appear clever or strong-minded, is a familiar type. The tendency to limit the application of the term to conscious deception rests upon a superficial psychology. Properly speaking, hypocrisy is present wherever there is discord between the actual life and character of a person and the impression of his life and character which he would convey to others, whether consciously or unconsciously.

The basis of this discrepancy between appearance and actuality in human life is the discord between what is and what ought to be in man's ethical life. In his moral and religious consciousness man has a conception of the norm of character willed by God, but, since he is prevented by egoistic motives from realizing this ideal, his tendency is to allow the will or imagination to construct a false norm, by which he then directs his life before his fellows as if this false appearance were the reality. Since moral progress requires that one shall keep before him an ideal, the danger of falling into hypocrisy is always present. It frequently happens that the moral consciousness does not keep pace with the moral judgment (Matt. vii. 3–5; Rom. ii. 21–23). In persons of limited moral perception hypocrisy is encouraged by the laws and conventionalities of society. To secure a certain standing before the world they may appear to conform to certain outward requirements of society, and yet remain morally vile in their private life. Similarly, the more highly developed the religious organization, the greater the occasion for hypocrisy. In this case there is a tendency to put on the empty appearance of godliness without the inner reality (II Tim. iii. 5; Acts v. 3–4; Matt. vi. 2–5, 16, vii. 15–20, xv. 7–19; Titus i. 16).

The essence of hypocrisy is egoism; and, since only true Christianity excludes all selfish interests, this is the only form of religion incompatible with hypocrisy (Matt. xv. 7–9, xxiv. 51), the specific Satanic sin (II Cor. xi. 14). It was in this sense that Jesus designated hypocrisy as "the leaven of the Pharisees" (Luke xii. 1). Jesus branded the Pharisees hypocrites because they allowed egoistic motives to enter into their religion, and then deceived themselves and others into the belief that theirs was the true religion (Matt. xxiii. 27–33; John v. 42). Other characteristics of religious hypocrisy are self-righteousness (Matt. vi.; Luke xviii. 11–12), loss of true religious insight (Luke xii. 56), and inability to distinguish between essentials and trivial details (Matt. xxiii. 23–25; Luke xiii. 15–16).

(L. Lemme.)

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HYPOSTASIS. See Trinity.

HYPSISTARIANS: A Cappadocian sect of the fourth century. Recent investigations by Schürer and Cumont have shown how widely spread was the worship of "the most high God," and how manifold the influences that cooperated with it. "It was reinforced by all the religions of Asia Minor, Egypt, Syria, Persia; but the strongest monotheistic strand in its variegated texture was contributed by Judaism." Such a mixture of paganism and Judaism offered the Cappadocian sect of the *Hypsistarii* (*Hypsistiani*), mentioned by Gregory Nazianzen (*MPG*, xxxv. 990 sqq., *NPNF*, vii. 256) and Gregory of Nyssa (*MPG*, xlv. 482 sqq.). From the pagan element, rejecting idols and sacrifices, they borrowed the worship of fire and light; from the Jewish element, rejecting circumcision, they adopted the hallowing of the Sabbath and certain dietary rules. The "Most High God," moreover they did indeed call "the Almighty," but not "Father." Gregory Nazianzen's father belonged to this sect before embracing Christianity. There is some affinity between the Hypsistarians and the *Euphemitæ* or *Massaliani*, described by Epiphanius (*Hær.*, lxxx.); and the *Theosebeis* of Cyril of Alexandria (*MPG*, lxviii. 282). Doubtless, too, the western *Cœlicolæ* (q.v.) are a further variation of the same stock.

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HYRCANUS. See Hasmoneans.

HYSSOP: A herb mentioned in the Bible in connection with purification, and known to have

been used from remote antiquity as a condiment and flavoring. Lev. xiv. details its use in purification from leprosy; Num. xix. 6, 18 shows its use in purification from contact with the dead; Ex. xii. 21, 27 gives the details for its employment at the Passover; in Ps. li. 7 it is a synonym for purification from sin; and Ryssel suspects that the mention in John xix. 29 is intended to recall the resemblance between the Lamb of God and the Passover offering. The identification of the hyssop of the Old Testament has been sought in the most varied kinds of labiated flowers. Unfortunately, in part through a misunderstanding of I Kings iv. 33, it has been taken to be the *Hyssopus officinalis*. The passage in Kings expresses a contrast between a very common and comparatively valueless herb and the costly cedar. Hyssop has been identified with *Capparis spinosa* through the resemblance between the Hebrew name *'ezobh* and the Arabic name for capparis, *'azaf-capparis;* with the Hebrew should, however, be connected the Arabic *zufa*, the common name of which is *za'tar* or *Origanum Maru*. This plant is common enough in Palestine, is valued by the inhabitants for its aroma, serves well as a sprinkler on account of its scaly stems, yet is stiff enough to bear a sponge. R. Zehnpfund.

Bibliography: The most authoritative discussion is by G. E. Post in *DB*, ii. 442, and in his *Flora of Syria, Palestine and Sinai*, p. 616, Beirut, 1896. Consult also: E. Boissier, *Flora orientalis*, iv. 553, Geneva, 1867; L. Fonck, in *Biblische Studien*, v. 1 (1900), 105 sqq., 148: *EB*, ii. 2142. Post regards the commentators on the synoptic parallels to John xix. 29 as astray in their explanations.

HYSTASPES (Hydaspes): A fictitious Persian sage, the reputed author of a prophecy in circulation in early Christian times, an Oriental appendix to the Christian Sibylline Books. Justin is the first to mention these "oracles of Hystaspes," though he gives no key to their contents (*ANF*, i. 169, 178). But the following data are given by Clement of Alexandria (*ANF*, ii. 490): In the second century there was a Greek book that was circulated in Christian and heathen circles under the name of Hystaspes, in which the Christians discovered, even more clearly than in the Sibylline books, references to Christ and to his kingdom; especially to his divine sonship, to the sufferings ordained and still impending for him and his believers from the world and its rulers; though likewise to the persevering patience of the faithful, and the second coming of their Lord. Lactantius, too, referred twice to Hystaspes. According to him (*ANF*, vii. 213), Hystaspes prophesied the downfall of the Roman empire; again (*ANF*, vii. 215), the tribulations preceding the end of the world, in which he foretold that "the pious and faithful, being separated from the wicked, will stretch forth their hands to heaven with weeping and mourning, and will implore the protection of Jupiter: that Jupiter will look to the earth and hear the voices of men and will destroy the wicked." "All which things," Lactantius added, "are true, except one, that he attributed to Jupiter those things which God will do." There were, furthermore, certain eschatological prognostications adduced in Lactantius (*ANF*, vii. 255) which were declared to agree with those of Hystaspes, Hermes and the Sibyl, on the one hand, and with Christian future hopes on the other. According to an unknown writer of the fifth century (ed. by Buresch in his *Claros*, pp. 87–126, Leipsic, 1889), the revelations of Hystaspes treated "of the Savior's incarnation."

Neither Clement nor Justin gives any information about Hystaspes personally; but according to Lactantius he was a very ancient Median king before the Trojan war. Despite the confused chronology, he was probably confounded with the father of Darius I., about whom it was told (Ammianus Marcellinus, XXIII., vi. 32–33) that he learned among the Brahmins the laws of the movement of the world and the constellations, together with his religious practises, which he then communicated to his Magi. At all events, it is reasonable to assume that the "oracles of Hystaspes" were based on reminiscences of Persian religious history and doctrine. The doctrines of Zoroastrianism as to the conflict between Ormazd and Ahriman; as to the grievous tribulations in the last times; as to the appearing of the *Soshyant*, "savior," and his millennial kingdom; as to the great universal conflagration, and the ultimate reign of peace—all these might well have impressed a Christian of the first centuries as being so many echoes of Christian ideas. For that matter, indeed, even Zoroaster was regarded as a prophet of Christ; and both an apocalypse and some alleged mystic or cryptic books were designated as "Zoroastrian" (Harnack, *Litteratur*, i. 163, 173, 662, 932). Possibly, again (cf. Harnack), we have to deal with an originally Jewish writing. The limited information on the subject is, unfortunately, insufficient for shaping a definitive verdict as to the origin, contents, form, and purpose of the "oracles." G. Krüger.

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HYVERNAT, EUGENE XAVIER LOUIS: French Roman Catholic; b. at St. Julien-en-Jarrêt (7 m. n.e. of St. Etienne), Loire, June 30, 1858. He was educated at the Petit Séminaire de St. Jean, Lyons (bachellier ès lettres, University of Lyons, 1876), Séminaire de St. Sulpice, Issy (1877–79), and Séminaire de St. Sulpice, Paris (1879–82). He was then chaplain of San Luigi de' Francesi, Rome, in 1882–1885, and interpreter of Oriental languages for the Propaganda, Rome, in 1885–89, as well as professor of Assyriology and Egyptology in the Pontificio Seminario Romano, Rome, in 1885–88. In 1888–89 he was in Armenia as chief of a scientific mission of the French government. Since 1889 he has been chief of the department of Semitic and Egyptian literatures in the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. Besides his work as editor of the Coptic portion of the *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, he has written *Les Actes des martyrs de l'Egypte tirés des manuscrits coptes de la bibliothèque vaticane et du musée Borgia*, i. (Paris, 1887); *Album de paléographie copte pour servir à l'introduction paléographique des actes des martyrs de l'Egypte* (1888); and *Du Caucase au golfe persique, a travers l'Arménie, le Kurdistan et la Mésopotamie* (in collaboration with P. Müller-Simonis, 1892).

I

IBAS (Syr. *Yehiba*, generally shortened into *Hiba*, = Donatus): Bishop of Edessa, succeeding Rabulas (q.v.) in 435; d. Oct. 28, 457. His election and retention of his office till the Second Synod of Ephesus shows that he must have been an influential person; for the views of the school of Antioch, with which he sided, were then declining. He was accused before the patriarch Proclus and the emperor Theodosius II. of spreading the Nestorian heresy in all the Orient by means of the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, which, with two other Edessenes, Cumas and Probus, he translated into Syriac. Consultations in Tyre and Berytus led to a friendly understanding on Feb. 25, 449, but on Aug. 22 of the same year Ibas was deposed by the "Robber Synod" of Ephesus. The Council of Chalcedon recognized his orthodoxy on Oct. 28, 451, and restored him to his office. During 449–451 he was replaced by Nonnus, who became his successor. A letter of Ibas to Maris, partly preserved in Greek translation in the acts of the Council of Chalcedon (Mansi, *Concilia*, vii. 241), is important for the history of Nestorianism and the views of the author. The Emperor Justinian and the Fifth Synod of Constantinople (553) condemned it as one of the three chapters (see Three Chapter Controversy), but did not object to the orthodoxy of Ibas. The Jacobites do not recognize him. E. Nestle.

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IBN EZRA. See Aben Ezra.

ICARIA. See Communism, II., 7.

ICELAND. [The island of Iceland, situated in the North Atlantic Ocean and belonging to Denmark, is about 600 miles west of Nor-

The First Christians.

way, 550 miles northwest of Scotland, and 225 miles southeast of Greenland. The extent from north to south is about 225 miles, from east to west 300 miles; area, a little more than 40,000 square miles; population (1901), 78,489; the capital is Reikiavik]. The first Norse settlers (after 870) found Christian Irish hermits already in the island, and among the colonists there were some at least nominal Christians. They came to Iceland mostly by way of the British Isles, where they became acquainted with Christianity, and where many of them for practical reasons accepted baptism, or at least allowed themselves to be signed with the cross. These Christians, however, during the first century of Icelandic history, did not constitute a compact party, nor was their religion recognized by the state. The first missionary effort was made by Thorvaldr Kodransson Vidförli ("the Far-Traveled"), in 981, but the attempt miscarried and Thorvaldr and his associate, a Saxon cleric named Frederick, were outlawed and, in 986, left the island. A systematic conversion of the islanders to Christianity took place under the Norwegian king, Olaf Tryggvason, who devoted the five years of his reign (995–1000) almost exclusively to the introduction of the new religion into Norway and its "daughter" lands (Iceland, Shetland and Faroe Islands, Greenland). After ineffectual attempts on the part of Stefnir Thorgilsson, there came to Iceland, under commission by King Olaf, the Saxon priest Thankbrandr, in 997. In spite of a good measure of success, he, too, returned to Norway in 999, convinced that the Icelanders were never to be converted to Christianity. Nevertheless, the Christian party in Iceland was materially strengthened. Upon the report brought back by his commissioner, Olaf was fain to have all the Icelanders in Norway that were still heathen put to death; but he desisted from his purpose when the Christian Icelanders Gizurr and Hjalti Skeggiason promised him to undertake a mission to their countrymen. They went to Iceland in the year 1000, and after severe conflict, won the victory for Christianity.

Houses of worship, like heathen temples, were built entirely by private persons. Whoever would might build a house of God, but he had also to provide for the clergyman. So he either became a clergyman himself or hired one, who was treated quite as a servant of the proprietor. In the earliest period the priests were mostly foreigners: German, English, or Irish. In 1056 Iceland received its first native bishop, Isleif, who had no fixed income, but was constrained to locate his see at Skalholt, his ancestral estate. In this way Skalholt became the episcopal residence of the island, and was fixed there by Isleif's son and successor in office, Gizurr, who endowed the bishopric with the estate, that the bishop might thenceforth have a fixed see and an established fund. Furthermore, in 1097, and on the German plan, Gizurr instituted the tithe system in Iceland. The extent of the island also led, under Gizurr, to the creation of a second episcopal see; the bishopric of Hólar was founded, for the North, whose first bishop was Jon Ögmundarson. The island was made suffragan to the archdiocese of Lund (from 1103). Owing to the dependence of the bishop and the priests upon the State and upon private persons, the clergy lapsed into worldliness, and fell eventually into the greatest immorality and ignorance. The medieval Church in Iceland until about 1150 stands in abrupt contrast to the Church in other parts of the West; celibacy did not prevail; lay patronage was everywhere the rule; the Church had no legislative power, and the clergy were subject to the temporal law and not exempt from taxation.

Characteristics and Difficulties of the Early Church.

Dating from 1152, Iceland was suffragan to the archdiocese of Nidaros (Trondhjem). Now began a conflict between Church and State which evoked the wildest turmoil, and finally compelled the archbishop of Nidaros to draw the reins tighter, and to force Norwegian bishops upon the island

(c. 1238). These, naturally, were doubly energetic in their advocacy of the canon law, and above all they antagonized lay patronage. From the middle of the thirteenth century, most of the Icelandic bishops were foreigners. However, the few native ones labored zealously in the spirit of the metropolitan. The conflict between Church and State flamed up with especial vehemence when, in 1275, Bishop Arni Thorlaksson of Skalholt attempted to carry the new church law, thoroughly based on the canon law, through the Alting (the Icelandic legislative assembly). By the introduction of this new church law, the ecclesiastical power triumphed over the temporal, and the authority of the spirituality was on a like footing with that in other countries of the West. But by the same process the great national interest which the clergy had exhibited in earlier times vanished. From the earliest times, in fact, there had flourished not only at the episcopal sees, but also about a number of priestly residences, schools of science and especially of national history. Priests like Saemundr and Ari were at the same time students of the history of Iceland. These priestly schools were supplemented by schools in connection with the cloisters. The oldest cloister of Iceland is the Benedictine at Thingeyrar, founded in 1133, and this was followed by six more for monks and two for nuns, all founded by the Benedictine and Augustinian orders. The stirring intellectual industry of the clergy, which prevailed in the island until about the middle of the thirteenth century, now began to cease. Stress was laid on externals, and people were generally satisfied if the layman knew his *Credo* and *Paternoster*, and perchance the *Ave Maria*. Conduct was for the most part disregarded by the clergy, who shut their eyes to superstition and immorality, and became themselves avaricious and immoral. An improvement did not set in until the Icelanders had absorbed the spirit of the Lutheran doctrine in "flesh and blood."

Conflict between Church and State; Degeneracy.

The Reformation, like the introduction of Christianity, in Iceland was helped forward by royal mandate. From the fourteenth century the island, along with Norway, had accrued to Denmark. After Christian III., in 1536, had adopted Luther's doctrine in his dominion proper, he labored zealously to advance the same in Iceland as well. A number of clergymen were already on the ground who had learned to know the new doctrine, but they met with vehement opposition on the part of the Icelandic bishops and the Icelandic people. Among them was Oddr Gottskalksson, who rendered into Icelandic the New Testament according to Luther's translation. A command of King Christian III. was read aloud in the Alting, to the effect that the new church régime should be adopted in the island, but Bishop Jon Arason of Holar and the people of the North, as well as many in the diocese of Skalholt, stayed loyally papal. Only after these men were out of the way was the opposition broken. At the Alting of 1551 the Danish church system was recognized as binding for all Iceland. Most of the church and cloister estates were confiscated by Danish officials for the king; church revenues, such as the episcopal tithes, likewise flowed into the royal exchequer. By this process the incomes of the clergy, who were elected by the congregation and inducted by the government, became somewhat meager. There consequently ensued a dearth of suitable preachers, and not infrequently one pastor would assume charge of several parishes combined. At the head of these clergymen stood the bishops of Holar and Skalholt, likewise designated by the Danish king. Of the episcopal sees, that of Holar came to an end in 1801, whereas, prior to that event, the bishopric of Skalholt had been transferred to the present capital, Reikiavik. Moreover, the immorality among laity and clergy remained very much the same as of old. For this reason the adherents of the new doctrine deported themselves with a fanaticism that calls to mind the uprising of the Anabaptists. Cloisters were destroyed, churches plundered, and many valuable literary treasures were obliterated. Hence the introduction of the Reformation has been repeatedly described by the Icelanders themselves as a national misfortune. Only in the course of the seventeenth century did Luther's spirit penetrate deeper into the hearts of the people; by which time, thanks to the fostering of the art of printing (introduced about 1550), and the founding of the Latin schools at Holar (1552) and Skalholt (1553), scientific interest had been awakened anew. No inconsiderable influence in this direction had also been contributed by Bishop Gudbrandur Thorlaksson of Holar, who published, in 1584, the first complete translation of the Bible in the mother tongue, and issued several collections of good spiritual hymns. The devotional poetry inaugurated by Gudbrandur achieved its crowning success about one hundred years later, in the passion psalms of Hallgrimur Pjetursson.

The Reformation.

Iceland is now thoroughly Protestant, although according to the law of the year 1874, there prevails complete freedom of belief. All attempts to reinstate Roman Catholicism in the island have miscarried. At the head of the church system stands the bishop of Reikiavik, who supervises the common-school system. The country is divided into twenty church districts, each directed by a superintendent. There are 141 parishes in Iceland, comprising 299 churches. The junior clergy are trained in the theological school at Reikiavik, where they are accustomed to spend three years after completing the gymnasium course, and are then practically inducted into the pastoral office by an older clergyman.

Present Conditions.

E. Mogk.

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ICON. See Eastern Church, III., § 6.

ICONOCLASM, ICONOCLAST. See Images and Image-Worship, II., §§ 2–3.

ICONOSTASIS, aī″co-nŏs′tă-sis: In the Eastern Church, a screen, generally decorated with pictures, which stands before the altar and conceals it. From the first, it was customary in the Christian Church to mark off the bema by rails, but, these being very low, the altar was not hidden until pillars were placed before it and curtains were used. The iconostasis became more and more frequent as the Greek service increased in symbolism. Thus originated the modern *templon*, which is generally a latticed screen, more or less gilded, with three doors, the middle and largest of which is called the royal and opens toward the altar. This screen is decorated with pictures, and hence derives its name (Gk. *eikonostasis*, "picture-place"). The pictures are usually four in number, one representing the saint in whose honor the church is dedicated; the second representing Mary; the third Christ; and the fourth John the Baptist. They are impressive, are painted on a gold background, are often gorgeously set with jewels or paste, and are brightly illuminated by the lights and lamps placed or suspended before them. The so-called "Painters' Book of Mt. Athos" (2d ed., Athens, 1885) gives technical directions for the production of these screens.

Philipp Meyer.

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IDEALISM.

I. Various Types of Idealism.
II. German Idealism.
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I. Various Types of Idealism: In metaphysics idealism, as the opposite of materialism (q.v.), is the doctrine that ultimate reality is of the nature of mind, or thought-content; in epistemology it is the view that knowledge is merely subjective, i.e., limited to ideas and states of mind. The term is also employed in art, where it denotes an effort to realize the highest types of natural objects by eliminating all defects peculiar to individual specimens. In its popular acceptation idealism represents an imaginative treatment of subjects and a striving after perfection. Plato was the earliest representative of metaphysical idealism. Dissenting from the view of Heraclitus that everything is in a state of flux and flow, he formulated, in the interest of ethics, his doctrine of eternal unchanging ideas. These ideas, or incorporeal essences, exist objectively in a supersensuous world and form the background and basis of the ever-changing phenomenal world. Reality is not inherent in the individual object, as, for instance, a horse or a tree, but in the general idea of horse or tree. The highest idea is the idea of the Good—a self-realizing end.

In modern philosophy at least three kinds of metaphysical idealism are distinguished, viz., subjective idealism, objective idealism, and absolute idealism. The first is represented by Fichte, who found the source of the object, or external world, in a universal subject or ego. Starting with this universal ego he regarded its antithesis, the non-ego, which is created by the ego, as an obstacle necessary to the realization of the intelligent and ethical self. The ego (not the phenomenal self, but the universal self common to all finite selves) sets up an object as a limit, but only to transcend it, thus giving free play to its own activity. This is done in the successive stages of knowledge, beginning with sensation and ending with moral perception. Fichte's thought is ethical, and in his view nature exists only as material for the realization of duty. Since his system describes what ought to be, rather than what is, he called it practical idealism. If all limiting non-egos, including that of finitude, could be actually transcended, the universal self then attained to would be God. The term objective idealism may be applied to any system of metaphysics that recognizes a spiritual reality existing independent of a conscious subject (Plato, Leibnitz, Herbart, etc.); but this term has usually been reserved to describe the system of Schelling. By combining Fichte's doctrine of the universal ego with the Spinozistic idea of a neutral basis of all existence, Schelling developed his system of identity. In the Absolute object and subject, the real and the ideal, nature and spirit, are identical. This original undifferentiated unity, which is perceived by intellectual intuition, breaks up into the polar opposites of object and subject, nature and spirit, negative or positive being. Though the subjective and objective phases of being are always coexistent in the phenomenal world, in consciousness there is a preponderance of the subjective, while in nature,

the negative pole of being, there is a preponderance of the objective. Hegel is the originator and greatest representative of absolute idealism. According to this metaphysical doctrine, existence is not only spiritual, but it is a single, all-inclusive (therefore absolute), self-conscious being, which manifests itself as nature and spirit. In this view phenomena are neither subjective products, nor copies, nor effects, of a transcendent reality, but are parts of the living reality itself. They are phenomena *per se*, and exist objectively as the thought-content of the absolute mind, or Absolute Idea, to use Hegel's expression. The phenomenal world, therefore, is the real world, and there is no other world. With Hegel existence is rational throughout; and, indeed, the entire process of history is only the self-unfolding of the one universal divine reason. Absolute idealism has now almost completely vanished from German speculation, though it has gained a strong foothold in English and American thought. Prominent representatives of the doctrine are F. H. Bradley and Josiah Royce.

In its epistemological reference idealism is the opposite of realism. While the realist asserts that we have knowledge of an external reality, the idealist maintains that we can know only phenomena or ideas in the sense of Locke. If the idealist denies the existence of such an external reality, holding that ideas are only modifications of the mind, he becomes a subjective idealist in the epistemological sense. If he be consistent, he will deny the existence of other persons than himself and become a solipsist; for in his view such persons could exist only as ideas in consciousness. Perhaps the nearest approach to such a view was made by Bishop Berkeley, who held, though not consistently, that that *esse* is *percipi*. If the idealist admits that phenomena are not purely subjective, that they have a certain problematical existence, he becomes a cosmothetic idealist. Descartes, Kant, and most English philosophers have been cosmothetic idealists.

HUBERT EVANS.

II. German Idealism: By German Idealism is meant that phase of intellectual life that had its origin in the Enlightenment (q.v.), as modified by German conditions. English and French representatives of the Enlightenment, giving precedence to sensation, had become empiricists and skeptics. They viewed the world as a great mechanism, adopted hedonism as their ethics, and interpreted history from a subjective-critical point of view. The situation in Germany was just the reverse. There thought was given precedence over sensation; and, instead of empiricism, idealism was dominant. Ethics was based upon norms of universal validity, instead of upon individual whim; history was interpreted genetically as a rational progress; and for the mechanical conception of the world the organic, or dynamic, view was substituted. Nature was seen to be spiritual, as well as spatial, and was interpreted teleologically. In the hands of Jacobi and Kant Hume's skepticism became the weapon that destroyed the influence of empiricism and thus paved the way for idealism. For the Germans, at least, Rousseau's radicalism brought into question the value of the culture-ideals of the Enlightenment, and impelled them to seek the basis of culture in the creative power of the mind. For the philosopher German idealism usually means the philosophy of Kant and his immediate followers, while for the historian of literature it may mean little more than the personality of Goethe; and it is not unusual to characterize the literary aspect of the movement as neo-Humanism. However, there is a unity in the movement that cannot be ignored; and all its varied manifestations, whether in science, philosophy, literature, art, or social life, are properly treated under the title "German Idealism."

1. The Movement Characterized.

Several factors contributed to give the Enlightenment in Germany its peculiarly independent character; but notable was the influence of Leibnitz, and that of the Pietists. Leibnitz was an essentially religious personality, and in transplanting the spirit of the Enlightenment into Germany he imparted to it that distinctively ethical and religious flavor which became characteristic of German Idealism. It was he who was chiefly instrumental in substituting the teleological for the mechanical view of nature. He transformed the atoms of the materialists into monads, or psychical entities, and substituted for natural law his theory of preestablished harmony. He asserted the absolute worth of the individual against the destructive monism of Spinoza, and saw in the progress of history a movement of the monads toward some divine end. On the one hand, he made the development of materialism and skepticism impossible in Germany, and, on the other hand, he brought about the teleological explanation of the history of the universe as a whole. The teleological and idealistic tendencies of Leibnitz were strengthened through Pietism (q.v.). Klopstock, Herder, Jacobi, Goethe, and Jean Paul, all betray in their works the Pietistic influence.

2. Leibnitz and the Pietists.

The conceptual framework of German Idealism was provided by Immanuel Kant (q.v.), who was the first to reconcile the conflicting empirical and rationalistic elements of the prevailing dogmatic philosophy. With one stroke he secured for mind priority over nature, and yet without endangering in the least the validity of the principles of scientific investigation; and, by giving the primacy to the practical reason, he placed religion and ethics on a sure footing and broke the ban of rationalism. In the first instance Kant's work was purely epistemological. He made it particularly his problem to rescue natural science from the (epistemological) skepticism of Hume, and then to rescue religion from rationalism. It was Kant who utterly demolished the rationalistic arguments of Anselm, Descartes, and others, for the existence of God. Science is valid, but it has to do only with phenomena. This phenomenal world, however, is produced *a priori* by the activity of consciousness, reacting upon that external reality whose nature cannot be known. The very fact that the world as we know it is only the sum total of phenomena accounts for the constancy of experience, and is

3. Kant's Transcendentalism.

the basis of the universal validity of certain principles of explanation. Space and time, and the categories of the understanding are subjective, ideal. Taken together they form a mold in which we shape the impressions coming from the transcendent reality. Thus, the principles of science and the laws of nature are universally valid because they are in the subject, not in the object. Knowledge of ultimate reality comes through the practical reason, particularly through the *a priori* moral law in us. Kant's idea of inner freedom became the inspiration of the creative genius. The phase of German Idealism manifested in the art and poetry of the period has been called esthetic-ethical idealism. The leaders of this artistic movement, who really popularized idealism and made it part of the life of the time, were not intent upon solving the old philosophical problems. For conceptual thought they substituted the creative imagination.

4. Lessing, Herder, and Others.

Klopstock and Wieland mark the turning-point toward idealism, though their contemporary, Lessing, was the first representative of the movement to liberate himself completely from conventional theology and all that was arbitrary and external in German culture and find in the inner esthetic and ethical development of the mind the ideal to be followed. Idealism in the sense in which the word is here used became even more effective in the work of Herder. His break with the Enlightenment was complete. In his large application of the idealistic method to the interpretation of science, art, and history, he practically reformed all the intellectual sciences. He, too, proceeded from an analysis of the poetic and artistic impulse, and in the creative activity of the mind he found the key to ethics, esthetics, and religion. From this subjective, or idealistic, view-point he saw the panorama of history as a spiritualistic development. If Lessing's great work was to introduce idealism into esthetics, particularly the esthetics of dramatic poetry, Herder's greatest service to the idealistic cause was his application of idealism, as a method, to the interpretation of history. What Wieland, Lessing, and others had done for poetic art, this Winckelmann did for plastic art. He too found in the conception of the free creative mind the basis of ethics, esthetics, and religion.

5. Goethe, Schiller, and Others.

The great representatives of the idealistic type of mind in German poetry were Goethe and Schiller. Against the exclusive claims of the esthetic view of nature, and a morality essentially classical, Goethe emphasized the moral and religious worth of the individual, thus approaching the rigorous ethical teachings of Kant. Schiller combined the epistemology of Kant with the pantheism of Goethe. With him esthetic values were the chief types of intellectual norms; and his ethics and religion might be regarded as a phase of esthetics. However, the esthetic harmony that he found in the universe reacted on his ethical and religious nature; and, despite his esthetic view-point, he must be classed with Kant and Fichte as one of the great moral teachers of Germany. Schiller's only consistent follower was Wilhelm von Humboldt, who was instrumental in bringing about the neo-Humanistic reform, on the basis of the new esthetic-ethical culture. Jean Paul was a brilliant representative of the anti-classical type of idealism.

6. Early Views of Fichte and Schelling.

The basis of the esthetic-ethical movement was Kant's transcendental idealism; but, while Kant had made the idealistic position secure, he had not accounted for the reality of the world of nature, with all that it means to the poet as the expression of some divine purpose. In order to get at the bottom of the matter it was felt that the human consciousness as a starting-point would have to be abandoned and an absolute consciousness posited, from which reality could be deduced in a manner analogous to that employed by Kant for human consciousness. The first to attempt such a comprehensive solution of the problem was Johann Gottlieb Fichte (q.v.). Starting from Kant's idealistic position he endeavored to overcome the dualism involved in Kant's doctrine of a "thing in itself" by bringing this mysterious reality into consciousness. To do this he dropped the Kantian distinction between the practical and the theoretical reason, and conceived of the absolute mind, or ego, as the moral reason. In his view all existence is psychical, and the human mind is only a manifestation of the absolute ego. Thus, the last trace of a transcendent reality is obliterated. The absolute ego has divided itself into a large number of relative egos, and through these it is moving progressively toward its own destiny. The core of reality lies in human personality, in the finite mind, but this is caught up in an endless process of development; and, hence, in order to transcend his own consciousness and explain the progress of history, with reference to the past and the future, the philosopher must look at existence from the point of view of the absolute ego. In this way Fichte developed his subjective idealism, bringing into this scheme of idealistic evolution every phase of human experience. Under his treatment ethics, sociology, esthetics, and religion become a part of the history of the Absolute. The dualism between mind and nature he overcame by dissolving nature in mind. Schelling, starting from the Kant-Fichte point of view, extended the conception of the Absolute to objective nature. His system may be characterized as a sort of spiritualized pantheism. The world is a continuous process from inorganic unconscious nature to organic conscious nature, and then from organic nature back to inorganic nature. While in man the Absolute reaches consciousness, nature remains essentially objective, but not in a materialistic sense, of course. Nature with Schelling is a system of spiritual forces similar to the monads of Leibnitz. Extending to the absolute consciousness the view that in consciousness subject and object are identical, Schelling worked out his so-called *Identitätsphilosophie*. The sum total of existence then becomes the Absolute as perceived by itself. Naturally all distinctions and qualities, which are created by a finite relational consciousness, disappear in this self-contemplation of the Absolute by itself, and existence becomes neutral. If Fichte had interpreted existence ethically, Schel-

ling interprets it esthetically. While with Fichte the Absolute distributes himself in finite minds in order to work out his own moral development, with Schelling the Absolute comes to consciousness in man in order that man may enjoy the esthetic contemplation of the unity of mind and nature, the identity of mind with its sensuous content.

7. Romanticism.

The immediate result of the metaphysical systems of Fichte and Schelling was that revival of poetic production and criticism known as Romanticism, which sprang from the school of Goethe and Schiller. The union of poesy with the metaphysical, or religious, view of life became a recognized principle of art; and it was this combination that secured for idealism the final triumph over the narrow naturalism and rationalism of the Enlightenment. Romanticism brought to light the connection of poetry with Christianity. Just as Schiller had taken Kant's epistemology as a basis for the explanation of the relation of esthetics to ethics, so now the Kantian position was utilized to explain the relation of religion to esthetics. Thus, from Kant's idealism came a new analysis of religion, illuminating with a new light the problems of culture. Romanticism gave breadth and depth to the historical view and dissolved into thin air those time-worn conceptions of a "law of nature," "common sense," and innate norms of the reason, just as formerly the Enlightenment had disposed of the idea of a supernatural, ecclesiastical norm, which rested upon these conceptions. The leading spirits in the romantic movement were the two Schlegels, though Fichte, Schleiermacher, Hegel, Schelling, Novalis, and many others took a part in it. Out of Romanticism sprang a new impulse for systematic thinking; and through the political catastrophes of the time and the moral earnestness of the intellectual leaders, idealistic speculation was forced to apply its norms to practical social problems.

8. Later Views of Fichte and Schelling.

The first to feel the pressure of the realistic-historical problems were the founders of metaphysical idealism, Fichte and Schelling. Both betray the influence of Schleiermacher. Realizing the inadequacy of their philosophy to meet practical needs, they now sought an ethical and religious ideal which should unify the concrete content of spiritual life and at the same time be a necessary deduction from the metaphysical background of existence. Fichte retained his idea of the moral state as the consummation of the historical process, but he no longer considered this state merely as a postulate of progressive freedom, but as a concrete civilized state, in which all members of society share in the blessings of religion, morality, and art. In this remodeled view of Fichte religion is dominant; for he finds that only religious faith makes possible the realization of the moral idea, and thus the reality of the external world. The world is ethical. It is religious faith that gives an ultimate aim to ethical conduct, that makes possible a union of the empirical ego with its metaphysical basis, i.e., God. His ethics is thus deprived of its formal character as an endless progress and given a definite aim. This ethical and religious view necessitates a modification of his metaphysics. The background of empirical consciousness is no longer an endless progression of the Absolute, but a fixed and unchanging divine being. In this being the empirical ego has its origin, and through ethical conduct it returns to its source. Similarly, in view of moral and esthetic needs, Schelling was forced to change his views. In applying the principle of identity he had destroyed all the manifold variety of existence, and thus its reality; and in describing the universe as a qualityless *neutrum* he had only caricatured the Absolute. His philosophy was belied by every phase of experience. Just as Fichte, so Schelling sought in religion the key to the origin and destiny of man. The phenomenal world takes its rise in the absolute, self-determined will of God, and, on account of its origin, it necessarily works its way up to God again. This movement back to God is a religious progress, through mythology, or natural religion, up to Christianity, at which stage the union of man with God takes place. Thus, Christianity, whose dogmas are interpreted evolutionistically by Schelling, becomes the end and purpose of history; and it is upon Christianity that ethics, politics, and esthetics are to be based.

9. Hegel's System.

If Fichte and Schelling had endeavored to find the purpose of existence in some concrete content, say the moral state, or the Christian religion, deducing this content from the conception of God, Hegel solved the problem by a systematic and logical exploitation of the conception of evolution, which with him was both a constituent and a teleological principle. The conception had been variously and obscurely employed by Leibnitz, Lessing, Kant, Herder, Goethe, Schiller, and F. Schlegel. Then, on the basis of Kant's transcendental deduction, Fichte and Schelling interpreted the process of development in a purely idealistic manner as the unconscious opposition of the Absolute to itself, and the conscious and gradual removal of this opposition by self-absorption, the double process following necessarily from the very nature of mind. Hegel makes the impulse of the absolute mind a gradual and self-determined process, by which the Absolute lifts itself from mere possibility and actuality to conscious, free, and necessary possession. Viewed *sub specie æternitatis* the whole process is timeless, and only to a finite mind does it appear as an endless procession in time and space. However, it is just in this finite view that the ethical, esthetic, and religious character of Hegel's philosophy manifests itself. In the finite consciousness there is a separation of the natural, the actual, and the empirical from the spiritual, the free, and the necessary. In the unity reached by overcoming this divorcement of the finite from the infinite lies religious blessedness, perfect beauty, and moral freedom. Every phase and stage of this inner teleological development is necessary to the life of the Absolute, and all variety in finite experience is preserved in the higher unity. Nothing is lost. Instead of being an undifferentiated substance, or a qualityless *neutrum*, the Absolute is the living, vital reality that manifests itself in human experience. This

reality is spiritual, and the guiding principle of its upward movement is the fulfilment of its own divine purpose, which is religious, ethical, esthetic. Religion and ethics are thus a necessary product of the self-explication of the Absolute, or God.

10. Schleiermacher.

The religious turn that idealistic metaphysics had taken was due directly, or indirectly, to the influence of Schleiermacher, the most specifically religious of all the great philosophers. In his own system he made use of the religious consciousness in an original and striking manner to solve the practical and theoretical problems growing out of Kant's critical philosophy. In the field of ethics he was the most conspicuous exponent of German idealism. What Hegel had deduced from the Absolute by his application of the conception of development, Schleiermacher, following the critical method of Kant, sought to attain by an analysis of empirical consciousness. In its theoretical attitude toward being, consciousness is receptive and seeks to combine the data of sense into the highest possible conceptual unity; in its practical attitude consciousness is active and transfers the aim of reason from the world of sense to the world of conscious freedom. However, in both cases thought and being always remain separate for the finite understanding. On the other hand, that essential unity of reality which makes possible any relation of thought to being, such as volition to being, is present in religious feeling. While Hegel had employed a deductive, dialectical method to show that all being is in God, Schleiermacher reached this unity by an inductive process, which was guided by feeling, instead of by pure reason. Instead of starting with a timeless and spaceless Absolute, he started with the phenomenal world. His task was to analyze the reason that dominates the actual world of history, to bring to light its various purposes, combine them into a totality representing the absolute divine purpose of the universe, the *summum bonum*, and to show that the power to realize this ideal lies in religious consciousness. Schleiermacher's practical religious interests now took him into the field of theology. For his religious philosophy see SCHLEIERMACHER, FRIEDRICH ERNST DANIEL.

11. Herbart.

Herbart stuck even more closely to the Kantian view-point, but, like other followers of Kant, he sought to eliminate the conception of an unknowable reality, and press forward to the ultimate nature of things. He adopted Kant's analysis of consciousness, but in a psychological sense, and found that the transcendental reality consists of a plurality of simple substances. These he called "reals." They are psychical in nature and analogous to the monads of Leibnitz. Through their relations to one another and to human consciousness the phenomenal world is brought into existence; and from their teleological cooperation Herbart deduces a divine, creative intelligence, analogous to the *monad-monadum* of Leibnitz, thus opposing sharply current poetic naturalism and Spinozism. Herbart's practical and social philosophy, which is based upon the judgments of the soul as to the relations of the "reals" to each other, particularly upon judgments expressing like or dislike, also tends toward rationalism. On account of the method employed here, Herbart calls the result esthetics, to which he subordinates ethics. In his view the ideal society would be one based upon the insight and activity of the educated, and upon the rational education of youth, and realizing in its organization the natural and fundamental ethical ideas. Herbart thus became not only a reformer of psychology, but of pedagogy as well.

12. Schopenhauer.

The last great representative of German Idealism in systematic philosophy was Schopenhauer. While with him the phenomenal world is ideal, i.e., existing only as a subjective idea, its objective basis is not a "thing in itself," as Kant taught, but a universal will. This Schopenhauer interprets as a blind, illogical, aimless impulse, without any original ethical tendency whatsoever. Through the blind impulse of this world-will arises human intelligence and the phenomenal world. History loses all teleological significance and becomes an irrational and endless progression. Ethics, therefore, as the philosophy of the ultimate purpose of the world, can only proclaim the aimlessness of the cosmical process and seek to put an end to it by stilling the will. This quietizing of the will is effected by recognizing the aimlessness of the process and resigning oneself to it completely. For these teachings Schopenhauer found a support in Buddhism, which was then just becoming known in the Occident. He was bitter in his hatred of what he thought the selfishness and sensuality of Judaism, in which he found the roots of deceptive theism. The pure Christianity of Christ he regarded as a sort of mystical quietism. Though his metaphysical work, *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, appeared as early as 1819, his teachings found no popular reception till after the wane of Hegel's influence in Germany.

13. Idealism in the Positive Sciences.

The effects of this idealistic development are apparent in the positive sciences not less than in metaphysics. In accordance with the idea of the oneness of the world, the natural sciences have been given a subordinate position, or else reduced to natural philosophy. The new spirit is manifested even more clearly in the historical sciences, where the genetic method is everywhere employed and individual facts are treated in relation to the whole development. For instance, the historian of literature or art now seeks to bring the facts with which he is dealing into relation with other phases of life and thus grasp the life and ideals of a nation as a whole. Similarly, the philologist is no longer satisfied with the study of one language, but seeks to correlate it with kindred tongues and reconstruct the inner life of the people. Even in the field of jurisprudence the genetic method has been adopted and particular stress laid on the development of common law. The effect of this idealistic movement may also be observed in theology. Here deistic efforts to base Christianity on a general theory of religion have been replaced by a more penetrating psychological analysis, together with a genetic view of religious history; though it should be added that repeated

and earnest attempts have been made to rescue the core of Christianity from the general flux of history and give to it a fixed character. Since it is in the universities, chiefly, that the sciences are cultivated, naturally the universities have been reorganized in conformity to the changed ideals. It was in the University of Jena that German Idealism got its first foothold. From here the new educational ideal went forth to the newly established universities of Berlin, Heidelberg, Bonn, Breslau, and Munich, and into the secondary schools. The effect of this reform has been to rescue philosophy from its servile position in the faculty of liberal arts and give it the position of that pure and true science which determines the principles of all other science, whether theoretical or practical.

(E. Troeltsch.)

III. English and American Idealism: In Great Britain the earlier representatives of Idealism were Ralph Cudworth, Samuel Clarke, and George Berkeley (qq.v.). Cudworth, one of the Cambridge Platonists (q.v.), in opposition to the sensualistic philosophy of Hobbes, in his *True Intellectual System of the Universe* (1678), maintained that the human mind participates in the archetypal ideas which are eternal in the mind of God; by divine illumination these ideas are quickened in the soul. Clarke's idealism appears in his famous argument for the being of God, based upon innate conceptions of space and time, of being, of necessary existence, and of the infinite (*Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God*, 1705), and in his doctrine of the absolute right—the "eternal fitness of things"—derived from his doctrine of God (*The Unchangeable Obligations of Natural Religion*, 1706). Berkeley affirmed that all ideas are only states or motions of the spirit. So-called material properties have no existence outside of the spirits in which the perception arises; accordingly, the universe consists only of spirits and their ideas. The source of these ideas is God, by whom they are impartially and immutably created (*Selections from Berkeley's Works*, edited by A. C. Fraser, London, 1891). In America during this period, Idealism found a voice in Jonathan Edwards (1758). In his *Notes on the Mind*, penned ere he had reached early manhood, is a doctrine of the world quite in the spirit of Berkeley, although not dependent on him, which in some aspects anticipates the absolute idealism of Hegel. "The material universe exists nowhere but in the mind." "All material existence is only in idea." "That which truly is the substance of all bodies is the infinitely exact, and precise, and perfectly stable Idea, in God's mind, together with his stable will, that the same shall gradually be communicated to us, and to other minds, according to certain fixed and established Methods and Laws" (Notes 34, 40, 13, in his *Works*, New York, 1830).

1. Early Phases.

In recent thought Idealism has well-nigh supplanted other forms of interpretation of the world. The point of view is that "mind has the importance of a universal and cosmical principle of reality." The field is, however, divided into various sections. (1) As applied to epistemology or the grounds upon which our thought of reality is shown to be valid, the principal representatives are B. P. Bowne (*Theory of Thought and Knowledge*, New York, 1897) and G. T. Ladd (*Philosophy of Knowledge*, New York, 1897). (2) In metaphysics, F. H. Bradley (*Appearance and Reality*, London, 1897) holds that all finite things of every variety are in the last analysis unreal, yet these are aspects of the one Absolute, and it or he is their reality. J. Royce (*The World and the Individual*, 2 vols., New York, 1900–01) presents the ultimate reality as the "internal meaning of an idea." In agreement with Royce, A. E. Taylor (*Elements of Metaphysics*, New York, 1907) declares that the Absolute is a conscious life which simultaneously and in perfect unity includes in its experience the totality of existence, i.e., existence is ultimately mental. (3) In the philosophy of religion treated from the idealistic point of view, the principal writers are J. Caird (*Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion*, Glasgow, 1880), with profound reliance upon Hegel's great work on the same subject, and G. T. Ladd (*Philosophy of Religion*, New York, 1905). (4) In ethics, in which the end is presented as realization of the rational self, the more significant works are those by F. H. Bradley, *Ethical Studies* (London, 1876); T. H. Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics* (ib. 1883); J. H. Muirhead, *Elements of Ethics* (ib. 1892); J. S. Mackenzie, *Manual of Ethics* (4th ed., New York, 1901); G. H. Palmer, *Field of Ethics* (Boston, 1901); idem, *Nature of Goodness* (ib. 1904); G. T. Ladd, *Philosophy of Conduct* (New York, 1902), and J. Royce, *Philosophy of Loyalty* (ib. 1908). (5) As an interpretative principle as applied to the history of religion and especially to the development of Christian doctrine, vindicating the rational element in these, against the denial of the same in a proposed return to the simplicity of the Gospel on the one hand, and on the other against the principle of external authority, the reader is referred to E. Caird, *Evolution of Religion* (Glasgow, 1893) and *Evolution of Theology in the Greek Philosophers* (ib. 1900–02), and J. Watson, *Philosophical Basis of Religion* (ib. 1907).

2. Modern Idealism.

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IDIOMATA. See Communicatio Idiomatum.

IDOLATRY: In this article Idolatry means not so much the worship of images (see Images and Image Worship) as the worship of other than the national God of the Hebrews. The oneness of God, through which objects of religious regard outside of himself are conceived as idols, is at the first glance the distinguishing characteristic of Old-Testament religion. It is this also which binds together the great monotheistic religions of the world and guarantees them their place in the science of the spirit over against the natural science of religion. The Old Testament does not regard this as a new idea in Mosaic times, but as then associated with the name of Yahweh, the God who had led Israel out of Egypt. It is this conception of unity which must be kept constantly in the mind in making the demarcation between worship of God and of idols in the New-Testament sense. From this standpoint the old name Elohim was inappropriately kept in use in the Old Testament for Yahweh, and no difficulty was felt by the writer of Gen. ii. 4 sqq. in employing the term Yahweh-Elohim. The "Fear" whom Isaac invoked (Gen. xxxi. 42, 53, R.V.) was the forefathers' God whom the children call Yahweh. And while the priestly historian of the past uses with force the name El Shaddai as preceding the use of Yahweh (Ex. vi. 3, cf. Gen. xvii. 1), the identification of the Canaanitic El Elyon with Yahweh is explicit in the mouth of Abraham (Gen. xiv. 22). These combinations with the word *El* express generally the idea of divinity. A similar content is implied in the other Semitic names for God as Lord (see Baal) or as king (see Moloch), which in the beginning of the Yahweh religion were ethically inapplicable to Yahweh. The protest of Hosea and of Jeremiah are marked against the ideas which were bound up in the application of these names to Yahweh.

Early Divine Names and Conceptions.

But ever stronger appears the revulsion against the worship of other gods which the worship of the one true God caused as their irreconcilable opposition to his unity appeared and they were rejected as heathenish. That this took its roots in the popular religion of Israel appears from the fact that personal names from the time of Joshua nowhere contain the names of heathen deities, and are for the most part compounded with the name of Yahweh or with what were regarded as equivalents, *Adhon*, *Baal*, *Melekh*, or *Ẓur*. But among the neighboring peoples deity had been split up into a large number of deities, a process which might easily have been accomplished in Israel. Patriarchal narratives knew of an *El* of Beth-el, an *El-'Olam* of Beer-sheba, an *El Elyon* and an *El Shaddai;* Moses built an altar to *Yahweh Nissi* and Gideon one to *Yahweh 'Olam*, Abraham's offering was to *Yahweh Yireh*, and Absalom had a vow to "Yahweh-in-Hebron." The keen insight of the prophets discerned the danger in this apparent multiplicity, and the formula in Deut. vi. 4 is aimed not so much at any plurality as at the possible splitting of the personality of Yahweh into many gods. With this went the protest in the northern kingdom against the mixing of the names of Baal and Yahweh which might produce a confusion with the Baalim of the heathen, instanced in the substitution of *Bosheth*, "shame," for Baal (see Baal). Similar in intent was the campaign against the high places (q.v.).

Native Conceptions Dangerous to the Idea of Oneness.

Not less dangerous than this possible dissolution of the unity of Yahweh from within was the obtrusion from without of the survivals of nature religion in the form of worship of stones of various sorts (see Memorials and Sacred Stones) which were associated with the worship paid by the patriarchs, Moses, Joshua, and Samuel. How strong a vehicle for an evil syncretism these objects might become is recognized in such passages as Micah v. 13; Deut. vii. 5; Lev. xxvi. 30. With these must be mentioned the Asherah (q.v.), which, as the usual accompaniment of the Canaanitic altars, had gained entrance into the Hebrew cult, and was found even in the temple (II Kings xxi. 7), and obscene figures (I Kings xv. 13). A similar danger arose from the groves and from the tree-cult (see Groves and Trees, Sacred) so often brought into connection with the patriarchs and with later leaders (e.g., Gen. xiii. 18; Judges iv. 5, vi. 11) and equally with Canaanitic cults (Gen. xii. 6), betraying a community of worship in earlier times. Against this such protests were filed as that in Hos. iv. 13. Other indications of syncretism are found in the sacred prostitution of males and females (I Kings xiv. 24), which even entered the temple (II Kings xxiii. 7), in self-mutilation (see Mutilations, I Kings xviii. 28), and in the offering of children in sacrifice (II Kings xvi. 3). Indeed, the Old Testament is full of testimony to the fact that the people of Yahweh, even while recognizing itself as such a people, was at times open to the allurements offered either by the indulgence or the ritualistic abstinence fostered by the native cults about it. This tendency is registered early in the history by such passages as Judges x. 6. Yet that the great number of place names in Palestine derived from the names of heathen deities indicates always Israelitic worship of idols in those places is more than the facts warrant. The Amarna tablets prove that these names are the legacy of a period anterior to that of the Judges in a land already thickly populated. Still, the earlier material in the Book of Judges proves that in ancient times the people indulged in practises which were not merely debased forms of Yahweh worship, but were lapses into practise of Canaanitic cults. The effect of the establishment of the kingdom was the realization of a fact known before, the national character of the worship of Yahweh.

External Dangers Menacing Unity.

Yet this political development opened a new way for the infiltration of worship of other deities.

Development in the Regal Period.

While doubtless the large harem of Solomon was not formed without reference to political contingencies, it was only one of the causes of the erection of sanctuaries to other gods. More significant is the domestication in Israel of the Phenician Ashtoreth (q.v.), the Moabitic Chemosh (q.v.), and the Ammonitic Moloch (q.v.), under whose protection the capital was placed. Thus three motives contributed to the introduction of a syncretistic worship; political motives which in part underlay Solomon's gathering of a harem; the syncretism of calf-worship in the northern kingdom by appropriation of a Baal-cult in Yahweh-worship; and the introduction of new deities under the dynasty of Omri, which passed them on into Judah through Athaliah. In the eighth century, through the development which brought the Mesopotamian powers into the West, a new stream of foreign religious customs began to cut its channel into Israel. New deities, new objects of cultic meaning, were borne on this stream (Jer. xix. 4; Ezek. xxviii. 14), and the worship of the stars was included (II Kings xvii. 16). Amos (v. 26), Isaiah (ii. 5), and the author of the Books of Kings knew of hosts of deities derived from these sources (cf. Jer. xxxix. 3), and in Judah Manasseh opened wide the gates for their entrance. The temple and private houses were made the dwelling-places of these new deities (II Kings xxi. 3–7, xxiii. 4–12; Ezek. viii. 12). The worship of the sun and of the signs of the zodiac came into prominence, as well as that of the "Queen of Heaven." Tammuz, the Babylonian Adonis (Ezek. viii. 14), and Philistine and Egyptian deities found entrance. While the reformation of Josiah removed the emblems of these cults, the cult itself was not destroyed but continued, not merely in Samaria, but in Jerusalem itself, until the Exile, in syncretistic union with the cult of Yahweh. The persistent strength of the religion of Yahweh in the midst of these assaults was manifested in the opposition of prophecy, contending for the unity of that deity. A point of rebuke is found for Israel in the fact of the fidelity of the heathen to their deities. And the prophet rises to the conception of the world-wide rule of the God of Israel.

While externally the Babylonian exile drew a boundary line between the idolatrous tendencies of the earlier people and the post-exilic iconoclastic type, there are many signs among the exiles of relapse into the old idolatry and of lapses into newer forms (Ezek. xiv. 1–8; Isa. xlii. 17).

Exilic and Post-Exilic Development.

While it cannot be proved that the Babylonian chief gods Bel, Marduk, Nebo, obtained firm lodgment, a sort of fatalism appeared in the worship of Gad and Meni (qq.v.) as is indicated by Isa. lxv. 11. Traces of adoption of cults from the Persians are hard to discover. The little book of Tobit suggests a mingling from the side of demonology (see Asmodeus). The period immediately before the exit of the religion of the Old Testament shows that intimately connected with the development of a faith is degeneration and rankness of growth. Thus the Maccabean epoch revealed a last mighty flaring-up of the idolatrous inclination as the prelude to a period of martyrdom and victory for Israelitic faith. Greek religion found ready entrance and firm standing-ground among the Jews. The high priest Joshua, who changed his name to Jason, and Alcimus appeared as leaders of the Greek party. Not only was there sent a contribution to the great official feast of the Melkart-Heracles of Tyre, but in Jerusalem a sanctuary was consecrated to Olympian Zeus and on Gerizim one to Zeus Xenios. Not only this, but there arose in the city before the gates altars to Greek deities like Artemis, Apollo, and Hecate. This time it was not the living word of prophecy which armed the opposition to these doings, but for the first time the written word, through which alone not merely the national religion, but the religion of mankind could be established. (P. Kleinert.)

Bibliography: The literature under Images and Image Worship and the appropriate sections in works on the History of Israel (see under Ahab) should be consulted. Also: F. Creuzer, *Symbolik und Mythologie*, vol. ii., Darmstadt, 1841; E. M. de Vogüé, *Mélanges d'archéologie orientale*, Paris, 1868; A. Kuenen, *Godsdienst van Israel*, 2 vols., Harlem, 1869–70; R. Smend, *Lehrbuch der alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte*, Freiburg, 1893; C. P. Tièle, *Geschichte der Religion*, vol. i., Gotha, 1895; G. B. Gray, *Hebrew Proper Names*, London, 1896; H. Winckler, *Thontafeln von Tel-Amarna*, Berlin, 1896, Eng. transl., ib., 1896; Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Religionsgeschichte*, i. 384–467, Tübingen, 1905; *DB*, ii. 445–448; *EB*, ii. 2152–2158; *JE*, xii. 568–569.

IDUMÆA. See Edom.

IGNATIUS (ig-nê'shi-us) **OF ANTIOCH:** Little is known of the life of Ignatius of Antioch except what may be gathered from the letters bearing his name. Irenæus (*Hær.* V., xxviii. 4) quotes him as a martyr who was condemned to be thrown to the beasts; Origen quotes him once (Prologue to Cant.), and in the sixth homily on Luke mentions him as the successor of Peter in the bishopric of Antioch, giving the same account of his death as Irenæus. Eusebius knows no independent facts, and the chronology of the lists of the bishops of Antioch which he gives is doubtful. He too calls him the second bishop; though the Apostolic Constitutions (vii. 46) combine two traditions by making Peter appoint first Euodius, the immediate predecessor of Ignatius, and then Ignatius. Purely legendary are the assertions that Ignatius was the child mentioned in Matt. xviii. 4, and that he was a disciple of John or of Peter. The *Acta Martyrii* relating to him must also be abandoned as historical sources. Two independent accounts exist, the *Martyrium Colbertinum* (first published by Ussher in a Latin version, 1647, then by Ruinart in Greek, 1689), which is identical with the Syriac version given in part by Cureton and in full by Mösinger (1872); and the *Martyrium Vaticanum*, published by Dressel from a Vatican manuscript, after Ussher had given a slightly different text from one at Oxford. Besides these there are three others formed by a combination of the two; but the authenticity of even the *Colbertinum*, which has the best claim, is now seldom defended. This result

Life of Ignatius.

has been reached on the basis of contradictions between it and the letters, of its frequent unhistorical statements, and of the fact that it was not known to any ancient writer. It cannot have been composed earlier than the fifth century. The one source is therefore the epistles, which purport to have been written during the journey of Ignatius from Antioch to Rome to suffer martyrdom.

In all there are fifteen letters bearing the name of Ignatius, evidently of varying age and value.

The Ignatian Letters.

Seven of these (*Ad Ephesios, Ad Magnesios, Ad Trallianos, Ad Romanos, Ad Philadelphenos, Ad Smyrnæos, Ad Polycarpum*) are found in a shorter and a longer Greek recension. The latter adds five more (*Ad Mariam Cassobolitam*, with a letter from Mary to Ignatius, *Ad Tarsenses, Ad Antiochenos, Ad Heronem diaconum Antiochenum*, and *Ad Philippenses*); and finally there are three found only in a Latin text, two to St. John and one to the Virgin Mary, with her reply to it. These last are wholly worthless, and were probably composed originally in Latin. Of the shorter Greek recension (known as G^1) there is only a single manuscript, the *Codex Mediceo-Laurentinus*, and two copies made from it; but there is also a Latin version (first published by Ussher, 1644, from two manuscripts, of which one has since been lost), quite accurate and of value for the restoration of the text; a Syriac one, incomplete, and an Armenian one based upon it; and a fragment of a Copto-Sahidic one. This shorter recension was first published in Greek by Vossius, 1644. Of the numerous later editions, those of Zahn and Lightfoot are the most scholarly. The longer or interpolated Greek recension (G^2) exists in several manuscripts, as does also a Latin version of it; and the Armenian version mentioned above contains the additional letters. It was first published by Pacæus in 1557 and independently by Gessner two years later; of modern editions Zahn's is the most reliable. Finally three letters (to the Ephesians, the Romans, and Polycarp) were discovered in a still shorter recension, though only in a Syriac version, and first published by Cureton in 1845 from two manuscripts found in the Nitrian desert in 1839 and 1843, and again in 1849 with the additional use of a third, found in 1847.

In view of the great importance of these letters for the early constitutional history of the Church, the question of their authenticity has been much discussed. The first period in the history of their criticism goes down to the discovery of G^1. In it at least the three Latin epistles were abandoned, even by Baronius. As to the others, Roman Catholic theologians were usually inclined to defend the authenticity of all those contained in G^2, and the Protestants to deny it. With the publication of G^1 begins the second period, in which G^1 was generally recognized as a nearer approach to the original text, G^2 as interpolated. The latter was defended by Meier as late as 1836, but this question may be regarded as finally settled. Opinions varied greatly during the second period as to the authenticity of G^1. The third period began with the discovery of the shortest or Syriac recension (S). The first editor, Cureton, strongly expressed his belief that now at last the really genuine letters were found, which had later been recast so as to support the developed doctrine of the divinity of Christ and the developed constitution of the Church, while four entirely new letters had been added. A large number of scholars declared substantially for this view, though still more refused their assent. The demonstration begun by Denzinger and Uhlhorn, carried further by Merx, and completed by Zahn, that S represents merely an excerpt from G^1, may now be regarded as conclusive. Many of the original upholders of S have now abandoned it, while no new defenders have appeared; and its part in the history of Ignatian criticism may be regarded as a closed incident. The present position of the controversy is this: either G^1 gives what are substantially unchanged, genuine letters of Ignatius, or none of his letters are extant. It may be safely said that the upholders of the former view, represented with learning and thoroughness by Zahn and Lightfoot, have increased in number. Harnack has abandoned his former attempt to date the letters in the last years of Hadrian or the first of Antoninus Pius, and decided that they are genuine, and composed toward the end of the reign of Trajan (110–117), or possibly, though not probably, a little later.

Their Authenticity.

Four principal reasons are urged against the authenticity of the letters as found in G^1. (1) It is asserted that the historical data afforded by them are incorrect. The fact is, however, that the data of the letters themselves (not of the *Acta*) correspond perfectly to the conditions of the time. Christians suffered martyrdom under Trajan, and there is no reason to doubt the account of Ignatius being brought to Rome to die there. The law forbidding provincial governors to send condemned prisoners from one province to another is not earlier than Severus and Antoninus, and that which regulated their transportation to Rome probably later still. There is nothing improbable about the route assigned, nor the fact that Ignatius was able to have intercourse with the local churches and wrote letters on the way. Similar examples are found in Lucian (*De morte Peregrini*), and in the *Acta* of Perpetua and Felicitas. The anxiety of Ignatius lest the Roman Christians should take steps for his liberation is easily understood when it is known that appeals on behalf of a condemned prisoner might be set in motion by others, even against his will. In a word, the whole line of argument represented by the first objection may now be largely disregarded. (2) The second deals with the personality of Ignatius, as set forth in the epistles, which Baur considered much more suited to a deliberate invention than to actual history, objecting especially to its "affected humility" and its "false heroism." This point, made most strongly by Bunsen, is now not so much pressed; it is an entirely subjective one, and is decided in an opposite sense by equally good judges, Rothe and Harnack seeing throughout the stamp of an actual personality. (3) Somewhat more impressive is the contention that heresies

Arguments Against Authenticity.

are combated which belong to a later period than the opening years of the second century. It is still a question whether one heresy or two (a Gnostic-Docetic and a Judaizing) may be discerned. In favor of the view once held by Baur, that the epistles presuppose the existence of the great Gnostic system, that of Valentinus and Marcion, Hilgenfeld is almost alone. Lipsius places the Docetism attacked by Ignatius later than Saturninus, though still before Valentinus, and thus dates the letters between 130 and 140. But a careful study of the question makes it fairly certain that they must have been written before Gnosticism grew to threatening dimensions, which occurred precisely in those years. In any case, too little is known of its earlier stages to assert that no such heretics as are described in the letters existed in the opening years of the second century; and it is safe to say that if their genuineness is accepted on other grounds, this offers no reason to doubt it. (4) It is also contended that the organization of the Church, especially the episcopate, belongs to a later period. It is perfectly true that the epistles know three orders—bishops, presbyters, and deacons, of which the second is already subordinate to the first—and Ignatius lays great stress upon the function of the episcopate in the interests of unity. But if there is here a step in advance of Clement of Rome and the "Shepherd of Hermas" the stage which appears in Irenæus is still more advanced. There are abundant traces of a recent and as yet incomplete elevation of the episcopate over the presbyterate; it is a local, not a universal, office, and does not carry with it the guardianship of the teaching tradition; it is valued largely as a center of unity for the local church, a safeguard against centrifugal tendencies, and a guaranty for the future permanence and purity of Christianity.

While it would, then, be too much to say that all difficulties have been removed, the discussion has reached a stage when such as remain are not to be set against a single piece of strong external evidence; and such evidence exists in the epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians, which is itself definitely attested by Irenæus. This can only be met by declaring it forged or largely interpolated. The former view offers great difficulty in the face of the evidence; the latter, more often put forward (most acutely by Ritschl), falls before the unity of the whole letter and the fact that such very extensive interpolations would have to be supposed in order to remove all traces of the Ignatian epistles.

(G. Uhlhorn†.)

It seems highly probable that even the shorter Greek form has suffered extensive interpolation, how extensive no one is in a position to determine. The cautious student of the history of polity and doctrine will decline to base important conclusions on the unsupported testimony of these writings. Even if the reference to Ignatian epistles in the epistle of Polycarp be genuine, this would not prove the authenticity of the epistles in their present form.

A. H. N.

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All of the editions noted above are rich in notes and introductions upon the critical questions involved. Consult further: J. Pearson, *Vindiciæ Ignatianæ*, Cambridge, 1672, reissued Oxford, 1852; R. Rothe, *Die Anfänge der christlichen Kirche*, pp. 713–784, Wittenberg, 1837; W. Cureton, *Vindiciæ Ignatianæ*, London, 1846; C. C. J. von Bunsen, *Ignatius von Antioch*, Hamburg, 1847; idem, *Hippolytus and His Age*, i. 88–103, London, 1854; F. C. Baur, *Die ignatianischen Briefe*, Tübingen, 1848; H. Denzinger, *Ueber die Aechtheit des Textes des Ignatius*, Würzburg, 1849; A. Ritschl, *Die Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche*, pp. 577–589, Bonn, 1850; R. A. Lipsius, in *ZHT*, 1856; idem, in *ZWT*, xvii (1874), 209 sqq.; A. Merx, *Meletemeta Ignatiana*, Halle, 1861; T. Zahn, *Ignatius von Antiochien*, Gotha, 1873; E. Renan, *Les Évangiles*, Paris, 1877; A. Harnack, *Die Zeit des Ignatius von Antiochien*, Leipsic, 1878; idem, *Litteratur*, i. 73 sqq. et passim, ii. 1, pp. 381–400; idem, in *TU*, ii. 1 and 2, 1884; F. X. Funk, *Die Echtheit der ignatianischen Briefe*, Tübingen, 1883; idem, in *KL*, vi. 581–590; W. D. Killen, *The Ignatian Epistles entirely Spurious*, Edinburgh, 1886; D. Völter, *Die ignatianischen Briefe*, Tübingen, 1892; J. Reville, *Les Origines de l'épiscopat*, pp. 442–481, Paris, 1894; G. A. Simcox, in *The Academy*, Nov. 24, 1894; J. H. Srawley, *Epistles of St. Ignatius*, 2 vols., London, 1900; H. de Genouillac, *L'Église chrétienne au temps de S. Ignace d'Antioche*, Paris, 1908; Schaff, *Christian Church*, ii. 47 sqq., 651 sqq.; Moeller, *Christian Church*, i. 112 sqq.; Krüger, *History*, pp. 28–34; *DCB*, iii. 209–222; and, in general, modern treatments of the post-apostolic period of church history.

IGNATIUS OF CONSTANTINOPLE: Patriarch of Constantinople 846–857, and 867–878 (or 877); b. about 799; d. at Constantinople Oct. 23, 878 (or 877). He was a son of Emperor Michael I., and his real name was Niketas. On being shut up in a monastery by Leo V. he called himself Ignatius. He was early chosen abbot and consecrated priest, and in 846, at the instigation of Theodora, the widow of Emperor Theophilus, he was elected patriarch. He found a vehement opponent in Gregory Asbesta, archbishop of Syracuse, who from the beginning disputed the legitimacy of the election of Ignatius. The matter was brought before Pope Leo IV., who was on the side of Ignatius, but Leo died before he was able to give a documentary decision; and on Nov. 23, 857, Ignatius was deposed. The occasion for this act was given by the attitude of Ignatius toward Bardas, the brother of Theodora, who lived in incestuous relation with the widow of his son. In 857, at the Feast of Epiphany, Ignatius prohibited him from participating in the Lord's Supper and refused to offer him assistance in the removal of his mother, whom he disliked. Bardas avenged himself by deposing the patriarch. Photius (q.v.) became his successor, and from this time dates the controversy which ended in the separation of the Churches of the Orient and Occident. Despite the support of Pope Nicholas I., Ignatius was degraded at a synod held in Constantinople in 861, was cruelly treated, and forced to retire to the monastery on

the island of Terebinthos. In Sept., 867, Basil became emperor after the assassination of Bardas and Michael. One of his first acts was to recall Ignatius, in order to obtain the favor of the people, who still honored Ignatius. At the eighth ecumenical council (Oct. 5, 869–Feb. 28, 870) the reputation of Ignatius was rehabilitated, and his election was confirmed by the Pope Adrian II. But Ignatius did not succeed in pacifying the opposition, and his death gave Photius his longed-for opportunity to regain his former position. Ignatius is esteemed as a saint in the Greek and Roman Churches, in the Roman Church evidently because he was looked upon as an important adherent and even martyr of the papal primacy; in the Greek Church on account of his personal piety and because in reality he did not acknowledge the absolute supremacy of Rome.

(F. Kattenbusch.)

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IGNATIUS DIACONUS: Older contemporary of Ignatius, patriarch of Constantinople, with whom he is frequently confounded; b. about 780. He became diaconus and skeuophylax of the "great church" at Constantinople about 810, and after 830 metropolitan of Nicæa. Useful as sources of history are his biographies of the patriarchs Tarasios (ed. J. A. Heikel, Helsingfors, 1889) and Nicephorus (ed. De Boor, in the *Opuscula historica* of Nicephorus, Leipsic, 1880). Ignatius seems to have compiled also a *Vita Gregorii Decapolitani*. He also wrote poems, including one on the fall, remarkable for its dramatic form. Among the *dramatis personæ* are God, Adam, Eve, and the serpent (ed. C. F. Müller, Kiel, 1886).

(F. Kattenbusch.)

Bibliography: Krumbacher, *Geschichte*, pp. 716–717 et passim; F. Hirsch, *Byzantinische Studien*, Leipsic, 1876.

IGNATIUS, FATHER: See Lyne, Joseph Leycester.

IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA (INIGO LOPEZ DE RECALDE): Founder of the Jesuit order; b. at the castle of Loyola, near Azpeitia (16 m. s.w. of San Sebastian) in the province of Guipuzcoa, Spain, probably Christmas night, 1491; d. at Rome July 31, 1556. He came of a knightly family, spent his youth at the court of Ferdinand, had few educational advantages, and early entered the army. He was highly sentimental and fond of stories of chivalry. Severely wounded at the battle of Pampeluna (May 20, 1521), he was for months an invalid in his father's castle. During this period of severe suffering a life of Christ and legends of the saints came into his hands. He read them with avidity, and became fired with an ambition to follow Christ in a life of self-denying labor and to emulate the heroic deeds of Francis of Assisi, Dominic, and other great monastic leaders. Amatory and ambitious thoughts he attributed to Satan, and aspirations after holiness and Christian service to the Holy Spirit. He resolved to devote his life to the conversion of infidels in the Holy Land. On recovering he exchanged clothes with a beggar and visited the Dominican monastery of Montserrat (Mar. 25, 1522), where he hung his military accouterments before an image of the Virgin. He soon entered the monastery of Manresa, where he practised the most rigorous asceticism with frequent confessions and masses and the performance of the most disagreeable and menial tasks. He is said to have had visions of the Trinity, of the mystery of the creation, of the union of deity and humanity in Christ (in the Eucharist). The contemplation of any religious act or meditation on any of the great facts of redemption brought before his susceptible mind realistic images of the events concerned. The Virgin became the object of his chivalrous (almost idolatrous) devotion. Greatly concerned about his sins and the sins of the world, he pictured most vividly the continuous conflict between Christ and his hosts and Satan and his hosts. Military imagery played a prominent part in his religious contemplations. Before he left Manresa he had wrought out his "Spiritual Exercises," which were to exert a potent influence in the winning and training of converts and in revolutionizing the methods of propagandism in the papal Church; "the mill into which all Jesuits are cast; they emerge with characters and talents diverse; but the imprint remains ineffaceable" (Crétineau-Joly). In the summer of 1523 he left Manresa for Jerusalem via Barcelona and Venice. He journeyed wholly without money or supplies. On Sept. 4 he visited the Holy Sepulcher. Finding no way to maintain himself in missionary work in Palestine, he returned to Venice (Jan., 1524), convinced that he could accomplish little without scholastic training. Early in the year he went to Barcelona and took his place (though thirty-three years old) among the school-boys to learn the rudiments of Latin. In two years he was able to enter the University of Alcala, and in the autumn of 1527 he removed to the University of Salamanca. At both universities he incurred the censure of the authorities through his efforts to win converts among the students by inducing them to subject themselves to courses of training in the "Spiritual Exercises." Early in 1528 he entered the University of Paris, where he remained over seven years, perfecting his literary and theological education and winning associates. For disturbing the students by getting them absorbed in the "Spiritual Exercises" he narrowly escaped disgraceful punishment at the hands of the authorities. He spent the vacations in the Netherlands among his fellow countrymen, who generously supplied his wants. By 1534 he had won to his mode of life and inspired with his purpose and enthusiasm Peter Faber, Francis Xavier (q.v.), Alfonso Salmeron, Jacob Lainez, and Nicholas Bobadilla (Spaniards), and Simon Rodriguez (a Portuguese).

Youth, Conversion, and Education.

On Aug. 15, 1534, these brethren with Ignatius, in the St. Mary's Church at Montmartre, vowed on the completion of their studies to enter upon hos-

pital and missionary work in Jerusalem, or, opportunity failing, to go without questioning wherever the pope might direct. Early in 1535 Ignatius went to Spain to attend to some business matters for Xavier, Lainez, and Salmeron, not wishing, it may be, to expose them to the temptations of home and family or to interrupt their studies. It was arranged that the companions should meet him at Venice in Jan., 1537. He visited the castle of Loyola, but chose to abide at the almshouse. His preaching in the community attracted wide-spread attention. While he was in Spain his companions gained three recruits, Claude Le Jay, Jean Codure, and Pasquier-Brouet, all able and well-educated. The reunion at Venice occurred as prearranged. They found it no easy matter to gain papal approval of their enterprise. Caraffa, under whose auspices the Theatines (q.v.) had been constituted for a similar purpose, tried to persuade Ignatius and his companions, who had attracted his attention by their zealous and self-denying labors in the hospitals and among the poor and outcast, to join the older order. Aware of the sentiments of Caraffa, Ignatius thought a visit to the pope inadvisable; but Paul III., when he learned of their zeal and their purposes, sent for them, gave them his commendation, and permitted them to be ordained priests. They were ordained at Venice by the bishop of Arbe (June 24). Just at this time the emperor, Venice, and the pope declared war against the Turks and made Ignatius's proposed mission impracticable. The company now devoted themselves with great zeal and success to preaching and charitable work in various parts of Italy. With Faber and Lainez, Ignatius made his way to Rome Oct., 1538, under a deep impression (based on a vision) that the pope would approve of the constitution of the new order. He found the pope conferring with some of the cardinals regarding a reformation of the city. Paul III. received Ignatius and his two companions with open arms, appointed Faber and Lainez to chairs in the Sapientia college, and charged Ignatius with the task of reforming Rome. Early in 1539 all seven of his coadjutors were in Rome. With consuming zeal and wonderful acceptance they preached in the market places, the streets, and in such churches as were open to them; in the universities they sought to win the students; in caring for the multitudinous poor and sick their labors were abundant. The evenings they spent in prayer and in perfecting their organization and plans. Charges of heresy that had been made against them now received little attention in the general applause. Several of the associates were sent by the pope on important missions, which they performed to his entire satisfaction. Xavier and Rodriguez were invited to the Portuguese court. The former was encouraged to go as a missionary to India; the latter became the king's counselor.

Institution of His Order.

The time for the confirmation of the order had arrived. A congregation of cardinals reported favorably upon the constitution presented, and Paul III. became convinced that it was the work of the Holy Spirit. He confirmed the order through the bull *Regimini militantis* (Sept. 27, 1540), but limited the number of its members to sixty. This limitation was removed through the bull *Injunctum nobis* (Mar. 14, 1543). Ignatius was unanimously chosen general by the members who were then in Rome, and with great solemnity they pledged him absolute obedience and recognized him as "holding the place of God" in relation to them.

From this time onward the life of Ignatius was identified with the history of the Company of Jesus (see JESUITS). No doubt he had much to do with the preparation of the "Constitutions," "Rules," "Institutions," etc. Many of his letters have been preserved. His tract "On the Virtue of Obedience" and his "Spiritual Exercises" best set forth the spirit of the man and of the order as he founded it. As general he spent most of his time in Rome, where, in close touch with the pope and the curia, he directed the work of the order that soon became world-wide in its scope. It is probable that no man ever combined so much of religious enthusiasm, often verging on fanaticism, with such fixity of purpose and such a wise adaptation of means to ends. He identified the "greater glory of God" to which he professed devotion, with the universal triumph throughout the world of the papal Church, which he wished to see brought up to his own standard of zeal and self-sacrifice.

Ignatius as General; His Writings.

A. H. NEWMAN.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The "Spiritual Exercises," *editio princeps*, Rome, 1548, has been reproduced in most European languages and in many missionary tongues and in innumerable editions. His letters appeared in incomplete form in *Cartas de S. Ignacio de Loyola*, 6 vols., Madrid, 1874–89. The earliest lives are collected, with commentary, in *ASB*, July, vii. 409–853. The most of the lives of Ignatius are by Jesuits. Among the most noteworthy biographies are: N. Orlandinus, Rome, 1615; D. Bartoli, Rome, 1650, Venice, 1673; new ed. by J. Terrien, Lille, 1893 (regarded in the order as the official biography); D. Bouhours, Paris, 1679, republished Avignon, 1821, Eng. transl., ed. A. Butler, London, 1841; S. Du Terrial, Paris, 1844; C. Genelli, Innsbruck, 1848, ed. V. Kolb, Vienna, 1894; H. Baumgarten, Strasburg, 1880; E. Gothein, Halle, 1885; C. Clair, Paris, 1891; Stewart Rose (Caroline Rose Erskine, Countess of Buchan), New York, 1891; T. Hughes, *Ignatius de Loyola and the Educational System of the Jesuits*, London, 1892; M. Malzac, *Ignace de Loyola, essai de psychologie religieuse*, Paris, 1898; H. Joly, Paris, 1899; W. van Nieuwenhoff, 2 vols., Regensburg, 1901; N. Greff, *Der heilige Ignatius von Loyola und seine Zeit*, Kaldenkirchen, 1903. The works on the history of the order generally contain a sketch, more or less ambitious, of the life of the founder. Consult also: J. Crétineau-Joly, *Hist. de la compagnie de Jésus*, 6 vols., Paris, 1859; Ranke, *Popes*, i. 135–149, 164–177. The bull *Regimini militantis* is in Reich, *Documents*, pp. 216–219, and is condensed in Robinson, *European History*, ii. 161–165.

IGNORANTINS. See CHRISTIAN BROTHERS.

IHMELS, LUDWIG HEINRICH: German Lutheran; b. at Middels, a village of East Frisia, June 29, 1858. He was educated at the universities of Leipsic (1878–79), Erlangen (1879–80, 1882–83), Göttingen (1880–81), and Berlin (1883), was assistant pastor in West-Rhauderfehn, East Frisia (1881–1882), pastor at Baltrum (1883), Nesse (1884), and Detern (1885–94; all in East Frisia). He was then director of studies and a member of the monastery

of Loccum (1894–98); was appointed professor of systematic theology at Erlangen (1898); and at Leipsic (1903). In theology he represents orthodox Lutheranism. He has written *Rechtfertigung des Sünders vor Gott* (Brunswick, 1888); *Wie werden wir der christlichen Wahrheit gewiss?* (Leipsic, 1900); *Die Selbstständigkeit der Dogmatik gegenüber der Religionsphilosophie* (1900); *Die christliche Wahrheitsgewissheit, ihr letzter Grund und ihre Entstehung* (1901); *Die tägliche Vergebung der Sünden* (1901); *Die Bedeutung des Autoritätsglaubens* (1902); *Theonomie und Autonomie im Licht der christlichen Ethik* (1902); *Jesus Christus die Wahrheit und das Leben* (2 sermons, 1903); *Wer war Jesus, was wollte Jesus?* (1905); *Die Auferstehung Jesu Christi* (1906); and *Eins ist Not* (sermons; 1906).

I. H. S. See Jesus Christ, Monogram of.

ILDEPHONSUS, îl″dê-fon′sus: Archbishop of Toledo; b. at Toledo 607; d. there Jan. 23, 667. Of his life little is known. At an early age he became inspired with love of the monastic life and entered a cloister in his native city, despite the strong opposition of his father. He later founded a nunnery near Toledo, and about 630 was ordained Levite by Helladius. Some time afterward he became abbot of the monastery, and in Nov., 657, he was consecrated archbishop of Toledo. He is best known as the champion of the worship of the Virgin Mary in Spain, and his views were advanced in his *Libellus de virginitate sanctæ Mariæ contra tres infideles*, which at once met with high esteem. He also wrote an extension of Isidore's *De vir. ill.* in fourteen chapters, beginning with Gregory the Great, and treating of seven bishops of Toledo and five of other Spanish dioceses, and the monk Donatus. The treatment is not free from superficialities, although it must be borne in mind that at that period ecclesiastical authorship was at a low ebb. A third work of this author which has been preserved is the twofold *Annotationes de cognitione baptismi* and *de progressu spiritualis deserti*. The latter part is a description of life from baptism to heaven, with a panegyric on the desert and a curious interpretation of a number of Biblical names from botany and zoology. The *Cognitio baptismi* reproduces a work of the sixth century, possibly by Justinian of Valencia on regeneration in baptism. The first twelve chapters, as well as the concluding sections and a citation from Gregory the Great, were added by Ildephonsus. Some of his letters have been preserved, and the wording of his masses caused the Adoptionists, a century later, to regard him as one of their forerunners. He was buried at Toledo, and the napkin given him by the Virgin when she appeared to him was treasured at Oviedo. A small church at Rome is dedicated to him and St. Thomas of Villanova.

(Edgar Hennecke.)

Bibliography: The works are most easily accessible in *MPL*, xcvi. The *Vita* by Julianus Hispanus is in *ASB*, Jan., ii. 536–539, and *MPL*, xcvi. 43–48. Consult: P. Gams, *Kirchengeschichte Spaniens*, II., ii. 135–138, Regensburg, 1874; A. Ebert, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Litteratur des Mittelalters*, i. 568–602, Leipsic, 1889; G. von Dzialowski, in *Kirchengeschichtliche Studien*, iv. 2, pp. 125 sqq., Münster, 1898; Ceillier, *Auteurs sacrés*, xi. 773–776, xiv. 412; *DCB*, iii. 223–225.

ILLGEN, CHRISTIAN FRIEDRICH: German theologian; b. at Chemnitz (20 m. e.n.e. of Zwickau), Sept. 16, 1786; d. at Leipsic Aug. 4, 1844. He studied in the University of Leipsic, where he was appointed associate professor of philosophy in 1818, and of theology in 1823, becoming full professor in 1825. He was later appointed canon. He was the author of a number of programs, of which the most important were the following: *Vita Lælii Socini* (Leipsic, 1814–26); *Memoria utriusque catechismi Lutheri* (1829–30); and *Historia collegii philobiblici* (1836–40). He likewise wrote *Ueber den Werth der christlichen Dogmengeschichte* (Leipsic, 1817), a work of little value, and *Die Verklärung des irdischen Lebens durch das Evangelium* (1823), a volume of sermons. In 1814 he founded the *Leipziger historisch-theologische Gesellschaft*, and in 1832 established the *Zeitschrift für historische Theologie* (Leipsic and Gotha, 1832–75), which he edited from 1832 until his death, when the editorship devolved on C. W. Niedner and later on K. F. G. Kahnis.

Bibliography: B. Lindner, in *ZHT*, 1845, p. 3.

ILLUMINATI: A name given by the Church Fathers to the baptized, and at a later time borne by several societies. It was given to a mystical sect that appeared in Spain in 1524 under the name of Alumbrados or Alombrados (q.v.). This society was abolished by the Inquisition, but reappeared in 1623 in France under the name of Guerinets, to perish there in 1635. A similar sect, originating about 1722 in southern France, existed until the Revolution (1794). In more recent times the name "Illuminati" refers principally to the members of a secret society founded on May 1, 1776, by Adam Weishaupt (b. at Ingolstadt Feb. 6, 1748; d. at Gotha Nov. 18, 1830), professor of canon law at Ingolstadt, and patterned after the model of the Jesuit order. Aside from gratifying his ambition, Weishaupt's object was to combat religion and further rationalism. From Ingolstadt he spread his propaganda to Eichstadt, Freising, Munich, and other places. Every candidate had to give a written promise to tell nobody of this society. He learned nothing of his superiors and of the origin of the society, but was confirmed in the belief that the order could be traced back to antiquity, and that its members included even popes and cardinals. The candidate was bound by an oath to seize every opportunity to serve humanity and to better knowledge; he further vowed eternal silence and strict obedience. Every month he had to send a report to his superior, whom he did not know. Each member received a name usually borrowed from classical literature, such as Socrates, Alcibiades, Cato, Marius; Weishaupt called himself Spartacus. Weishaupt had at heart the collection of a large library, for the purpose of establishing an academy of scholars. In order to obtain books, his associates were not to shrink from the theft of manuscripts; for Weishaupt taught them "sin is only that which is hurtful, and if the profit is greater than the damage, it becomes a virtue."

The fantastic work of Weishaupt would have fallen to pieces if Baron von Zwack (Cato) had not secured for the society a firmer hold by con-

necting it with freemasonry. Lodges already in existence were quietly brought under the rule of the Illuminati, and new lodges were established in which the degrees of the Illuminati were treated as higher grades of masonry. By identifying itself with freemasonry, the order was largely increased, freed from financial difficulties, and protected from persecution. In 1780 the Marquis Von Constanzo (Diomedes) succeeded in winning at Frankfort Baron Adolf von Knigge, to whom the Illuminati owed the complete structure of their system as well as the larger part of their adherents in Middle and North Germany. Three classes of Illuminati were now formed, one of novices and "minervals," one of freemasons, and one of the students of the mysteries.

The most successful apostle of the order besides Knigge was Bode, a councilor of Duke Ernst of Gotha, who, in Thuringia and Saxony, as well as on the Rhine, secured numerous men of high rank—scholars, poets, and even princes. The movement soon extended from Italy to Denmark, from Warsaw to Paris; the number of members is estimated at 2,000. Goethe, Herder, Ernst II. of Gotha, Karl August of Weimar, Ferdinand of Brunswick, the Prince of Wied, and other secular and spiritual lords were at some time either actual members of the order or counted on its list. But it was inevitable that the morally offensive character of the order and its danger to the state should be detected. In Aug., 1784, a decree was issued in Bavaria prohibiting all secret societies. Embittered by the ungratefulness and arrogance of Weishaupt, Knigge had retired from the order in 1784. Weishaupt now lost his position at the university and went to Regensburg, then to Gotha, where Duke Ernst granted him the salary of a privy councilor. In 1785, after the discovery of the moral baseness of the order from secret correspondence of Weishaupt, a sharp persecution began which soon brought the whole institution to collapse.

PAUL TSCHACKERT.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: For a list of literature on the subject consult G. Kloss, *Bibliographie der Freimaurerei*, nos. 3211–3275, Frankfort, 1844. The sources are the works of Weishaupt, of which the principal ones are *Vollständige Geschichte der Verfolgung der Illuminaten*, Frankfort, 1786; *Apologie der Illuminaten*, ib., 1787; *Das verbesserte System*, ib., 1787; *Kurze Rechtfertigung meiner Absichten*, with *Nachtrag*, ib., 1787; *Einige Originalschriften des Illuminatenordens*, Munich, 1786; *System und Folgen des Illuminatenordens*, ib., 1787; *Die neuesten Arbeiten des Spartacus und Philo*, ib., 1794. Consult also: J. P. L. de la Roche du Maine, *Essai sur la secte des Illuminées*, Paris, 1792; J. A. Stark, *Triumph der Philosophie*, ii. 259 sqq., Regensburg, 1847; H. Brück, *Die rationalistischen Bestrebungen im katholischen Deutschland*, Mainz, 1865.

ILLUMINATION (Lat. *illuminatio;* Gk. *photismos*): In Protestant dogmatics a name of a part of the *ordo salutis* (see ORDER OF SALVATION), signifying an activity of the Holy Spirit closely connected with the Calling (q.v.). So far as the New-Testament usage of *photismos* and *photizein* is concerned, it may be said, on the one hand, that the light brings forth ethical fruits in the children of light (Eph. v. 9–10; cf. Isa. ii. 5, lx. 3), and, on the other, that these children, as instruments appointed by God, illuminate the world and convert it unto God and his light (Matt. v. 14, 16; II Cor. iv. 5–6; cf. Rom. ii. 19; Acts xxvi. 18). But the real illuminator is Christ, the true light (John i. 9; cf. II Tim. i. 10). The apostolic preaching of the Gospel is itself "illumination," and its purpose is "to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ" (II Cor. iv. 6). The Christians, accordingly, are those who have been "once enlightened" (Heb. vi. 4, x. 32). It is important for the mystical conception that illumination and contemplation take place only upon the basis of a moral purification. It was significant for Protestant theology that Luther in his Smaller Catechism inserted the illumination in the *ordo salutis* ("calls, gathers, illumines, sanctifies"). The Apology and the Formula of Concord represent the illumination as taking place through the Word, and regard it as a fanatical error to teach an illumination without the Word. This difference gives the conception its peculiar stamp: the illumination is subordinated to the calling and is effected only through the Word. And this is the reason, too, why the older Protestant dogmaticians use the term only occasionally. Hollaz was the first to give it a place of its own in the *ordo salutis* (*Examen theologicum*, Stockholm, 1741, pp. 813 sqq.). This is due to the importance which the illumination received in the mystical and Pietistic literature. For Hollaz, in introducing the idea, takes the position that the illumination may be present in an imperfect degree in the human intellect without any sanctification of the will. Johann Arndt, however, in his *Bücher vom wahren Christentum* (Magdeburg, 1610), defends the mystical usage of the term rejected by Hollaz, declaring that the Holy Spirit illuminates only those who renounce the world and on this wise follow Christ (I. xxxvii. 16, xxxix. 4, III. i. 2, 11). In this way the illumination is made a special divine act, surpassing the vocation, inasmuch as it is realized only in the case of those who "desist from all that which God himself is not, from oneself and all creatures," "and keep their inmost souls pure from the creatures and the world. Thus God illuminates from within, for all must stream forth from within God's being. This inner light then shines forth in the works" (III., xi.). It is from the point of view of this opposition that the view of Hollaz is to be understood. The conception of Hollaz was also that of the Pietistic dogmaticians: "illumination itself consists in this, that the Holy Ghost in his light by means of the Word of God pictures and makes known heavenly truth to the human understanding with such clearness, force, and conviction that man thereby recognizes it as truth, believes it with divine assurance, and thus knows what God has graciously given him, and is able to judge spiritual things spiritually" (Freylinghausen, *Grundlegung der Theologie*, p. 166, Halle, 1705). The same is true also of the rationalistic dogmaticians (e.g., Wegscheider, *Institutiones theologiæ*, Halle, 1815, § 158, pp. 497–498). In the same direction, moreover, tend the views of the more modern dogmaticians so far as they employ the term at all (e.g., Dorner, *Glaubenslehre*, ii. 2, p. 727, Berlin, 1881, and, especially, Frank, *System der Christlichen Wahrheit*, ii. 333, Leipsic, 1894).

The dogmatician's attitude to the term will vary according to his conception of the call as a mere offering of salvation, or as the effectual appropriation of it. If the Biblical conception of vocation as an effectual divine influence through the Word is retained, it is difficult to vindicate a special place for illumination. But this conception is to be preferred for the obvious reason that, by the other theory, the call could not at all be reckoned among the proper acts of grace meant for the individual, but would amount to a mere presupposition for this work of grace. Thus considered, vocation denotes the effectual influence of the revelation of salvation upon the personal life; illumination the transference of the person into the sphere of God. In this connection there is just as little need, so far as Scriptural usage is concerned, of restricting illumination to the intellect as there is of supplementing the conception of vocation in any such way as that. Illumination is to be regarded as a synonym of vocation, without having any special locus in systematic theology. Both terms denote the influences of God in the Word, the effects of which are seen in regeneration and conversion. These influences address themselves to the whole man; they move the will as well as the intellect. That is as true of the calling as of the illumination. It would be well if the practical discussions based upon Luther's Catechism should likewise put the two terms together; not, therefore, as if the call outwardly offered the Word and the illumination inwardly appropriated its content, but in such a way that with the call and through it the illumination of man takes place. R. Seeberg.

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ILLUMINATION, THE. See Enlightenment, The.

ILLUSTRATED BIBLES. See Bibles, Illustrated.

IMAGE OF GOD: The conception that man was created in the image of God is stated as a fact in Gen. i. 26, 27, v. 1 (cf. Eph. iv. 24; Col. iii. 10; I John iii. 2). It comes from God and is reproduced in the race (Gen. v. 3), a principle followed in the genealogy by which Jesus is made Son of God through Adam (Luke iii. 23–38). It is so unmistakable that Paul appealed even to ethnic testimony in favor of it (Acts xvii. 28). Obviously without this conception the thought of adoption as children would be impossible. It is the race made in the image of God which is destined for such adoption, and likeness to God is the blessing, the law, and the hope of adoption (I John iii. 1, 2). How much this thought of likeness to God is contained in that of adoption is suggested by the injunction to be holy and perfect, as God is holy and perfect, "that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven" (Matt. v. 45, 48; cf. Eph. v. 1, "be ye therefore followers of God, as dear children," R.V. "imitators of God"). To be like God is the gift, the task, and the purpose of the Christian (I John iii. 1–3). In the Church the conception was from the beginning that the image of God consisted in the reason and freedom and free will with which man was endowed, and that this endowment rested on the activity of the Spirit in him. Some referred the image of God to the body also, in connection with the Christian hope of resurrection from the dead and with the doctrine of immortality. But these are unessential notions. The *anima rationalis* was the essential one, which was always emphasized. The differences in opinion which still exist arise from the mistake which makes the doctrine of the divine image of man the doctrine of the original state.

From the very beginning the view of the image of God in man has been that it was a good wholly or partially lost. Justin seems to be an exception. That man is endowed with reason and freedom, is to him a sign of likeness to God. But this endowment he regards neither as lost nor impaired by Adam's sin. Humanity indeed suffers under the predominance of the passions over reason. But this predominance is caused only indirectly by the sin of the first man and depends not on a degeneration of human nature brought about by him and continued in the race. By the influence of sin existing in the world since Adam's fall, every one repeats the fall, becomes like Adam in this respect, and falls into judgment and condemnation instead of receiving immortality in a God-like existence. Only the revelation of the whole Logos in Christ and the remission of sin connected herewith enable man successfully to apply to the realizing of his destiny his inherent ability, which does not differ from Adam's endowment.

A difference has been made between the expressions in Gen. i. "in the image" and "in the likeness," referring the former to the intellectual powers of reason and freedom, and the latter to moral righteousness, which was lost through the fall. This distinction was preserved by the scholastics, with whom the question became one of *justitia originalis*. In the Roman Catholic Church the distinction was maintained, but the *justitia originalis*, "man's original righteousness," was declared to have been a superadded gift. The Protestant Church, ignoring this distinction, located the image of God in the religious and moral nature, and defined it as the original righteousness in which man was created. Socinianism and Arminianism defined it as man's dominion over the animal creation. Modern dogmatics distinguishes distinctly between the divine image in man and the original state, and Christianity favors such a distinction in harmony with Scripture and without contradiction to Col. iii. 10 and Eph. iv. 24. A difference of opinion, however, exists as to how far the present condition differs from that at the beginning, or how far the original state is still the present. The difference between Schleiermacher, Biedermann, Pfleiderer, Lipsius, Ritschl, on the one hand, and that of Nitzsch, Dorner, Kähler, Hofmann, Kahnis, Frank, on the other, is practically over the use of a historical anthropology. Some (Schleiermacher, Biedermann) refuse this, and require a dogmatic treatment (Ritschl, Wendt); others regard man's original condition as a state of innocence of which

it can no more be said than that no law of sin ruled (Kaftan), whereas Nitzsch, Dorner, and Frank acknowledge "an essential relationship to the good and the rational, and consequently to God . . . a natural tendency to the good, a natural love for God."

The preservation of man for redemption by the might of the divine will of love makes it conceivable that sinful man is still in the image of God, but in such a manner that he can accomplish his task and destiny only through the power of redemption. This affords him not only freedom of choice, but also the power to achieve liberty (cf. John i. 12). The teaching of II Cor. iv. 4; Col. i. 15 (cf. Heb. i. 3) that Christ is "the image of the invisible God" means that there is in him what there is in none else, the evident realization of God (cf. John xvi. 9).

(H. Cremer†.)

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IMAGES AND IMAGE-WORSHIP.

I. Among the Hebrews.
Legislation and Prophecy (§ 1).
Image-worship in History (§ 2).
Terms and Their Meaning (§ 3).
Effects upon Hebrew Art (§ 4).
II. In the Church.
Variant Opinions up to 400 (§ 1).
Eastern Abuses Lead to Iconoclasm (§ 2).
Iconoclasm under Leo the Isaurian and Later (§ 3).
Growth of Cult after 850 (§ 4).
Modern Ecclesiastical Usage (§ 5).

I. Among the Hebrews: Tacitus (*Hist.*, v. 4–5) points out as a characteristic of the Mosaic religion opposition to a portrayal of the deity.

1. Legislation and Prophecy. This is in accord with the Old Testament. All strata of the law bear witness to this opposition. The first two commandments of the decalogue expressly put the prohibition of image-worship beside the prohibition to worship any other god than Yahweh (Ex. xx. 1 sqq.; Deut. v. 7–8; Lev. xix. 4). The narrators of the patriarchal stories knew no worship of the god of the patriarchs in the form of an image, and there is no mention of images of God at the central sanctuaries in Shiloh and Jerusalem. The certainty that Yahweh was ever present with his people found its expression in the ark of the covenant (q.v.), but that contained no image of God. Scripture-prophecy manifested an uncompromising hostility to image-worship, without indicating that it was prevalent, and attempted to establish and confirm popular opposition to the same. An image is a work of man (Amos v. 26; Hos. xiii. 2; Isa. ii. 8), an imitation of creatures (Deut. iv. 16 sqq.) out of dead and created matter (Hos. iv. 12; Isa. xliv. 9–10; Ps. cxv.); therefore its worship is folly, since God, who alone is to be worshiped, is a living creator, a spirit who can not be pictured.

2. Image-Worship in History. But, on the other hand, there is nothing in the primitive history of this people to prove that this peculiarity of imageless worship was an inborn inheritance or the result of a natural development of the people. The ancestors of the people beyond the Euphrates had idol-worship (Josh. xxiv. 2, 14); Jacob's wives carried religious images with them from their Syrian home (Gen. xxxi. 19, 34, xxxv. 2 sqq.). The recollection of the struggle between the imageless worship of Yahweh as the God of revelation and the representation of Yahweh as the national God go back as far as the wandering through the wilderness. For the golden calf of Ex. xxxii. is not an image suggested by the Egyptian religion, since the Egyptian Apis was not an image, but a living animal (see Calf, The Golden). On the contrary, Aaron proclaimed a feast of Yahweh, and the rejoicing of the people proves that with the image it received nothing new and strange, but something that it expected (Ex. xxxii. 4–5, 18); in that way the shepherd people had been accustomed to think of its god. And from the tenacity of habit it is intelligible that after the disruption of the kingdom, in order to destroy the attraction of the central sanctuary at Jerusalem, Jeroboam set up calves representing Yahweh at the sacred places in the northern kingdom (I Kings xii. 27 sqq.). The "calves" of Bethel, Dan, Gilgal outlasted not only the Phenician cults favored by later kings in the northern kingdom, but even the powerful assault of prophecy (Amos v. 4 sqq., viii. 14; Hos. vi. 10, viii. 4 sqq., ix. 15; II Kings x. 25 sqq.; Judges xviii. 34). Even after the carrying away of the ten tribes the cult of Bethel survived (II Kings xvii. 27), and it was left for Josiah to abolish the last traces (II Kings xxiii. 15).

3. Terms and Their Meaning. The more general term for image is *pesel* (Ex. xx. 4), which includes images of stone and wood, whereas the term for metallic images is *massekha*, i.e., a cast, then the molten image itself (Hos. xiii. 2; Deut. ix. 12). It must, however, not be understood of the massive molten image, but of the molten golden or silver coating with which a wooden core is covered (Ex. xxxii. 20; Hos. viii. 6; Isa. xxx. 22). There are several other terms (as *'azabbim*, *nesekh*, *nasikh*, *semel*, *elilim*) and opprobrious names (*shiḳḳuzim*, *gillulim*, *to'ebhoth*), as well as general terms like *zelem*, "image," *tabnith*, "figure," *maskith*, "form," all of which proves how important a part idol-worship played at times in the life of Israel. These names, however, mark no difference between images of Yahweh and idols. The mantic use of ephod and teraphim (see Ephod; Teraphim; cf. Judges xvii., xviii.; Hos. iii. 4; Zech.

x. 2; I Sam. xv. 23) appears to be Hebraic and not imported with a foreign religion; and for the image of the brazen serpent (see Serpent, Brazen), which was abolished in the time of Hezekiah (II Kings xviii. 4; cf. Num. xxi. 4 sqq.), an Israelitic origin is positively attested. With this epoch the prophetic opposition to Yahweh images became determined, and the whole energy of the prophetic attack was concentrated upon Idolatry (q.v.).

4. Effects Upon Hebrew Art

In freeing the deity from the fetters with which sensual limitations chain man's inclination to worship images made by himself, art was not rejected by the spirit of the Old Testament. There may be discovered working in it a mental impulse of divine origin (Ex. xxxi. 1 sqq.; cf. II Kings xvi. 11 with Isa. viii. 2). But the exclusion of plastic art from the highest spheres which employed it in heathenism denied to it that powerful development among the people of God which it obtained elsewhere by illustrating divine ideal forms (see Art, Hebrew). With emphasis the narrator in I Kings vii. 13 sqq. points out that the artistic outfit of the buildings of Solomon was mainly due to Phenician art. So far as it did not serve idolatrous purposes, the art of the Old Testament did not go essentially beyond the purposes of ornamentation and decoration. Imitations of flowers, garlands, fruits, trees, whether of beaten work (Num. viii. 4), or carving (I Kings vi. 18), or graven work (I Kings vii. 36), or in wool, formed the adornment of buildings for sacred and secular uses (Ex. xxv. 31 sqq., xxviii. 33 sqq.; I Kings vi. 18, 29, 32, 35, vii. 18 sqq.; Ezek. xli. 185 sqq.; Ps. cxliv. 12). Even the animal world, in distinguished types, was laid under contribution. Lions appeared as throne-keepers of the earthly king (I Kings x. 19 sqq.); lions and oxen were beneath the bases of the lavers of the temple; the latter carried also the brazen sea (I Kings vii. 29, 36, 25). That in later times profane art applied itself to mural painting and advanced so far that it portrayed men can be seen from Ezek. xxiii. 14. In a very peculiar manner there entered into the older art an object which was not intended as an imitation of nature, but represented a religious conception, viz., the images of the bearers and keepers of the divine majesty, the cherubim (see Angels), which found frequent employment as images in the Holy of Holies, as ornaments on the folding-doors, bases, and curtains of the sanctuary. In the post-exilic period there is discernible an increasing tendency to oppose the employment of art. The stricter exposition of legal enactments narrowed the original life of the nation, as when, because of the abuse of the name of Yahweh, it prohibited employment of that name, as, in connection with the prohibition to worship images, it rejected the portraiture of living creatures, and by the influence of classical art after the time of the Seleucidæ (Josephus, *Ant.* XII., iv. 9, XV., ii. 6, XIX., ix. 1; *Life*, 12) this prohibition was rather intensified than diminished. In Herodian times it was regarded as a law, and was supported by the authority of prominent scribes, that images of living creatures might not be erected in the Holy Land (Josephus, *War*, I. xxxiii. 2; *Ant.* XVII., vi. 2). With a death-defying courage the observers of the law knew how to elicit a promise from a Pilate, a Vitellius, or a Petronius, not to bring the standards adorned with the emperor's image into the holy city, or to carry them through Jewish territory (*Ant.* XVIII., iii. 1, v. 3; *War*, II., ix. 2–3, x. 4). In describing the ancient sanctuaries, Josephus, who refers to this rigor, attempted to post-date it, but not without disingenuousness (*Ant.* III., vi. 2, VIII., vii. 5). Classic heathenism avenged itself on the nobility of the early Mosaic opposition to its gods by the malicious invention that Pompey, when he entered the Holy of Holies of the temple, found an ass under the golden vine, the only and the main idol of the Jewish worship of God (Florus, i. 40; Petronius, *Fragmentum* 35).

P. Kleinert.

II. In the Church: Although the primitive Church was not averse to art, yet it had no images of Christ, and Irenæus reproached the Carpocratians (*Hær.* I., xxv. 6) for possessing such figures. In the Acts of John, the apostle sharply reproved an artist who had made a portrait of himself (Zahn, *Acta Joannis*, 223 sqq.). The prohibition of images by the thirty-sixth canon of the Synod of Elvira (Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, i. 170) aimed to forestall any hindrance to the spiritual worship of God, thus showing that this danger already existed. Eusebius also opposed images of the apostles and of Christ (*Hist. eccl.* vii. 18), and exhorted Constantia, the widow of Licinius, to seek the image of Christ in the Scripture. It is a well-known fact that Epiphanius once tore in pieces a curtain on which an image of Christ or of a saint was painted (ed. Dindorf, IV., ii. 85), although Ambrose and Jerome state that there were portraits of the apostles, while Augustine mentions pictures of the Savior and the worship of images. Gregory the Great had but faint disapproval for a bishop who destroyed images in his church because of the adoration shown them (*Epist.* xi. 13).

1. Variant Opinions 100–400.

The use and adoration of images were especially popular in the East, this tendency being increased both by the assimilation of pagan concepts, customs, and forms of worship, and by the Alexandrian Christology with its emphasis on the permeation of the earthly nature by the divine. The pseudo-Areopagite writings which made the symbols the actual representation of things invisible thus laid the theological foundation for a religious veneration of images, and consequently for their adoration. The word of Basil (*De spiritu sancto*, xlv.), "the honor paid to the image passes on to the prototype," became the classical phrase in justification of this adoration. The extravagance of this worship was emphasized by the iconoclasts (cf. the letter of Michael the Stammerer, Mansi, xiv. 417 sqq.), who state, among other things, that images were asked to act as sponsors, that coloring-matter scraped from them was mixed with the bread and wine of the sacrament, and that the Eucharist was received from the hands of images. The opposition to image-worship became acute in the iconoclastic controversies,

2. Eastern Abuses Lead to Iconoclasm.

which were caused by factors not yet clearly known, but it is certain, at all events, that the spiritual atmosphere produced by the development of Mohammedanism increased the opposition to images. In a church which believed that the mystery of the redemption was present in the image, every movement for reform naturally assailed iconolatry.

This is plain both from the religious opposition of the Paulicians and from the political antagonism of Leo the Isaurian, so that a mutual influence is not improbable. Leo's prohibition forms a part of his reformatory efforts to give new vitality to his empire, which he felt authorized to undertake in his double capacity of king and priest. In 726 he seems to have begun at once with the removal of images (Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, iii. 378), while the council of state and the new patriarch were in harmony with the second edict, which was issued in 730. Leo was opposed, however, by John of Damascus in three orations and by the popes Gregory II., who harshly reproved him, and Gregory III., who condemned the enemies of the images, even at the cost of forfeiting valuable ecclesiastical provinces. Still more reckless in his measures against the image-worshipers was Leo's son, Constantine V. The Council of Constantinople (754), which was intended to be ecumenical, denounced image-worship as heresy and idolatry. The monks still resisted, but had to feel the severity of the imperial wrath. Ecclesiastical goods were confiscated, and relics were thrown into the sea. In 766 Constantine undertook to impose an oath against the worship of images on all his subjects, and even had the matter brought before a synod at Gentilly, near Paris. But the Lateran synod of 769 anathematized the synod of 754, and after the death of Leo IV., the regency of his widow, Irene, caused an entire change. Tarasius, an advocate of images, was made patriarch in 784, and after the abortive attempt to hold an ecumenical council at Constantinople two years later, the synod at Nicæa was held in 787, and ascribed to the images a "respectful reverence," but reserved "true worship" for God alone. The Caroline Books (q.v.), however, explicitly denied all religious value of the images, and the same decision was reached by the synod convoked by Charlemagne at Frankfort in 794 (see Frankfort, Synod of, 794). In the East, Leo V., the Armenian, emphatically reaffirmed the prohibition of images, and Theodore the Studite, the advocate of images and ecclesiastical liberty, was again exiled. Michael the Stammerer opposed the public worship of images, at least after 823, and a synod held at Paris in 825 again expressed a view in harmony with the Caroline Books. During the reign of Theophilus the persecution of images and of monasticism reappeared as in the days of Constantine V., but the early death of the emperor changed the condition.

3. Iconoclasm under Leo the Isaurian and Later.

During the reign of his widow, Theodora, the worship was restored, probably Mar. 11, 843 (cf. de Boer, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, iv. 445 sqq.). The basal doctrines of the advocates of iconolatry were developed especially by John of Damascus, the patriarch Nicephorus, and Theodore the Studite. They draw their arguments both from the Bible and tradition, and from the nature and the attested miracles of the images. Over against the prohibition of images in the Old Testament attention was called to the difference between "reverence of worship" and "reverence of respect," and the progress of the plan of salvation, as well as the more perfect knowledge of God on the part of the Christian, was pointed out. Since and because the divine Logos has become manifest in the phenomenal world, he may also be represented pictorially. Hence the significance of the image is not restricted to him who can not read, but it is the real bearer of the prototype, differing from it only as to substance. Every virtue of the prototype belongs relatively to the copy, so that which happens to the one has reference to the other (*MPG*, xcix. 425 D, 1184 A). A rejection of images is a denial of the incarnation of God (1188 D), and Theodore even declares that "Christ is not Christ unless he be graven" (1225 D). By the image the eyes of the spirit are to be raised to the spiritual essence of God. This latter distinction between prototype and copy was, however, lost in lower types of Christianity. It was thought that idolatry might be avoided in merely making a copy and confining it mainly to painting.

4. Growth of Cult after 850.

The ordinary Russian is in the habit of designating the icon as his God, and those "not made with hands" enjoy great veneration. To the image of the "mother of God at Kasan" is ascribed Russia's deliverance in 1812; the same trust in icons showed itself in the Japanese-Russian war of 1905; while the Iberian icon of the Virgin is the most celebrated healer of Moscow, and Russia is richer in wonder-working images than Italy and Spain. In general iconolatry has never been so prominent in the West as in the East, yet even Thomas Aquinas has declared that an image of Christ claims the same veneration as Christ himself (*Summa* III., qu. 25, art. 3–4). The Council of Trent in its twenty-fifth session expressed itself with caution and justified the worship of the image from its relation to the prototype. In religious practise, however, the line here drawn is not observed. N. Bonwetsch.

5. Modern Ecclesiastical Usage.

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London, 1900; especially Frazer's edition of Pausanius's *Greece*, London, 1898 (a monumental work).

II. The sources of the history of the iconoclastic movements are given in M. H. Goldast, *Imperialia decreta de cultu imaginum*, Frankfort, 1608; Mansi, *Concilia*, vols. xii.–xiv.; *MPG*, xcviii.–c.; in the writings of John of Damascus (*St. John Damascene on Holy Images*, Eng. transl. by Mary H. Allies, London, 1898), Nicephorus, Theodore the Studite, and the Byzantine chronographers, especially Theophanes, whose works are to be found in *CSHB*. Consult: L. Maimbourg, *Hist. de l'hérésie des iconoclastes*, 2 vols., Paris, 1679–83; F. Spanheim, *Historia imaginum restituta*, Antwerp, 1686 (combats Maimbourg); C. W. F. Walch, *Historie der Ketzereien*, vols. x., xi., 11 vols., Leipsic, 1762–85; J. E. Tyler, *Image Worship of the Church of Rome*, London, 1847; J. M. Neale, *Hist. of the Holy Eastern Church*, 5 vols., ib., 1850–73; J. Hergenröther, *Photius*, i. 226 sqq., Regensburg, 1867; J. H. Blunt, *Dictionary of Sects, Heresies, Ecclesiastical Parties*, pp. 215–221, Philadelphia, 1874; K. Schenck, *Kaiser Leon III. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Bilderstreits*, Halle, 1880; F. W. J. H. Gass, *Symbolik der griechischen Kirche*, i. 315 sqq., Berlin, 1881; K. Schwarzlose, *Der Bilderstreit ein Kampf der griechischen Kirche um ihre Eigenart und ihre Freiheit*, Gotha, 1890; F. W. F. Kattenbusch, *Lehrbuch der . . . Konfessionskunde*, i. 456 sqq., Freiburg, 1892; C. Thomas, *Theodor von Studion und sein Zeitalter*, Leipsic, 1892; R. Seeberg, *Dogmengeschichte*, i. 247 sqq., Leipsic, 1895; Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, in *TU*, xviii. 1, 2, 1899; A. H. Hore, *Eighteen Centuries of the Orthodox Greek Church*, pp. 16, 41, 42, 265, 335–338 et passim, New York, 1899; J. Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire*, pp. 38–39, 46, 65, 154, 341, New York, 1904; Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, iii. 366 sqq., Eng. transl., v. 260 sqq.; Neander, *Christian Church*, i. 71, 291–293, ii. 322–331, iii. 197–243, 532–553; Schaff, *Christian Church*, iv. 447–474; Harnack, *Dogma*, iii. 159–160, iv. passim, v. 304–309; *DCB*, iii. 198–205; and in general, the works on church history.

IMAM: A term used among Mohammedans in four distinct senses. (1) It is used in the Koran to mean a leader, model of character, pattern, e.g. Sura ii. 118, xvii. 73, xxv. 74, xv. 79. (2) It is the Shiah term for Caliph, applied solely to the twelve (or six) successors of Mohammed, of whom the last is yet to appear. (3) It designates the founder of a system of doctrine or practise based upon the Koran. (4) Its most common employment is to the officiant who leads the devotions in any place of public worship.

IMMACULATE CONCEPTION.

Preparation for the Dogma (§ 1).
The Dogma (§ 2).
Scriptural and Patristic Support Lacking (§ 3).
Scholastic Opinions (§ 4).
The Feast (§ 5).

The doctrine of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary is a modern dogma of the Roman Catholic Church which declares the mother of Jesus absolutely free from all implication in the fall of Adam and its consequences. Like most doctrines, it was the result of a long development, and embodies in its history the story of a struggle between the Thomist and Scotist parties in the Church which was not ended till 1854 (see § 5 below). At the Council of Trent the Franciscans demanded the explicit exception of Mary in the dogmatic decree on the universality of original sin, and found valuable support from the learned Jesuits Lainez and Salmeron. The Dominicans entered a lively protest, and when the perplexed legates asked for instructions from Rome, they were ordered to try to satisfy both factions. In this spirit was drawn up the decree on original sin published June 17, 1546. For a time the more sober-minded, even among the Jesuits, held to the decree. Bellarmine declared the object of the festival to be simply the conception, not the immaculate conception, of Mary. Petavius, while personally believing in the immaculate conception, denied that it was of faith. Even when, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Spanish Franciscans, aided by the Jesuits, stirred up fresh excitement over the question, and Philip III. and Henry IV. sent embassies to Rome, the apostolic see preserved its diplomatic attitude. In 1617 Paul V. forbade both parties to engage in public disputes on this question, and Gregory XV. extended this prohibition even to private discussion, answering to the king of Spain that the eternal wisdom had not yet revealed the heart of the mystery to men. But the tendency in Rome favored the Scotist view more and more. Alexander VII. called the view very ancient and pious, while still declining to pronounce the opposite view heretical. Clement IX. gave an octave to the feast of the conception of the Virgin Mary; Clement XI. raised the festival in 1708 to the rank of a holy day of obligation for the whole Church. Under Gregory XVI. a strong inclination toward dogmatic definition showed itself. Several French bishops and one German received permission in 1844 to insert the term "immaculate" in the mass of the festival. Pius IX. had a special, almost romantic, devotion to the Virgin, to whose protection he attributed his preservation on the occasion of his flight from the Vatican in 1848. While still an exile, he asked the bishops, in his encyclical of Feb. 2, 1849, to say how far a dogmatic definition would agree with their wishes and those of their people. A number of voices were raised in warning, and only three-fourths of the bishops agreed with the pope's desire; but the influence of the Jesuits was too powerful to be resisted. Perrone had already published (1847) an extended treatise to prove that the question was ripe for decision. In 1850 Pius named a commission to investigate the question, in which Perrone and his fellow Jesuit, Passaglia, were the most influential members. It reached no result until 1853, when it reported that no evidence from Scripture was needed for a dogmatic declaration, but that tradition alone sufficed, and that even this need not be shown in an unbroken line up to the time of the apostles.

1. Preparation for the Dogma.

Since these views were in harmony with the inclination of the pope, he called together in the autumn of 1854 a number of prelates (54 cardinals and about 140 bishops), who, in a preliminary meeting, greeted the papal decision with loud applause. On Dec. 8 the pope solemnly took his seat in St. Peter's; the dean of the Sacred College came before him, and in the name of the whole Church begged him to pronounce a final decision on the question which had so long been discussed. The actual terms of the decree, made public by the bull *Ineffabilis Deus* on Dec. 10, are as follows: "In honor of the holy and undivided Trinity, for the glory of

2. The Dogma.

the Virgin Mother of God, for the exaltation of the Catholic faith and the Christian religion, by the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ, of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and of our own office, we declare, pronounce, and define the doctrine which holds that the most blessed Virgin Mary was, in the first instant of her conception, by the singular grace and privilege of Almighty God, with regard to the merits of Christ Jesus the Savior of the human race, preserved free from every stain of original sin, has been revealed by God, and therefore is to be firmly and constantly believed by all the faithful."

The dogma was not sanctioned by an ecumenical council; but since the Vatican Council of 1870 declared the pope infallible, independent of a council, the decree of 1854 must be received as an infallible utterance, and cannot be changed. Pius IX. had previously, by an encyclical of Feb. 2, 1849, invited the opinion of the bishops on the subject, and received more than 600 affirmative answers; only four dissented from the pope's view; and fifty-two, while agreeing with him in the dogma itself, deemed it inopportune to define and proclaim it. The dogma of the immaculate conception is the culmination of the steadily increasing veneration of Mary, which appears also in the multiplication of her festivals (see MARY, THE MOTHER OF JESUS). It and the Vatican dogma of papal infallibility are the characteristic features of modern Romanism, as distinct from the Romanism of the Council of Trent, and have widened the doctrinal breach between it and the Greek and Protestant Churches.

3. Scriptural and Patristic Support Lacking.

No passage in favor of the dogma can be found in the Old or the New Testament; the interpretation of the protevangelium (Gen. iii. 15) which makes it refer to Mary and Christ is ruled out by the Hebrew text. The Bible declares all men to be sinners, and in need of redemption, and exempts Christ alone from this universal rule. Mary herself calls God her Savior (Luke i. 47), thereby including herself in the number of the saved, and implying a sense of personal sin and guilt. With this corresponds the predicate given her by the angel (Luke i. 28)—"endued with grace" (E.V. "highly favored"). The Christian Fathers, though many of them (even Augustine) exempted Mary from actual transgression, know nothing of her freedom from original sin, but always imply, and often expressly teach, the contrary. Some (as Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, and Chrysostom) interpret Christ's words at the wedding of Cana (John ii. 4) as a rebuke of her unseasonable haste and immoderate ambition. The origin of the dogma must be sought in the apocryphal gospels. Its development was favored by the medieval sentiment of chivalry.

4. Scholastic Opinions.

The schoolmen all agreed that Mary was exempt from actual transgression, but divided on the question whether she was conceived without sin and so was immaculate from the very instant of her conception, or whether she was in the first instance tainted by original sin and made immaculate while she was yet in her mother's womb. The latter view was taken by Anselm, Hugo of St. Victor, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and Bonaventura (*In sententias*, iii. 5, iv. 3). Bernard of Clairvaux (d. 1153) rebuked the church of Lyons for celebrating a festival of the conception on the ground that it lacked the approval of the Church, of reason, and of tradition. If Mary, he wrote, was conceived without sin, why might not sinless conception be affirmed of all her ancestors back to the beginning. However, he expressed a willingness to yield in case the Church should appoint the festival (*Epist.* clxxiv.). Bonaventura and others argued against the doctrine on the ground that the conception of the body precedes its "animation" (i.e., the first association of the soul with the body). In the conception of the body there is always concupiscence, so that Mary's body, having been received in the usual way, was sinful, and contaminated the spirit when the spirit came into contact with the body. Duns Scotus (d. 1308) argued for Mary's exemption from hereditary sin from the first moment of her conception by a threefold chain of conjectures. (1) God's grace would be enhanced by releasing one individual from all taint of original sin from the very beginning. (2) By conferring this benefit upon Mary, God would bind Mary to Christ by the strongest ties. (3) The vacancy, left by the fallen angels in heaven, could be best filled by Mary, if she were preserved immaculate from the beginning. As the second Adam was preserved immaculate, so it was fitting the second Eve should be. Duns expressed his conclusion in these words: "If the thing does not contradict the Church and the Scriptures, its reality seems probable, because it is more excellent to affirm of Mary that she was not conceived in sin" (*In sententias*, iii. 3; cf. R. Seeberg, *Duns Scotus*, Leipsic, 1900, pp. 247 sqq.; J. Schwane, *Dogmengeschichte*, Freiburg, 1890, pp. 424 sqq.). A warm controversy ensued over the immaculate conception between the followers of Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus. The Synod of Paris in 1387 decided in favor of the Scotist position, but the controversy became so disturbing that Sixtus IV. in 1483 threatened with excommunication either party which denounced the other. The Council of Trent left the doctrine unsettled and referred back to the decree of Sixtus IV. The Jesuits took it up and became its unyielding champions against the Jansenists and all other opponents. To their zeal and their influence over Pius IX. the triumph of the Scotist view, in 1854, is largely due.

(PHILIP SCHAFF†.) D. S. SCHAFF.

5. The Feast.

The festival of the Immaculate Conception, of importance since the Reformation, is purely Western; the feast of the Conception of St. Anne, which the emperor Emanuel Comnenus (d. 1180) commanded to celebrate on Sept. 9, for which George of Nicomedia (c. 880) wrote a homily, was rather a commemoration of the miraculous deliverance of Anne from the curse of sterility as narrated in the apocryphal gospels. The history of the feast is closely connected with that of the dogma. Although Augustine declares (*De natura et gratia*, xlii.) that out of reverence for the Lord he intends to exclude

Christ's mother whenever sin is the subject of discussion, it may be shown by other passages that he is thinking only of actual sin. It was believed, however, that the Scripture spoke of Jeremiah (Jer. i. 5) and John Baptist (Luke i. 15) as being sanctified before their birth, and, although this obviously relates only to their preparation for the prophetic office, it was explained in both cases as signifying their purification from original sin. When Mary came to be placed higher than all the other saints, it was natural that at least an equal prerogative should be asserted of her. This contention is found as early as Paschasius Radbert (*De partu virginis*). Anselm, indeed (*Cur Deus homo*, II., xvi.), says that Mary was not only conceived, but born in sin, as all have sinned in Adam. In 1140 certain canons at Lyons defended the theory of her immaculate conception, and celebrated a special festival (*festum conceptionis*, not *immaculatæ conceptionis*) in honor of it. St. Bernard (*Epist.* clxxiv., c. 1140 A.D., Eng. transl. *Works of Bernard*, ed. Eales, ii. 512–518) controverted their opinion as in opposition to Scripture and tradition, asserting that the prerogative given by them to Mary was one which belonged to Christ alone, and admitting Mary's sinlessness only from her birth. Alexander of Hales, Albertus Magnus, Bonaventura, and Thomas Aquinas similarly confined themselves to asserting her sanctification before birth; a synod of Oxford, 1222, pronounced the feast unnecessary. The belief in the immaculate conception, notwithstanding, became increasingly wide-spread, and was supported especially by the Franciscan order. The authority of Thomas Aquinas was first definitely contested by Duns Scotus (d. 1308), who taught the absolute preservation of Mary from original sin as highly probable. This doctrine became one of the principal points of controversy between Dominicans and Franciscans, Thomists and Scotists. The dispute was especially warm in the University of Paris, which pronounced in favor, 1380. The propositions in which the Dominican Johannes de Montesono (d. 1412) attacked the Scotist doctrine as contrary to the faith were condemned both by the university and by the pope in 1389, and Pierre d'Ailly and the chancellor Gerson declared themselves in favor of the Franciscan teaching. The Council of Basel (Sept. 17, 1439) affirmed it as a dogma of the Church, in full harmony with Scripture, tradition, and actual usage; but since by this time the council had taken a schismatic attitude, its decision had no effect. The papal policy, also, did not favor too speedy a decision in the controversy which so stirred the two powerful orders. Even the Franciscan pope, Sixtus IV., who before his elevation had written a treatise in support of the theory of his order, and as pope had confirmed the mass and office of the conception, endowing the festival with a plenary indulgence, yet threatened both parties with excommunication in 1483 if they ventured to accuse each other of heresy, since the Church had not formally decided the question. On Mar. 3, 1496, the Sorbonne resolved to receive no one into its fellowship who would not take an oath to defend the doctrine to the best of his power; and 112 doctors of theology immediately took the oath.

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IMMACULATE HEART OF MARY: The title assumed by several Catholic religious orders.

1. Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary: Founded at Monroe, Mich., in 1845 through the efforts of Rev. Louis Gilet, a Belgian Redemptorist. The establishment began with two nuns originally from Baltimore, Sister Ann and Sister Teresa, who assumed a blue habit with a dark veil. The object of the society is the education of the young, the care of asylums, hospitals, etc. In 1856 a branch of the congregation was established at Villa Maria, Westchester, Pa., and this foundation became the mother house for the dioceses of Pennsylvania. At present the sisters conduct establishments in the dioceses of Detroit, Grand Rapids, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Harrisburg, Scranton, Altoona, Oregon, Boisé City, and Seattle. The professed sisters number 925, the novices 144.

2. Sisters of the Holy and Immaculate Heart of Mary: Founded in 1848 at Pico Heights, Los Angeles, Cal., where the mother house and novitiate are located. The sisters conduct educational and charitable institutions in the dioceses of Monterey and Los Angeles.

3. Sister-Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (Good Shepherd): An order the mother house of which is in Quebec. Besides many institutions in Canada, the sisters of this institute have convents and teach in parochial schools at Biddeford, Me., and at Lawrence, Mass., but these establishments are subject to the superiors residing in Quebec.

4. Missionary Sons of the Immaculate Heart of Mary: An order of men founded in Spain in 1873. Besides the Spanish province, there is one in Africa and another in America, where the fathers conduct establishments in the dioceses of San Antonio and Monterey, Cal. JAMES F. DRISCOLL.

Bibliography: Currier, *Religious Orders; The Official Catholic Directory*, Milwaukee, Wis., 1908.

IMMANUEL SYNOD. See LUTHERANS, II. § 4.

IMMER, ALBERT: Swiss theologian; b. at Unterseen (26 m. s.e. of Bern) Aug. 10, 1804; d. at Bern Mar. 23, 1884. A strong desire for knowledge, together with an "awakening" which he himself expressly attributed to the spirit of God, made him

resume his interrupted study of theology in 1835, and three years later he was ordained to the ministry. For a time he acted as assistant preacher, visited Bonn and Berlin in 1840, and in 1845 was appointed pastor at Büren-on-the-Aar, whence he was called, four years later, to the chair of New Testament exegesis and dogmatics at the University of Bern. He sought to serve both science and the Church by allowing his pupils full freedom of belief, but while he won the confidence of the students, he failed to meet with sympathy among those who considered piety inseparable from confession of faith. As a consequence he was attacked in various periodicals, and wrote in his own defense two pamphlets: *Die theologische Fakultät und ihre Gegner*, and *Was wir glauben und lehren, eine Verwahrung gegen Missverständnisse*, both of which appeared at Bern in 1864. Two years later he opposed the demands of the so-called reform party that the results of scientific researches be made known to the people from the pulpit as well as in the schools, and was accordingly accused of deserting his fundamental principles, whereas his attitude was really due to the fact that his concepts of God and revelation deviated from those held by the party.

Immer was the author of a *Hermeneutik des Neuen Testaments* (Wittenberg, 1873; Eng. transl., *Hermeneutics of the New Testament*, by A. H. Newman, Andover, 1877) and a *Theologie des Neuen Testaments* (Bern, 1877), besides several collections of lectures. In 1852 he was appointed rector of the University of Bern. (E. Blösch†.)

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IMMERSION. See Baptism.

IMMORTALITY.

I. Biblical Views.
Old-Testament Teaching (§ 1).
Apocryphal and Later Jewish Views (§ 2).
New-Testament Teaching (§ 3).
II. Ethnic Doctrine of Immortality.
III. In Dogmatics.
IV. Proofs of Immortality.
V. The Original Motives.
VI. The Principal Elements of the Christian Idea of Immortality.
VII. The Truth of These Forms of Experience.
VIII. Additional Note.

I. Biblical Views: Existence after death, when not directly denied, is problematical (Ps. lxxxviii. 11–13).

1. Old-Testament Teaching. Yahwism found in ancient Israel, as part of the traditional Semitic religious beliefs, the idea of a shadowy world (see Sheol, and cf. C. Gruneisen, *Der Ahnenkultus und die Urreligion Israels*, Halle, 1900; Smith, *Rel. of Sem.*). But neither the promises which inspired the patriarchal, nor the motives of the Mosaic, legislation contain clear indications of the endurance of the individual. The account of Elijah's translation is indecisive, as are the case of Enoch and the saga concerning Moses's death. Loss of immortality consequent on sin is presented only in Gen. ii. 17, iii. 22; cf. Wisdom i. 13, ii. 24. Near the close of the exile faith in immortality is expressed in poetic-rhetorical fashion: "deliverance from Sheol" or from "death" (Ps. xxxiii. 19, ciii. 4); "eternal life" is "length of (earthly) days" (Ps. xxii. 26, xxx. 3, xxxvii. 28, xli. 12). In communion with God the pious one has life and happiness, and neither heaven and earth nor death and transitoriness can disturb him (Ps. lxxiii. 22–25); God is the "life" of the pious (Deut. xxx. 20). So far as death is regarded as the punishment of sin, the Hebrews sought to overcome this by the doctrine of resurrection. Previous to the time of the Maccabees, hope of a new and perfect form of existence beyond the grave is rarely met. The chief passage is Job xix. 25 sqq., which may signify either God will finally justify the dead (H. Schultz), or God will indemnify him in another life (Dillmann), or "God will after my death appear as my advocate" (G. Runze, *Studien zur vergleichenden Religionswissenschaft*, ii. 199–203, Berlin, 1894), or, in spite of his hopeless condition, God will yet snatch him from death. In prophetic teaching, as Hos. xiii. 14; Isa. xxv. 8, xxvi. 19; I Sam. ii. 6; Ezek. xxxvii., the ideal of national regeneration was transferred to individual renewal, and the ethicizing of the personal relationship to God led to more distinct hopes of a future life—the "resurrection of many" (Dan. xii. 2). Denial of a hope of resurrection in Ecclesiastes does not indicate an opposite tendency at this time; the judgment there referred to (xi. 9–10, iii. 22) is not future; the spirit of life is the breath of God which returns to him. Hope for the future was also bound up with the Messiah, yet not without mythological features (Dan. x. 13). The relation of this post-exilic doctrine of the resurrection to the ancient Persian religion is not yet cleared up (A. Kohut, *Ueber die jüdische Angelologie und Daemonologie*, Leipsic, 1866; E. Stave, *Einfluss des Parsismus auf das Judentum*, ib. 1898). The works of Hübschmann, Wünsche, and P. Gröbler (*Die Ansichten über Unsterblichkeit und Auferstehung in der jüdischen Litteratur der beiden letzten Jahrhunderten vor Christus*, in *JSK*, 1879, pp. 651 sqq.) give an insight into the Persian, the pre-Christian Jewish (Apocryphal, pseudepigraphical, and Talmudic) doctrine of immortality. The resemblances are striking, the historical connection not certain. Kohut thinks that Parseeism owes more to Judaism than Judaism to Parseeism; e.g., the doctrine of the seven paradises, and hell, and that at the end of the world grievous plagues will precede the coming of the Savior.

2. Apocryphal and Later Jewish Views. The Jews before Christ took a threefold attitude toward the doctrine of immortality, in general corresponding to the views of Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes. The predominant Daniel-Pharisaic view resulted in II Maccabees, in which belief in the resurrection of all Israelites was regarded as a moral obligation (xii. 43–45). Death was punishment for sin (vii. 18, 32, 38); but God will raise the bodies of the pious. The torment of sinners is strongly emphasized in IV Ezra. Baruch, Sirach, Tobit, and I Maccabees still represent the old Mosaic doctrine

of Sheol; on the other hand, in individual pseudepigraphies, the hope of the future is more definitely presented. Enoch teaches an absolutely universal resurrection (xxxvii.–lxxi.), yet other chapters (i.–xxxvi. and lxxii.–cv.) and also the Psalms of Solomon mention only a resurrection of the pious. II Maccabees teaches the resurrection of all. The result of the development of this hope is: belief in a conscious life after death in a bright paradise or a dark hades, a communion with the pious of all ages. Some of the pious, like Enoch and Elijah, pass at once into perfect communion with God. A general resurrection precedes the judgment; it closes with the annihilation of the godless. The resurrection is variously pictured as a sudden divine deed, or a gradual development. In the latter portion of Enoch (lxi. 12) Paradise (in the east between heaven and earth) is the meeting-place of all the blessed; in the other sections only for Enoch and Elijah. Hades lies in the west. The earth is to be without men for seven days, then come resurrection, judgment, and damnation for the majority. The Sadducees denied the resurrection and endurance of the soul in connection with a body (Josephus, *Ant.* XVIII., i. 4; Mark xii. 18; Acts xxiii. 8), or at least either regarded it as problematical or ignored it. The Talmud distinguished the mere continuance of the soul from the miracle of resurrection by which body and soul were permanently reunited. The Essenes appear to have taught a natural immortality of the soul (cf. Matt. x. 28). Philo regarded the soul as essentially imperishable, temporarily imprisoned in the body. The Book of Wisdom combined natural immortality and an intimation of preexistence (viii. 19 sqq.) with the general Pharisaic hope. Death, the consequence of sin, due to the devil's envy, but unnatural to man, is to a pious and just man a fortunate gift of God; the dead return to their true form of existence. According to the Talmud the departed have knowledge of earthly events; after the judgment some of the justified have opportunity for moral improvement (cf. Wisdom xiii. 9). Others are the perfectly pious who, according to Shammai, having never sinned, are sealed in the book of life; while a third class, the hopeless transgressors, are written in the book of damnation and are handed over to Gehenna (cf. A. Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, ii. 791–796, New York, 1884). The school of Hillel taught that obdurate sinners, whether Jew or Gentile, after a twelvemonth's torment in Gehenna, are destroyed by fire. After Christ the prevailing doctrine vacillated between eternity of the punishment of hell, absolute destruction by fire, either outer or inner, or additions to the doctrine of restoration or of a gradual purification, transformation, and glorification.

3. New-Testament Teaching.

Jesus and Paul sided with the Pharisaic eschatology (Matt. xxii. 23 sqq.; Acts xxiii. 6 sqq.). The notion of *zōē aiōnios* fluctuated between "everlasting" and "eternal," the latter in the sense of the Fourth Gospel is not strange to the synoptics (cf. Matt. xxii. 32; Mark xii. 26 sqq.). Jesus' idea of the future is distinguished from that of the Pharisees (1) by the spiritualizing and ethicizing of the aims and means of the resurrection (Matt. xvi. 25 sqq.); (2) through the conscious distinction between form and content (cf. Matt. xi. 14–15 with xiii. 9–13); (3) by transcending a natural in favor of a universal ideal (Matt. viii. 11, xxi. 43, xxiv. 31 sqq.); instead of the judgment of the Gentiles by pious Israelites, the Son of Man judges men out of their own mouths (Matt. xxv. 31–46, xii. 37; cf. John xii. 47–48). Traces of "metempsychosis" also appear (Matt. xi. 14, xvii. 12). Herod Antipas's identification of Jesus with the murdered Baptist witnesses to the popular conviction that earlier prophets may be reincarnated as heralds of the Messianic time (Matt. xiv. 2; Luke ix. 7–9). Soul and body were sharply distinguished (Matt. x. 28). In this general belief, the resurrection of Christ became a new factor.

Paul spoke now of simply passing over into the future life (Phil. i. 23), now of a transformation (I Cor. xv. 51). But it is uncertain whether the glorified man is more properly described as his true self (II Cor. iv. 16), as a new planting upon the ruins of the old man (I Cor. xv. 35–55), or (cf. Rom. xi.) as a grafting into the latter; also, whether the "departure" of the soul "to be at home with the Lord" (II Cor. v. 8) is a sleeping, a dreaming, or a conscious entrance into another sphere of existence. Paul's presentation is enriched with such figures as the "book of life" (Phil. iv. 3), "sting of death" (I Cor. xv. 55). From his reference to the stars and the seed-corn (I Cor. xv. 37) one must not infer that the resurrection body was not specifically different, a newly fashioned duplicate of the perishing body. The Apocalypse pictures (1) a repose of many of the blessed for more than a thousand years (xiv. 13) until the second resurrection (xx. 5 sqq.), from which some are excepted (ver. 4), others experience a yet earlier quickening (xi. 11). (2) A speedy recompense for the pious sufferers (cf. iii. 11–21 with xii. 10–12). These pictures are to be regarded not as dogmatic constructions, but as the impress of pious feeling, even the distinction between first and second resurrection (chap. xx.), and between the first and second death (ii. 11, xx. 14), as well as between the temporary rule of the risen martyrs on earth (Chiliasm) and the future changeless life (see Millennium, Millenarianism). Many of these pictures, as xx. 3–7, originate in pre-Christian Messianic hopes (Daniel, Enoch, IV Ezra); also "resurrection of the just," of the good to life, of the wicked to judgment (Luke xiv. 14; Matt. xxv. 46; John v. 29), and relation of Hades to Gehenna (Matt. xi. 23). The figurative forms in which the future hope is realistically painted are almost everywhere referred to the spiritual-ethical new creation as this should have been fulfilled in this world: *palingenesia*, *kainē-ktisis*, *anastasis*, *zōopoiēsis*, *endusasthai*. For the dwelling of God in mankind, cf. John i. 14 with Rev. xxi. 3 and both with II Cor. vi. 16: since this is as truly future as present, transcendent and becoming as well as already immanent and existent, the figurative character of this aspect of the immortal life is evident, especially when Lev. xxvi. 11–12; Num. xii. 8; Ex. xxiv. 10 are compared with Matt. v. 8; John i. 18; and I Tim. vi. 16.

II. Ethnic Doctrine of Immortality: Among the civilized races of antiquity the idea of imperishableness was variously related to the soul. Whether the idea of infinity developed early (Max Müller), or late (Lubbock, Tiele), and how it was thought of, depends on the character and language of particular peoples. The development of ideas concerning a higher power of life, in accordance with the idea of everlasting joy or everlasting grief and with the conception of infinite, eternal being, corresponded more to the character of the Aryan peoples than to that of the Semites or even the Egyptians. The Phenicians rarely transcended the limits of the present world. The Egyptians, as indicated by the custom of preserving the body, were more serious concerning death and immortality. The Persians required the future life for the ethical fulfilment of their feeling of honor, war, and virtue. To the Hindu the change and transiency of this world were a dream from which he was to waken to the true changeless being. The people of the West—Greeks, Romans, Germans—had a more realistic sense of the relation of time and eternity; they thought of the gods as living the true life. Confucius (q.v.) hesitated to give a decisive judgment as to the fate of souls after death. Lao Tse (q.v.) taught a supernatural form of existence which belonged to the divine principle (tao = "way", "word," "logos") and to the "heavenly man." The ancient Egyptian doctrine of immortality was based on the conflict of light with darkness and the conquest of the former. The light-souls share in the conflict. Later emerges the thought of retribution, judgment of the dead, individual immortality, and reincarnation. For the earlier doctrine of immortality of the ancient Semites, see A. Jeremias, *Hölle und Paradies bei den Babyloniern*, Leipsic, 1903. For the Mohammedan view dependent on ancient Arabian and Christian ideas, cf. A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammed*, chaps. 6, 7, 11 sqq., 1861–65. For the ancient Aryans ("soma," "devas," "asuras"), cf. Max Müller, *Origin and Growth of Religion*, London, 1898. For the Brahmanic doctrine of the Vedantas, cf. P. Deussen, *Das System der Vedanta*, Leipsic, 1906. For Buddhism in its conflict with Brahminism, cf. H. Oldenberg, *Buddha*, pp. 273 sqq., 291, Berlin, 1881. For Parseeism and its doctrine of souls enduring as guardian spirits, cf. Hübschmann, *JPT*, 1879.

III. In Dogmatics: (1) Is the human soul mortal or immortal? An affirmative answer is given (a) by many Greek philosophers, especially the Orphics, Pythagoreans, and individual Stoics; (b) by anthropological dualists following Descartes, Leibnitz, Wolff, and Kant; (c) by philosophers emphasizing personality: C. H. Weisse, J. H. Fichte, Ulrici. Epicurus, Lucretius, Spinoza, Hume, Hegel, Schleiermacher, Feuerbach, Dühring, Strauss, and the materialists answer in the negative. Voltaire, La Mettrie, Fries, and Darwin are non-committal. Hardly any philosopher asserts absolute annihilation, and even Democritus, Epicurus, and Pyrrho do not silence the voice of hope. On the other hand, no one affirms absolute immortality, not even John Scotus Erigena, J. G. Fichte, Schelling, or G. Th. Fechner. (2) How is the imperishable element of the human soul thought of? Opposed to natural immortality, which corresponds to preexistence without beginning or is conceived of at least as correlative to natural inheritance through generation (Traducianism), is endurance according to God's will in spite of natural mortality—for all (Cyprian), or for patriarchs, prophets, martyrs (Irenæus, Tertullian); according to other Church Fathers, there is an intermediate state (Justin, Hilary, Cyril of Alexandria) which either quickly passes (Hilary on Ps. lxv. 22) or is of longer duration, wherein is a sleep of souls (*psychopannychē*), or for some of the righteous a purifying (either purgatory, Zech. xiii. 9; I Cor. iii. 13; Jude 23), or a migration of soul (metempsychosis), or change of body (metamorphosis). With the universal resurrection comes the idea of a partial awaking or restriction of bodily renewing to the pious (B. Weiss). That prayer and alms avail for the dead (II Macc. xii. 44–45) found early representatives; since 1439 masses and other services for the dead in purgatory have come to the front (see PURGATORY). (3) Teleologically, to what is the certainty of an imperishable existence necessary? (a) The individual eudemonistic wish; (b) the sympathies of friendship and family-love, hope of reunion with those who have gone home, desire for an imperishable enjoyment of the ideal, as art and science; (c) the ethical will permanently to cooperate for the realization of the idea, and confidence in the worth of all moral action and suffering; (d) before all, the thought of the universal harmony of the world, the miracle of existence, necessitates the religious appreciation of God as the Wise and Good.

IV. Proofs of Immortality: These may be summed up in: (1) The consent of all people (G. Roskoff, *Das Religionswesen der rohesten Naturvölker*, Leipsic, 1880; O. F. Peschel, *Völkerkunde*, Leipsic, 1875; Bastian, *Beiträge zur vergleichenden Psychologie*, Berlin, 1868). (2) Proofs *ab utili* and *a tutiori*. The former conceives of the maintenance of the dogma of immortality as in the interest of public morals; the latter treats the theoretical uncertainty as if it were true for the sake of its benefit in this life. (3) The teleological proof. In the destination of the personal individual for perfection is found a means for the completion in a future world of the aim only partly attained here (J. H. Fichte, *Idee der Persönlichkeit und der individuellen Fortdauer*, Leipsic, 1855). (4) The analogical proof. The analogy of metamorphosis (the chrysalis, the sleep of winter, the seed-corn). (5) The astronomical proof is founded on the existence of a multitude of otherwise aimless heavenly bodies, and on the probability that even the particular life of each star is for the sake of enriching human knowledge. (6) The moral proof. According to Kant, the aim of life is the furthering of holiness as complete conformity to moral law; this becomes the postulate of an infinite progress. (7) Proof from the idea of righteousness. Virtue must be rewarded, sin punished, and since both are imperfectly realized here, another sphere of life is required (Athenagoras, Justin, Socinians, Arminians, Rationalists, Calvin, Leibnitz). On the other hand, the Stoics and

Clement of Alexandria (*Stromata*, IV., vi. 22) emphasized the immanent righteousness which strikes even the wicked in this world. Spinoza holds that although duty is filled with an infinite content, it does not need to be capped with an endless existence (*Ethics*, v. 41–42). Kant's moral proof, combined with the Christian estimate of life, has lost none of its validity. (8) Metaphysical proof, derived from the simplicity or the immateriality of the soul. From the mere heterogeneity of the spirit, one could infer (a) with Epicurus indifference to being or not being: "while we exist, death is not present; when death is present, we do not exist" (Diogenes Laertius, x. 27) or (b) an extension of immortality to animals. (9) Ontological. On the ground of a genetic development in language and psychology, one may make use of a metaphysical inference which, in harmony with the total rational view of the world, proves the certainty of the final triumph of life over death, from the immanent eternity of the spirit already manifested in the ethical religious conquest of death (cf. Plato's play on words in the Phædo: the soul (a) life, accordingly "not-death," hence (b) "not-dead"—*a-thanatos*).

V. The Original Motives: The original motives of belief in immortality correspond to the natural causes of the idea of God, which may be psychologically traced to a fourfold root. (1) Subjective: wish, fear of death, and hope of life. *Quod volumus, credimus.* Feuerbach: "Man thinks of his god as of his heaven. . . God and immortality are identical. Both originate in the wish" (cf. *Rigveda*, x. 14, 8). According to the Talmud, Paradise is a place of bliss which surpasses the joy of the Messianic time. "The pious are satisfied with the flesh (of the Leviathan) which was preserved for this end since the first day of creation, and they drink wine from clusters which were prepared since the bringing in of the world" (Wünsche, *Die Vorstellungen vom Zustande nach dem Tode nach Apokryphen, Talmud und Kirchenvätern*, in *JPT*, 1880, p. 449). On the other hand, the wish for reunion with the dead often yields to fear of the dead and to the desire not to be disturbed by them (cf. the words at the obsequies of Bodo in northeast India: "Take and eat; formerly hast thou eaten and drunken with us, but now thou canst no more; thou wert one of us, thou art so no more; we come no more to thee, and come not thou nearer to us"). Like the funeral pyre, the funeral meals often celebrate only the separation as a symbolic agreement with the dead. (2) The influence of striking experiences in dreams on the imagination and the view of the world is noteworthy in the lower stages of culture (see Comparative Religion, III., VI., § 2; and cf. E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, vol. i., London, 1871). The New Zealander thinks that the dreaming soul departs from the body and returns again after wandering in the realm of the dead and there communing with its friends. The land of the blessed reflects the popular ideals. The dreaming Indian visits his hunting-ground, the Greek beholds the Elysian fields, the German thought that life in Walhalla consisted of bloody battles. Still more significant are the associations of ideas by which the character of a dream is attributed to the earthly life—life a dream; death the moment in which one awakes from the dream of life to its true reality. The Old Testament increasingly discredits the prophetic dream (cf. Deut. xiii.; Jer. xxiii.; Eccl. v. 2–6). Yet the actual present is designated as a "being like those who dream" in relation to a higher form of existence (Ps. cxxvi. 1). (3) In the lower stages of culture the intellectual riddle of death leads to the idea of a brief extension of life beyond the grave. After death there is to be a separation which either completes the death or prepares for a further lifetime in other regions (so the Fijis, the Guinea negroes, the Greenlanders); or only the chief men continued to exist (so the Tonga Islanders), or only the souls of the good (so the Nicaraguans). The funeral-pyre may condition the continued existence of the dead. For the enduring connection between soul and body, cf. *Odyssey*, xi. 51 sqq., 73; *Iliad*. xxiii. 71 sqq.; Vergil, *Æneid*, vi. 325 sqq., 362 sqq.; Job xiv. 22; Isa. lxvi. 24, xiv. 19; Deut. xxviii. 26; Tylor, ut sup. vol. ii. Danger of the future death of the soul is not excluded. The "second death" is the greatest evil. One can imagine neither unchanging continuance nor absolute annihilation. (4) The idea of retribution is expressed by the ethical faith in a supreme righteousness. The fatal crisis which, according to the belief of the Fijis, awaits the souls of those just dead, visits annihilation upon those who have remained unmarried; perhaps a reference to natural immortality by means of procreation. In all stages of religious culture many ethical arguments for immortality appear; the imperfect adjustment in this life between duty and destiny shapes the thought of future retribution. Mosaism is favorable to the idea of retribution, but it deserves no credit for the existence of the hope of immortality. Greek mythology distinguished the regions devoted to retribution ruled over by Minos and Æacus from the shadowy abodes for the undisturbed life of the soul. Hercules' soul prolonged its shadowy existence below while his bodily existence was enthroned in the circle of the blessed (cf. *Iliad*, i. 4). According to the Greeks, bodily existence is the real existence. The Christian doctrine of hell as Sheol and Gehinnom was made up of two different motives which the Talmud combined in Gehinnom—darkness and fire (cf. Enoch ciii. 8, 9). "Hell" originally signified the dark place, but was gradually blended with the idea of the bright, the fiery. The valley Gehinnom was the place of sacrifice to Moloch, of divine judgment, and of eternal destruction (Jer. xix. 2, 6; II Kings xxiii. 10; Matt. x. 28). Since the exile in connection with the transformation of the Messianic idea, the present life was a vestibule for the future, where the final judgment must assign the proper ethical condition (but cf. Enoch xc. 26, xxvii. 2, 3). The fundamental idea is that of a moral world-order. In the New Testament penal judgment is associated with the continued existence of the departed. Psychological motives for retribution first arose in connection with the Messianic idea, foreign domination, and influences of Zoroastrianism. With reference to the eschatology of both the Old Testament and the New Testa-

ment, there is need to preserve the Christian estimate of life so far as this is a matter of feeling and will, without surrendering the free scientific approach. It must also be recognized that the forms of the creative ideas by which men seek to give expression to the content of these conceptions are changeable and dependent upon the usage of language at a given time (see FUTURE PUNISHMENT).

VI. The Principal Elements of the Christian Ideal of Immortality: The Christian estimate of life subordinates all motives of the hope of immortality to belief in God; he is "not the God of the dead, but of the living." Presuppositions for correct deduction are: (1) Negatively: proof may not be adduced from rational psychology. If the soul of man is immortal because it is simple and immaterial, the same must be true of animals and of plants: these no less than the soul of man may be regarded *sub specie æternitatis*. Moreover, the thought of immortality is developed from simple psychical experiences. The child lives in the joy of the unending moment. Many savages have need only to project thought forward for a year or a month; the abstract idea of immortality matures first with monotheism. Even then "absolute endlessness" remains only a half-understood problem. The question of immortality retires to the background in comparison with the ethical social interests and with faith in God in which the true endlessness is felt (Ps. lxxiii.). If with Berkeley, Fichte, and Schopenhauer one conceives the idea not as result, but as cause of the entire world, including time and space, then the thinking subject as thinking can not be destroyed by the object which it has itself produced—time. The notions of subject, object, idea, time, infinite, and the like are not original; still more elementary is language, which originates in a practical motive. (2) Positively: the verbal condition of the solution of the problem. (a) Soul is the man as a unity; body is the man as an organism of many factors. The word "soul" in popular use is associated with the idea of the sea in motion. In the notion of soul lies life, change, inconstancy, death. The nature of *psychē* is perishableness. Even knowledge will not shield from destruction (Gen. iii. 17–19). Yet the soul, according to its notion, is essentially life. (b) The negative ideas of the intransient, the infinite, arose from the power of abstraction and negation. The underworld (cf. the notions of the Egyptians, New Zealanders, Enoch, the Greeks, and the Middle Ages) was identical with the place of the sun setting in the west. (c) Both the sun (cf. Egyptian and Accadian-Babylonian myths) and the seed-corn are at the same time result and cause, and this sensuous form of imperishableness has contributed to the terms dealing with immortality (the cult of Persephone; I Cor. xv.; poetical uses, as Schiller's *Noch köstlicheren Samen bergen*). Metempsychosis is only a further step forward (degradation and elevation; punishment and purification). In the Christian view the soul as substance of the body is wakened by the light of the creative sun of God to a new individual corporeity (John xii.; I Cor. xv.). The soul rests "in God" (Col. iii. 3; Rev. xiv. 13), receives a new glorified body whose principal features have already on earth been developed through ethical growth, suffering, and victory (cf. Matt. xxii. 30; Acts ii. 31 sqq. with Ps. xvi., Rev. xxi. 4 with Isa. xxv. 8).

VII. The Truth of These Forms of Experience: In the degree to which the naturally true and ethically grounded idea creates a corresponding expression can the truth of its affirmation be removed from doubt. This is proved by the religion of Buddhism. Although one may never say that the soul is or is not in Nirvâna, yet this is designated as the "land of peace," the "immeasurable, abysmal sea of eternity." Even to a philosopher such experiences compel the thought of a positive, ideal imperishableness. Mightier than with the Buddhist is the Christian's longing for absolute emancipation and blessedness. The fulness of God's love, as it fills the Christian heart absorbed in the kingdom of God, is immediately infinite. In the degree to which there is given the real basis for an idea true to life must the positive joy in the picture of the Christian hope of glory be affirmed.

In conclusion, the attitude toward immortality will be positive in case (1) the certainty of God as the supreme concrete content of the consciousness is presupposed, (2) the one miracle which lies in the being of the entire world is beheld under the correct figure of a creative divine deed, and accordingly (3) the hope of the future which corresponds to the Christian valuation of life is directly related to the idea of the creative divine deed. The twofold contents of the Christian spirit of life are (1) the idea of the Father-God as the free creative love, and (2) the hope that nothing hereafter can separate from the "infinite" worth of the love of God. If the real grounds of both of these ideas are inexhaustible, then the endeavors after a formal presentation of faith in God and immortality must be just as enduring as the power of language (see also ESCHATOLOGY).

For extended discussion and proof of this thesis cf. G. Runze, *Studien zur vergleichenden Religionswissenschaft; II., Die Psychologie des Unsterblichkeitsglaubens und der Unsterblichkeitsleugnung*, Berlin, 1894. G. RUNZE.

VIII. Additional Note: The arguments from data furnished by the Society of Psychical Research, to the effect that authentic messages have been received from those who have passed from the earthly life, lack convincing cogency (cf. F. W. H. Myers, *Human Personality*, London, 1903). Not to accentuate the still incomplete evidence for the alleged communications, this, if valid, would at best prove only that some who have ceased to live here continue their life in other conditions. But whether this is true for all, or whether any or all of those who have been supposed to manifest themselves from the other world will live forever does not yet appear. The Biblical evidence for the immortality, i.e., the resurrection, of all, including the wicked, is not perhaps decisive. This involves the critical interpretation of three passages which are open to other values than those which have been assigned to them (Luke xx. 34–38; John v. 28, 29; Acts xxiv. 15). In the last reference Paul is reported as teaching the resurrection of the wicked, no trace of which is found in his own authentic writings.

The words in John, alleged to have been spoken by Jesus, are alien to the rest of his teaching both in this Gospel and in the synoptics. The statement in Luke is not so conclusive as it seems at first sight, for it must be interpreted by the practical interest which elsewhere dominates the Master's teaching, and particularly by verses 35, 36. With Jesus, life was a supremely ethical affair, and neither he nor Paul appears to have considered life or immortality from a speculative point of view. The argument that the permanence of life is based on the fact that life is a thought of God, and God will not suffer his thought to perish, is open to three serious questions: (1) Whether in the sight of God human life is such a thought that even though it is at present the highest expression of his will, God can not permit it to fall back into the order from which it arose, as is the case with all other forms of existence. (2) Whether this preservation would be true of all souls or only of those who cooperate with him in the fulfilment of his thought. (3) Whether, finally, the human type is the basis of a yet higher disclosure of the divine purpose, and this being realized, the type as such shall pass away. Conditional immortality may not be ruled out of court as if it had no rational standing (see Annihilationism). For, first, appeal may be made to the biological law that function determines structure and ultimately organism: accordingly degeneration even to the loss of important organs is as truly characteristic of evolution as is progress. Secondly, it is especially true of man that the ideals of personality are either achieved by conscious striving, or lost by inattention. In comparison with lower orders of life, man may have reached that degree of stability whereby he survives the shock of death (cf. J. Fiske, *Destiny of Man Viewed in the Light of His Origin*, Boston, 1884), but even this would not necessarily involve for every one an endless existence. That which has been gained by the "will to live" (Schopenhauer) may also ultimately perish by refusal to live. According to the Gospel of John life is not a necessitated natural duration, but an ethical endeavor: Greek immortality gives place to "eternal life" (John xvii. 3). After all, the truest description of man's relation to a future life may be "immortality" (cf. S. D. McConnell, *Evolution of Immortality*, New York, 1901; W. R. Huntington, *Conditional Immortality*, ib. 1878. See Eschatology). The deepest reason for immortality is teleological: on the one hand, in the infinite ideals addressed to the human will; on the other hand, in the progressive realization of these ideals in which alone the universe becomes intelligible for consciousness. In the partial but increasing meaning of reality which is disclosed in individual consciousness is a ground of hope that this consciousness will endure as a center in which the purpose of the universe shall be both revealed and realized (cf. J. Royce, *Conception of Immortality*, Boston, 1900). Since all life is controlled by ends that attract and yet are hidden, and man does not fully reach these ends in this world, and can progressively attain them, if at all, only in an endless advance, his very incompleteness is his mightiest witness to immortality. For the perplexing problem of the relation of personal identity and memory to the life after death, cf. H. Münsterberg, *The Eternal Life* (Boston, 1905). The most important recent literature bearing on this subject is the series of Ingersoll Lectures on Immortality given annually at Harvard University as follows: G. A. Gordon, *Immortality and the New Theodicy*, Boston, 1897; W. James, *Human Immortality*, Boston, 1898; B. I. Wheeler, *Dionysius and Immortality*, Boston, 1899; J. Royce, *Conception of Immortality*, Boston, 1900; J. Fiske, *Life Everlasting*, Boston, 1901; W. Osler, *Science and Immortality*, Boston, 1904; S. M. Crothers, *The Endless Life*, Boston, 1905; H. Münsterberg, *The Eternal Life*, Boston, 1905; C. F. Dole, *Hope of Immortality*, New York, 1906; W. Ostwald, *Individuality and Immortality*, Boston, 1906; W. S. Bigelow, *Buddhism and Immortality*, Boston, 1908. C. A. B.

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1907; H. G. Keyserling, *Unsterblichkeit*. Munich, 1907; R. J. Thompson, *Proofs of Life after Death: a Collation of Opinions*, London, 1907; E. E. F. A. Albe, *New Light on Immortality*, London, 1908; F. C. Kempson, *Future Life and Modern Difficulties*, ib. 1908. The subject of course receives treatment in the various works on systematic theology.

IMMORTALITY, CONDITIONAL. See Annihilationism; Conditionalism; Immortality.

IMMUNITY: In the stricter sense, the freedom of certain persons or property from public duties and taxes. The word is sometimes, however, used in a wider sense, to include especially the right of Asylum (q.v.). After Christianity was recognized by the Roman Empire, the Church acquired for its possessions immunity from the class of imposts known in Roman law as *munera sordida*, and at the end of the fourth century also from extraordinary land taxes. The clergy, like the heathen priests before them, were free from all public service, and from inheritance taxes up to a certain point, though complete freedom from personal taxation can not be demonstrated. While these immunities were maintained in the Eastern Empire and in the Code of Justinian, they led in the West to difficulties which brought about their almost total abolition by Valentinian III. Nor is there anything like a general immunity of church property in the Frankish kingdom. The clergy were exempt from military service, and apparently from the poll tax where it was levied; but land taxes and feudal services resting upon property belonging to the Church or the clergy were not remitted. Under the Merovingians and Carolingians first certain churches and then whole dioceses and greater monasteries gained immunity by special privilege, as the temporal magnates also often did. From the sixth to the tenth century these privileges, based in their conception on the old immunity of the royal domain, remained essentially the same. Public officials were forbidden to visit the immune territory for the collection of taxes from its possessor or his subjects, or to use any force against the latter; where these taxes were still due to the king, they were to be paid through the landlord. Moreover, besides the collection of fines and similar payments, he enjoyed the right of jurisdiction in minor matters, though in those involving life or liberty he was still bound to defer to the regular courts.

After the tenth century the greater landowners, temporal and spiritual, began to acquire the higher jurisdiction also over the people on their estates. In the Carolingian period church property was protected by a heavy fine (600 soldi) against any one who violated it. This did not last long as applied to the whole estate, but was continued for the churches, cemeteries, and dwellings of the clergy. Freedom from military service continued as long as the old methods of raising an army were in force; but bishops and abbots were early summoned to the field, and when the feudal system was developed the duty of supplying men-at-arms rested equally on spiritual and temporal lords. The most determined opposition to any infringement on ecclesiastical immunities was not made against arbitrary royal imposts so much as against regular municipal taxation such as came into vogue in the German and Italian towns in the twelfth century.

The decrees of the Third and Fourth Lateran Councils (1179, 1215) mark the beginning of efforts to secure complete immunity for the Church, which has been demanded constantly ever since. The Council of Trent asserted this claim, though in rather general terms; the bull *In cœna Domini* (q.v.) threatened the violators of immunities with excommunication; and a special "Congregation of Jurisdiction and Immunity" has been in existence at Rome since 1626, though it is without significance to-day. The Syllabus of 1864 decisively maintained the essential right of the Church to immunity, although modern Roman Catholic writers generally leave the question open as to its derivation from divine right, or even frequently deny it. Since the Reformation, however, the personal immunity of the clergy and the real immunity of property not serving directly for religious purposes have tended to disappear; and even in the European countries where the Roman Catholic Church has a history of special privilege, they are usually conceded, so far as they exist at all, to all organized religious bodies.

(Siegfried Rietschel.)

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IMPANATION: One of the many modifications of the doctrine of the real presence of the flesh and blood of Christ in the Eucharist, which arose in opposition to the doctrine of transubstantiation. Rupert of Deutz (d. 1135) is the father of this idea. In commenting on Ex. ii. 10 (*Opera*, i. 267, Cologne, 1602), he explains how God connects the real flesh and blood of Christ with the real bread and wine in the Eucharist, without disturbing the substance of either, just as, in the womb of the virgin, he connected the Word and the human nature without changing the character of the latter. So, in theological terminology, the relation existing between Christ and the elements in the Eucharist would be, according to this theory, a hypostatic union similar to that existing between the divinity and the humanity in Christ. The word "impanation," however, was first used by Alger of Liége (d. 1131), who wrote against Rupert in defense of transubstantiation. In the period of the Reformation Carlstadt accused Osiander of holding the view of impanation; and the same accusation was preferred by the Romanists in general against Luther, who denied it.

IMPOSITION OF HANDS. See Laying on of Hands.

IMPOSTORIBUS, DE TRIBUS: The title of a writing often mentioned but little known, connected with an accusation in the year 1239 by Pope Gregory IX. against Emperor Frederick II., who

was reported to have said that the world had been deceived by three impostors, Moses, Christ, and Mohammed. Frederick repudiated this allegation as untrue; and, in fact, the saying with reference to the three chief impostors occurs prior to Frederick's time. A specific document bearing the title does not appear before 1598 (published from a copy in Dresden by E. Weller, Leipsic, 1846; 2d ed., Heilbronn, 1876). There was much discussion about the work among scholars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and it appeared in repeated translations. The contents are skeptical and show dearth of religious understanding. That God exists is held to be disproved by the absence of a uniform universally acknowledged conception of God. The heathen conceptions are rated as not far inferior to the Christian, and to the offensive heathen myths are opposed what are represented as equally offensive Christian myths (the Trinity, the virgin birth, etc.). Yet even were it granted that God exists, the question would still arise, how shall he be honored? Surely no one can appeal to special revelations, for this were *impostura*. The work has been ascribed to various scholars of the sixteenth century. Campanella would seem to have mentioned Muretus as the author, and likewise to have remarked that he saw it in the hands of the Florentine F. Pucci. Florimond de Raemond (*L'Histoire de la naissance . . . de l'hérésie*, pp. 236–237, Rouen, 1629) affirms the same of Petrus Ramus. The question of authorship does not appear open to solution. At all events, the work was not written by Guilielmus Postellus.

K. Benrath.

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IMPUTATION.

Origin and Meaning of the Term (§ 1).
Three Acts of Imputation (§ 2).
Pelagian Opposition to the Doctrine (§ 3).
Importance of the Doctrine (§ 4).
Socinian, Arminian, and Rationalistic Opposition (§ 5).
La Place and Later Theologians and Schools (§ 6).

1. Origin and Meaning of the Term.

The theological use of the term "imputation" is probably rooted ultimately in the employment of the verb *imputo* in the Vulgate to translate the Greek verb *logizesthai* in Ps. xxxii. 2. This passage is quoted by Paul in Rom. iv. 8 and made one of the foundations of his argument that, in saving man, God sets to his credit a righteousness without works. It is only in these two passages, and in the two axiomatic statements of Rom. iv. 4 and v. 13 that the Vulgate uses *imputo* in this connection (cf., with special application, II Tim. iv. 16; Philemon 18). There are other passages, however, where it might just as well have been employed, but where we have instead *reputo*, under the influence of the mistaken rendering of the Hebrew *ḥashabh* in Gen. xv. 6. In these passages the Authorized English Version improves on the Latin by rendering a number of them (Rom. iv. 11, 22, 23, 24; II Cor. v. 19; James ii. 23) by "impute," and employing for the rest synonymous terms, all of which preserve the "metaphor from accounts" inherent in *logizesthai* (and *ellogein*) in this usage (cf. Sanday-Headlam, *Commentary on Romans*, iv. 3), such as "count" (Rom. iv. 3, 5), "account" (Gal. iii. 6), and "reckon" (Rom. iv. 4, 9, 10); the last of which the Revised English Version makes its uniform rendering of *logizesthai*. Even the meager employment of *imputo* in the Latin version, however, supplied occasion enough for the adoption of that word in the precise language of theology as the technical term for that which is expressed by the Greek words in their so-called "commercial" sense, or, more correctly, be called their "forensic" or "judicial" sense, "that is, putting to one's account," or, in its twofold reference to the credit and debit sides, "setting to one's credit" or "laying to one's charge."

2. Three Acts of Imputation.

From the time of Augustine (early fifth century) at least, the term "imputation" is found firmly fixed in theological terminology in this sense. But the applications and relations of the doctrine expressed by it were thoroughly worked out only in the discussions which accompanied and succeeded the Reformation. In the developed theology thus brought into the possession of the Church, three several acts of imputation were established and expounded. These are the imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity; the imputation of the sins of his people to the Redeemer; the imputation of the righteousness of Christ to his people. Though, of course, with more or less purity of conception and precision of application, these three great doctrines became the property of the whole Church, and found a place in the classical theology of the Roman, Lutheran, and Reformed alike. In the proper understanding of the conception, it is important to bear in mind that the divine act called "imputation" is in itself precisely the same in each of the three great transactions into which it enters as a constituent part. The grounds on which it proceeds may differ; the things imputed may be different; and the consequent treatment of the person or persons to which the imputation is made may and will differ as the things imputed to them differ. But in each and every case alike imputation itself is simply the act of setting to one's account; and the act of setting to one's account is in itself the same act whether the thing set to his account stands on the credit or debit side of the account, and whatever may be the ground in equity on which it is set to his account. That the sin of Adam was so set to the account of his descendants that they have actually shared in the penalty which was threatened to it; and that the sins of his people were so set to the account of our Lord that he bore them in his own body on the tree, and his merits are so set to their account that by his stripes they are healed, the entirety of historical orthodox Christianity unites in affirming.

Opposition to these doctrines has, of course, not been lacking in the history of Christian thought. The first instance of important contradiction of the fundamental principle involved is presented by the Pelagian movement (see Pelagius, Pelagianism) which arose at the beginning of the fifth century. The Pelagians denied the equity and, therefore,

under the government of God, the possibility of the involvement of one free agent in the acts of another; they utterly denied, therefore, that men either suffer harm from Adam's sin or profit by Christ's merits. By their examples only, they said, can either Adam or Christ affect us; and by free imitation of them alone can we share in their merits or demerits. It is not apparent why Pelagius permitted himself such extremity of denial. What he had at heart to assert was the inadmissibility by the human subject of plenary ability of will to do all righteousness. To safeguard this he had necessarily to deny all subjective injury to men from Adam's sin (and from their own sins too, for that matter), and the need or actuality of subjective grace for their perfecting. But there was no reason growing out of this point of sight why he might not allow that the guilt of Adam's sin had been imputed to his posterity, and had supplied the ground for the infliction upon them of external penalties temporal or eternal; or that the merits of Christ might be imputed to his people as the meritorious ground of their relief from these penalties, as well as of the forgiveness of their own actual sins and of their reception into the favor of God and the heavenly blessedness. Later Pelagianizers found this out; and it became not uncommon (especially after Duns Scotus' strong assertion of the doctrine of "immediate imputation") for the imputation of Adam's sin to be exploited precisely in the interest of denial or weakening of the idea of the derivation of inherent corruption from Adam. A very good example of this tendency of thought is supplied by the Roman Catholic theologian Ambrosius Catharinus, whose admirable speech to this effect at the Council of Trent is reported by Father Paul (*Hist. of the Council of Trent*, Eng. transl., London, 1676, p. 165). Even Zwingli was not unaffected by it. He was indeed free from the Pelagianizing attenuation of the corruption of nature which is the subjective effect on his posterity of Adam's sin. With him, "original sin" was both extensively and intensively a total depravity, the fertile source of all evil action. But he looked upon it rather as a misfortune than a fault, a disease than a sin; and he hung the whole weight of our ruin on our direct participation in Adam's guilt. As a slave can beget only a slave, says he, so all the progeny of man under the curse are born under the curse.

3. Pelagian Opposition to the Doctrine.

In sharp contradiction to the current tendency to reduce to the vanishing-point the subjective injury wrought by Adam's sin on his posterity, the churches gave themselves to emphasizing the depth of the injury and especially its sinfulness. Even the Council of Trent acknowledged the transfusion into the entire human race of "sin, which is the death of the soul." The Protestants, who, as convinced Augustinians, were free from the Pelagianizing bias of Rome, were naturally even more strenuous in asserting the evil and guilt of native depravity. Accordingly they constantly remark that men's native guilt in the sight of God rests not merely upon the imputation to them of Adam's first sin, but also upon the corruption which they derive from him—a mode of statement which meets us, indeed, as early as Peter Lombard ("Sentences," II., xxx.) and for the same reason. The polemic turn given to these statements has been the occasion of a remarkable misapprehension, as if it were intended to subordinate the imputation of Adam's transgression to the transmission of his corrupted nature as the source of human guilt. Precisely the contrary is the fact. The imputation of Adam's transgression was not in dispute; all parties to the great debate of the age fully recognized it; and it is treated therefore as a matter of course. What was important was to make it clear that native depravity was along with it the ground of our guilt before God. Thus it was sought to hold the balance true, and to do justice to both elements in a complete doctrine of original sin. Meanwhile the recovery of the great doctrine of justification by faith threw back its light upon the doctrine of the satisfaction of Christ which had been in the possession of the Church since Anselm; and the better understanding of this doctrine, thus induced, in turn illuminated the doctrine of sin, whose correlative it is. Thus it came about that in the hands of the great Protestant leaders of the sixteenth century, and of their successors, the Protestant systematizers of the seventeenth century, the threefold doctrine of imputation—of Adam's sin to his posterity, of the sins of his people to the Redeemer, and of the righteousness of Christ to his people—at last came to its rights as the core of the three constitutive doctrines of Christianity—the sinfulness of the human race, the satisfaction of Jesus Christ, and justification by faith. The importance of the doctrine of imputation is that it is the hinge on which these three great doctrines turn, and the guardian of their purity.

4. Importance of the Doctrine.

Of course the Church was not permitted to enjoy in quiet its new understanding of its treasures of doctrine. Radical opponents arose in the Reformation age itself, the most important of whom were the Socinians (see SOCINUS, SOCINIANISM). By them it was pronounced an inanity to speak of the transference of either merit or demerit from one person to another: we can be bad with another's badness, or good with another's goodness, they said, as little as we can be white with another's whiteness. The center of the Socinian assault was upon the doctrine of the satisfaction of Christ: it is not possible, they affirmed, for one person to bear the punishment due to another. But their criticism cut equally deeply into the Protestant doctrines of original sin and justification by faith. The influence of their type of thought, very great from the first, increased as time went on and became a factor of importance both in the Arminian revolt at the beginning of the seventeenth century and in the rationalistic defection a hundred years later. Neither the Arminians (e.g., Limborch, Curcellæus), nor the Rationalists (e.g., Wegscheider) would hear of an imputation of Adam's sin, and both attacked with arguments very similar to those of the Socinians also the imputation of our sins to Christ or of his righteous-

5. Socinian, Arminian, and Rationalistic Opposition.

ness to us. Rationalism almost ate the heart out of the Lutheran Churches; and the Reformed Churches were saved from the same fate only by the prompt extrusion of the Arminian party and the strengthening of their position by conflict with it. In particular, about the middle of the seventeenth century the "covenant" or "federal" method of exhibiting the plan of the Lord's dealings with men (see COCCEIUS, JOHANNES, AND HIS SCHOOL) began to find great acceptance among the Reformed Churches. There was nothing novel in this mode of conceiving truth. The idea was present to the minds of the Church Fathers and the Schoolmen; and it underlay Protestant thought, both Lutheran and Reformed, from the beginning, and in the latter had come to clear expression, first in Ursinus. But now it quickly became dominant as the preferable manner of conceiving the method of the divine dealing with men. The effect was to throw into the highest relief the threefold doctrine of imputation, and to make manifest as never before the dependency of the great doctrines of sin, satisfaction, and justification upon it.

6. La Place and Later Theologians and Schools.

About the same time a brilliant French professor, Josué de la Place (see PLACEUS, JOSUA), of the Reformed school at Saumur, reduced all that could be called the imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity simply to this—that because of the sin inherent in us from our origin we are deserving of being treated in the same way as if we had committed that offense. This confinement of the effect of Adam's sin upon his posterity to the transmission to them of a sinful disposition—inherent sin—was certainly new in the history of Reformed thought: Andreas Rivetus (see RIVET, ANDRÉ) had no difficulty in collecting a long line of "testimonies" from the confessions and representative theologians explicitly declaring that men are accounted guilty in God's sight, both because of Adam's act of transgression imputed to them and of their own sinful disposition derived from him. The conflict of views was no doubt rendered sharper, however, by the prevalence at the time of the "Covenant theology" in which the immediate imputation of Adam's transgression is particularly clearly emphasized. Thus "immediate" and "mediate" imputation (for by the latter name La Place came subsequently to call his view) were pitted against each other as mutually exclusive doctrines: as if the question at issue were whether man stood condemned in the sight of God solely on account of his "adherent" sin, or solely on account of his "inherent" sin. The former of these doctrines had never been held in the Reformed Churches, since Zwingli, and the latter had never been held in them before La Place. From the first both "adherent" and "inherent" sin had been confessed as the double ground of human guilt; and the advocates of the "Covenant theology" were as far as possible from denying the guilt of "inherent" sin. La Place's innovation was as a matter of course condemned by the Reformed world, formally at the Synod of Charenton (1644–45) and in the Helvetic Consensus (1675) and by argument at the hands of the leading theologians—Rivetus, Turretin, Maresius, Driessen, Leydecker, and Marck. But the tendencies of the time were in its favor and it made its way. It was adopted by theologians like Wyttenbach, Endemann, Stapfer, Roell, Vitringa, Venema; and after a while it found its way through Britain to America, where it has had an interesting history—forming one of the stages through which the New England Theology (q.v.) passed on its way to its ultimate denial of the quality of sin involving guilt to anything but the voluntary acts of a free agent; and finally becoming one of the characteristic tenets of the so-called "New School Theology" of the Presbyterian Churches. Thus it has come about that there has been much debate in America upon "imputation," in the sense of the imputation of Adam's sin, and diverse types of theology have been framed, especially among the Congregationalists and Presbyterians, centering in differences of conception of this doctrine. Among the Presbyterians, for example, four such types are well marked, each of which has been taught by theologians of distinction. These are (1) the "Federalistic," characterized by its adherence to the doctrine of "immediate imputation," represented, for example, by Dr. Charles Hodge; (2) the "New School," characterized by its adherence to the doctrine of "mediate imputation," represented, for example, by Dr. Henry B. Smith; (3) the "Realistic," which teaches that all mankind were present in Adam as generic humanity, and sinned in him, and are therefore guilty of his and their common sin, represented, for example, by Dr. W. G. T. Shedd; and (4) one which may be called the "Agnostic," characterized by an attempt to accept the fact of the transmission of both guilt and depravity from Adam without framing a theory of the mode of their transmission or of their relations one to the other, represented, for example, by Dr. R. W. Landis. See ADAM; ATONEMENT; JUSTIFICATION; REDEMPTION; SATISFACTION; SIN.

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INCAPACITY: The state of being unqualified to receive holy orders. It exists in the case of unbaptized persons and women. As to the former, it is obvious that a person who is to hold an ecclesiastical office must be a member of the Church, and this

membership is gained only by baptism. The canon law provides in a number of places that if a priest is found not to have been baptized, he must receive that sacrament and then be reordained. The incapacity of women has never been questioned in the Church. According to I Tim. ii. 12; I Cor. xiv. 34, 35, they are not to teach, and Tertullian (*De virg. vel.*, viii.) expresses the prohibition of any official acts by them in the most absolute terms. The Council of Laodicea (372) forbids their ordination as *presbyteræ* (*viduæ*), and the first Council of Nicæa (325), with several others, as *diaconæ* or *diaconissæ*. (O. Mejer†.)

Bibliography: Bingham, *Origines*, XIV., iv. 5.

INCARNATION. See Christology XI., § 2; and Virgin Birth.

INCE, WILLIAM: Church of England; b. in London June 7, 1825. He was educated at King's College, London, and Lincoln College, Oxford (B.A., 1846), was ordered deacon in 1849 and ordained priest in 1852. He was fellow and tutor of Exeter College, Oxford (1847–78), and subrector (1857–78). He became regius professor of divinity and canon of Christ Church, Oxford, in 1878, and subdean in 1901. He was likewise junior proctor of the University, 1856–57, Whitehall preacher, 1860–62, and chaplain to the bishop of Oxford, 1871–89. Among his publications special mention may be made of *Some Aspects of Christian Truth* (London, 1862); *Religion in the University of Oxford* (1874); *The Past History and Present Duties of the Faculty of Theology in Oxford* (Oxford, 1878); and *Letter on the Declaration of the English Church Union* (1900).

INCENSE.

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I. Pre-Christian Usage: The Orientals, from time immemorial, had an extraordinary predilection for fragrant spices, particularly for such aromatics as exhale an agreeable odor when consumed on coals. Not only in connection with worship, but also in private life, large outlay was bestowed upon perfumery and incense. This is especially true of the ancient Egyptians (cf. Plutarch, *De Iside*, lxxx.–lxxxi.), who could not conceive even the subterranean world without such enjoyment. It was a mark of honor, among Oriental nations, to sprinkle incense over persons or guests of high estate—a practise still current in contemporary Egypt. Censers were carried before those commanders or princes whom they desired to honor, or were set up in the streets through which they passed (cf. Quintus Curtius Rufus, *De rebus gestis Alexandri*, V., i. 20, VIII., ix. 23; Herodian, *Historia*, IV., viii. 19, and xi. 3). The ancient Israelites appeared equally fond of sweet savors (Prov. xxvii. 9). Rooms, clothing, stuffs of all kinds, were garnished with spices and incense on occasions of festivity (Ps. xlv. 8; Cant. iii. 6; Prov. vii. 17).

1. Universality of Its Employment.

In the sphere of worship, as well, incense was from early times a demonstration of honor in relation to the deity, so employed in Western Asia among the Babylonians, Syrians, Phenicians and Canaanites. From Asia, in turn, the practise passed over to Greeks and Romans, and was prominent in the voluptuous rites in honor of goddesses. In the Bible the use of incense in ceremonial is frequent. Indeed the offering of sacrifice sometimes takes the form of expression commonly used for incense, the idea being that sacrifice is productive of sweet savor before God. Just as in Israel it was prescribed, with reference to many a sacrifice, to salt it with incense, the same, beyond all doubt, was also frequently the case with the heathen offerings, whereof the Bible speaks (cf. the "strange incense," Ex. xxx. 9, in contrast with Israel's worship). The modern theory that the offering of incense came into the Israelite worship from abroad only shortly before Jeremiah's day is neither demonstrable nor inherently probable. From the very fact that in Israel's pristine antiquity, no less than in Babylonia and Egypt, there prevailed the intention of producing, along with the sacrifice, a "sweet-smelling savor" for the deity (Gen. viii. 21; cf. Deut. xxxiii. 10), it becomes a matter of course that fragrant woods and aromatics were employed. Indeed by the very burning of the first-fruits and of other vegetable substances, desire for sweet savor was implied. If it is therefore probable from the outset that the Hebrews contemplated the burning of fragrant substances in the sanctuary, the silence of the Prophets (but cf. Ezek. xxiii. 41) does not invalidate the Pentateuchal evidences of the offering of incense from the time of Moses (Lev. x. 1 sqq., xvi. 13; Num. xvi.). On the other hand, it is easily conceivable that the material for incense could be, and was, refined in the course of time by employing exotic spices (Jer. vi. 20; Isa. lx. 6). The offering of incense had a symbolic significance. Usually a symbol of prayer is discerned therein, and not unreasonably (Ps. cxli. 2). The ascending cloud of incense was a symbol of the prayer with which the congregation accompanied the rite (Luke i. 8–10). A further symbolism involved is the transfer to the deity of the noblest and best the earth has to give. According to Lev. xvi. 13, there is an expiatory signification attached to the oblation of incense. What is for sinful man the deadly majesty of God becomes veiled over by this manner of offering.

2. The Hebrew Altar of Incense.

The altar of incense, described as furniture of the tabernacle (Ex. xxx. 1–10, xxxvii. 25), was a cubit in length and a cubit in breadth, two cubits in height, of acacia wood overlaid with gold, whence it is called the golden altar (Ex. xxxix. 38). Like the altar for burnt sacrifice, it was provided with horns, projecting from the four corners. Half-way between top and base it was decorated with a "crown round about," the same as in case of the ark and showbread table. Handles, or "staves," likewise of acacia wood and overlaid with gold, were inserted through golden rings, two on each side, below the "crown." Above the altar, a "roof" was adjusted; that is, a flat

surface in the style of Oriental roofs. This altar stood in the middle of the sanctuary, and, furthermore, immediately before the curtain of the Holy of Holies. Burnt offerings, meal offerings, and drink offerings were to stay far from it; only incense was to burn thereon; save that by way of expiation the horns were to be stained by the high priest with blood on the day of atonement, and on other occasions the blood of sin offerings was thus applied (Lev. iv. 7). A matter that strikes attention is the late context of the passage Ex. xxx. 1 sqq., while the appointment of the altar of incense was to be expected in the earlier context of chapter xxvi., where the Samaritan copy inserts it (xxvi. 34). Wellhausen, followed by most of the moderns, affirms that the era of the priest code was not acquainted with an altar of incense; the passage in question being of later origin than the remainder of the description of the tabernacle. The explanation for this context of the altar of incense in Ex. xxx. (again in xxxvii.) is not to be given conclusively. It is not impossible that in the early age they performed the incensing merely with incense pans or censers, and that only in the course of time was there an altar set up for that purpose expressly. But the erection of an incense altar in Solomon's temple ought not to be doubted, since frequent mention occurs (e.g., I Kings vi. 22, vii. 48, ix. 25). The dimensions are not reported, although by analogy they were possibly greater than in the tabernacle. In like manner, this adjunct, being an inalienable factor in the worship of Yahweh as regulated by Moses, could not have been wanting in the temples of Zerubbabel and Herod. According to the testimony of I Macc. i. 21, iv. 49, this golden altar was carried off by Antiochus Epiphanes, along with the other utensils of the sanctuary, though reconstructed anew by Judas Maccabeus, on the occasion of rededicating the Temple. Josephus, again, was acquainted with this jewel of the sanctuary (*War*, V., v. 5). Similar evidence is gained from Heb. ix. 4, which attests the actual presence of this altar in the last age of the temple. In the face of such weighty evidence, it is of little significance that Josephus, who knew that altar so well, does not expressly mention the altar of incense in connection with Pompey's visit to the temple (*Ant.* XIV., iv. 4; *War*, I., vii. 6), but dwells on the golden censers and the great quantity of incense. The absence of any picture of the altar on the Arch of Titus and in the description by Josephus (*War*, VII., v. 5) is probably to be explained by the supposition that it had perished in the conflagration.

3. The Materials.

It is obvious that the material for the ceremonial incense consisted of fragrant substances. The substance most frequently employed was frankincense (q.v.), a resin (etymologically, of a whitish sort; cf. Pliny, *Hist. nat.* xii. 14), which the Hebrews obtained from southern Arabia (from Sheba, according to Jer. xi. 20; Isa. lx. 6). For the inner sanctuary there is prescribed a special composition of fragrant spices (Ex. xxx. 34–38). Just as the Egyptians had a prescription for ceremonial use compounded of from ten to thirty-six ingredients (Plutarch, *De Iside*, lxxxi., enumerates sixteen substances), so in the tabernacle and in the temple an exclusive composition of four ingredients in equal parts was to be employed—and this might not be prepared for profane uses. The three aromatics that were to supplement frankincense are named: (1) *nataph*, "stacte," an exuding gum, according to some authorities, of the myrrh shrub (elsewhere expressed by the Heb. *mor;* verse 23), according to others, of the storax; (2) *shehéleth*, "incense nail," "sea clove," the shell of a mussel, strongly pungent under combustion; (3) *helbenah*, Lat. *galbanum*, "heart resin," abundant in Syria, which when alone emits an unpleasant smell, but, when duly proportioned with other ingredients, contributes to the potency and exhilarating effect of the aroma. These substances were to be mingled "after the art of the perfumer" [after the manner of the ointment mixer], and salted (cf. Lev. ii. 13), the same as was prescribed for the ceremonial offerings: hence, too, they would be crushed or pulverized. Later Jewish observance did not confine itself to the four substances here mentioned, but added seven other aromatics (cf. *Kerithoth* 6^{ab}; Maimonides, *Hilkoth kelê hammikdash*, ii. 1–5). Of the four specified ingredients, there were to be taken, according to the rabbis, 70 pounds each. However, 368 pounds appear to have been used for the yearly requirement. The residue may have been composed of the accessory substances intermixed in smaller portions. The seven additional aromatics are as follows: *myrrh* (Ex. xxx. 23; Cant. iii. 6), *cassia* (Ex. xxx. 24; Ps. xlv. 8; Ezek. xxvii. 19), *spikenard* (Cant. i. 12; cf. John xii. 3), *saffron* (Cant. iv. 14), *costus*, *calamus* (Ex. xxx. 23), and *cinnamon* (Ex. xxx. 23; Cant. iv. 14). Thus ten, or more usually eleven, aromatics were enumerated, according as frankincense was or was not included among them. Josephus (*War*, V., v. 5) speaks even of thirteen perfumes which went up from the altar of incense, but this is explained by the fact that still other aromatics were intermingled with the compound. Quantity and component proportions are more specifically defined by the Talmud.

4. Symbolism.

The four statutory ingredients of the sacred incense have been interpreted in a variety of symbolic ways. Philo gives a cosmological turn to the number four, stacte having reference to water, sea clove to the earth, heart resin to the air, frankincense to fire (*Quis rerum div. heres*, p. 397). Josephus says that the thirteen kinds of odors, proceeding from the sea, the inhabited and uninhabited earth, denote that all is God's, and all is designed for him. In connection with the symbolical identity of incense and prayer, some have sought to correlate the four kinds of material for incense with the four categories of Christian prayer (praise, thanksgiving, petition, and intercession; cf. I Tim. ii. 1); or with the four emotional attributes indispensable to prayer (faith, humility, love, hope). All this is conjecture, and only this is certain, that there was contemplated an ascension of the mysterious aroma within the holy abode, and that the drawing near to God is also to be prefigured by ennobling and enrichment of the elements of worship.

In the ritual for incense, the effusions of incense that were combined with the meal offerings, where the frankincense was put over the same on the sacrificial altar, are to be distinguished from the separate oblations of incense, which took place only within the second enclosure. More particular procedure with the incense is not reported. The directions are equally brief in respect to incense in the sanctuary (Ex. xxx. 7 sqq.); morning and evening, as the priest "dresseth the lamps," and when he "lighteth" them, he shall also kindle the perpetual incense offering. More detailed regulations, in so far, at least, as they apply to the ritual of Herod's temple, are furnished by the *Mishnaḥ Tamidh*, iii. 6, vi. 1–3; cf. Maimonides, *Yadh haḥasaḳa*, iii. 1–9. As early as the Torah, two utensils are mentioned which were used in offering incense: (1) the firepan (Ex. xxvii. 3, xxxviii. 3; Num. xvi. 6–7), whereon the hot coals lay. The incense was poured upon these out of (2) a bowl fitted with a handle, the golden incense spoon (Ex. xxv. 29; Num. vii. 84, 86). By means of this firepan, or of the censer (Ezek. viii. 11; II Chron. xxvi. 19), which does not appear to have been essentially different from the firepan, incense could be offered without an altar; and this was always the case in the Holy of Holies. Here the high priest entered on the day of atonement, with the pan of coals in his right hand and the vessel of aromatics in his left hand; he placed the former vessel down and from the latter took incense and placed it upon the firepan. If, however, as on occasion of the daily morning and evening offering of incense, the oblation was performed on the inner altar, then a priest, at least according to later observance, first carried the basin full of hot coals into the sanctuary and poured it over the altar of incense; whereupon a second priest brought in the aromatics in the incense ladle, and completed the solemn offering as he spread the spices over the coals and uttered his prayer therewith. The quantitative portion to be offered every morning and evening is prescribed in the Talmud as half a pound. The service of offering incense alternated, as determined by lot, among the officiating priests (Lev. i. 8 sqq.). In course of time the two daily offerings of incense coincided with the two daily burnt offerings, and marked, conjointly with these, the hour of morning and evening prayer for the whole congregation, when many frequented the temple. As the ceremonial of incense began, both priest and people were admonished to solemn stillness and devout prayer by the sound of small bells.

C. von Orelli.

5. The Ritual of Incense.

II. In the Christian Church: Notwithstanding the important rôle assigned to incense in the Jewish ritual, and the mention in Rev. viii. 3, 4 of one of the symbolical meanings attached to the same, there is no satisfactory evidence of the use of incense in the Christian Church during the first three centuries. Indeed, the early Apologists are emphatic in disclaiming its use. Thus, Tertullian (*Apol.* xlii., cf. xxx.) declares formally: "We have nothing to do with incense," and Athenagoras ("Plea for the Christians," xlii., in *ANF*, ii. 134–135) explains that the God of the Christians, being himself the most exquisite of all aromas, has no need of incense. It is plain from the context of these and other passages that the opposition of the early Christians to incense rested chiefly, if not solely, on the fact that its use was identified with the religious ceremonïes of the pagans, and it is well known that for a Christian to burn incense before an idol was one of the most conspicuous marks of apostasy. It appears that the earliest extant references to the use of incense in the Christian liturgy occur in the Apostolic Constitutions (canons 3, 4) where, among the objects declared necessary for the offering of the sacrifice, mention is made of the *thumiama*, and in the work of the Pseudo-Dionysius (*De hierarch. eccl.*, iii.–iv.), where it is stated that every offering of the sacrifice should be preceded by the ceremony of thurification. It would seem, therefore, that the custom began to prevail in the Christian Church from the fourth century onward. The Oriental liturgies of Basil and Chrysostom and others speak of incensing the elements or *oblata* of the Eucharistic service; as to the West, the use of incense in the ceremonies of the mass seems to have originated in the churches of Gaul.

1. In the Patristic Period.

The Roman ritual regulates in greater detail the liturgical use of incense, specifying the formula of words that should accompany each of the various thurifications. The earliest usage seems to have been connected with the ceremonies of the mass, but it was later extended to other religious functions, such as ecclesiastical benedictions and consecrations, funeral rites, and liturgical processions in which the thurifers walk at the head, preceding the cross-bearer. In the liturgical works of the Middle Ages mention is made of several kinds of vessels connected with the keeping and use of incense: e.g. the *thurarium* or *incensarium*, denoting a box or chest of variable pattern and dimension in which the different kinds of incense were kept; the *thymiatorium*, a large receptacle placed near the altar, and which diffused in all directions the odor of the incense burned therein; and the *thuribulum*, or thurible proper, a portable vessel suspended by small chains and thus capable of being swung. Thuribles vary in design, and are often objects of great art, being exquisitely chiseled and set with precious stones. Besides the practical utility of incense to counteract the disagreeable odors incidental to large and confined gatherings of people—a purpose which had probably something to do with its introduction into the liturgical services—it has several symbolical significations. Thus, according to Bellarmine (*De missa*, ii. 15), it symbolizes (1) the "sweet savor of the knowledge of Christ" (II Cor. ii. 14 sqq.); (2) the prayers of the saints (Rev. viii. 3, 4); (3) the majesty of God veiled by the clouds. Others see in the consumption by fire of the incense before the Lord a symbol of the completeness and generosity with which Christians should consecrate and devote themselves to God and his service.

2. In the Roman Catholic Church.

In liturgical functions the celebrant always

blesses the incense when putting it into the thurible, except on Good Friday and when he is about to incense exclusively the blessed sacrament. Three blessings of the incense occur during the ceremonies of the solemn mass: (1) before the introit; (2) before the chanting of the Gospel; (3) after the offertory. In the service for the dead this last is the only one. When the liturgical office is solemnly chanted, incense is blessed in lauds at the *Benedictus*, and in vespers at the *Magnificat*, and in each case the altar is incensed and afterward the celebrant and the other officiating ministers. The incensing of persons occurs three times during the solemn high mass: (1) the celebrant is incensed by the deacon after the introit; (2) the same after the chanting of the Gospel; (3) after the offertory the deacon incenses the celebrant, then, in order of dignity, the prelates and other members of the clergy occupying places in the sanctuary, and finally the subdeacon, after which one of the inferior ministers incenses *in globo* the congregation of the faithful. The number of swings of the thurible is regulated by the ritual with reference to the greater or less canonical dignity of the persons or things incensed. Thus, e.g., three swings are prescribed for the blessed sacrament exposed, and for the cross on the altar; also for the celebrant, cardinals or bishops present in the sanctuary. Two strokes are allotted to lesser ecclesiastical dignitaries and to sacred relics exposed on the altar, while the ordinary priest present in the sanctuary receives but one. All persons incensed must be standing. For further particulars in this connection see the *Rituale Romanum* and the *Ceremoniale Episcoporum* (1, I., xxiii. n. 3 et passim).

3. Ritual of Incense.

JAMES F. DRISCOLL.

During the last half century the use of incense has been to some extent restored in the Anglican communion, where it caused a violent and acrimonious controversy. The Catholic Apostolic Church also employs it (see this work, ii. 459).

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INCEST: Sexual intercourse between those who are allied by ties of consanguinity or affinity. Canon law followed in this field in the track of the Roman law, though with various modifications. With the Mosaic law in mind, a distinction was made between *incestus juris divini*, the violation of the prohibitions contained in Lev. xviii. and xx., and *incestus juris humani*, the violation of other laws on the subject. Another distinction is made between *incestus simplex* and *qualificatus* or *conjunctus*, the latter being where it is complicated by the addition of some other crime, such as adultery or bigamy. Punishments for this offense became more severe under the later Roman imperial law (*Cod. Theod.* iii. 12; *Cod. Justin.* v. 5). Section xii. of Justinian's *Novellæ* prescribes that both men and women guilty of it shall forfeit their property, and those of a higher station shall be banished. The specific cases became more numerous under the canon law, which treated affinity on the same footing with consanguinity, and even regarded the spiritual affinity contracted by joint sponsorship in baptism as an impediment to marriage. Special attention was paid to the provisions of the Mosaic law, as by the third Synod of Arles (538), the Synod of Tours (567), and in numerous passages of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals. In all these places incestuous offenders are treated as *personæ infames*, who lose their civil rights and must undergo penance, while, of course, the connection itself must be dissolved in the absolutely inadmissible cases. Gratian shows his agreement with this conception by including the authorities referred to in his *Decretum*. The more minute later treatment of the question may be seen in Ferraris's *Bibliotheca canonica*, s.v. *Luxuria*. In the Middle Ages the punishment of incest, as of other sins of the flesh, was partly regulated by the Church, partly by the civil government. As the latter gradually came to take a more independent line, it followed the principles of the Roman law; thus, for example, the penal ordinance of Charles V. in 1532 points to the punishments of that code, though in practise they were gradually mitigated.

(E. FRIEDBERG.)

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IN CŒNA DOMINI: A papal bull issued annually on Holy Thursday for several centuries, famous in European history as formulating the condemnation of numerous heresies. According to ancient custom, on certain days proceedings were instituted and excommunication pronounced in the Church against persons obstinately disobedient. Such days were the Thursday in Holy Week, Ascension Day, and the festival of SS. Peter and Paul. The first seems to have been the most usual; it was *dies indulgentiæ*, the day on which penitents were received again into the Church, and thus the excommunication of the impenitent made a proportionately stronger impression. The excommunication of Henry IV. by Paschal II. was pronounced on that day in 1102, and that of Frederick II. by Gregory IX. in 1227. These acts were directed against individuals; but in the thirteenth century the so-called "general proceedings" became customary at Rome, and on Thursday before Easter whole classes of persons were excommunicated. These proceedings were aimed especially at heretics; and the proclamations issued at various times against them were combined into one decree by Nicholas II. in 1280. Later popes, especially Urban V. in 1364, made use of and revised this collection, to which additions were made from time to time, especially after the reforming movements of the fifteenth century. Luther and his adherents were included in 1524. Supplementary condemnations were appended by Paul III. (1536), Pius V.

(1566), Gregory XIII. (1578–83), Paul V. (1609), and Urban VIII. (1627). In its latest form the bull begins with an excommunication of various heretics and schismatics individually, and condemns also those who appeal from papal decrees to a general council, pirates, wreckers, etc. It is not to be wondered at that this bull was regarded by secular powers as an infringement of their rights and its proclamation prohibited. Clement XIV. discontinued its publication at Rome in 1770, and Pius IX. finally abolished it by the constitution *Apostolicæ sedis* of Oct. 12, 1869, though this constitution is in certain points, especially as concerns heretics, practically a repetition of the *Bulla Cœnæ*.

(E. Friedberg.)

Bibliography: The bull of Nicholas III. is given in Thatcher and McNeal, *Source Book*, pp. 309–310. Consult: Le Bret, *Pragmatische Geschichte des . . . Bulla in cœna Domini*, Ulm, 1769; F. H. Reusch, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher*, i. 71, 88, 603, Bonn, 1883; J. J. I. von Döllinger, *Das Papstthum*, pp. 215 sqq., Munich, 1892.

INCHOFER (IMHOFER), MELCHIOR: Roman Catholic theologian; b. at Vienna (according to others at Güns [55 m. n.e. of Graz], Hungary) 1584 or 1585; d. at Milan Sept. 28, 1648. In 1607 he entered the order of the Jesuits in Rome, and after the completion of his novitiate went to Messina, where he taught philosophy, mathematics, and theology. In his *Epistolæ Beatæ Mariæ Virginis ad Messanenses veritas vindicata* (Messina, 1629) he endeavored to prove the genuineness of the epistle and the apostolic activity of Paul at Messina, but the Congregation of the Index summoned him to Rome and suppressed the first edition, although he was permitted to remove all objectionable features from his work and republish it under the title *De Epistola Beatæ Virginis Mariæ ad Messanenses Conjectatio* (Viterbo, 1631). In 1634 he resumed his professorship in Sicily, where he remained until 1636, when his order called him to Rome that he might devote himself entirely to literary labors. His dispute with Joachim Pasqualigo on the immorality of making castrati, and his appointment as member of the congregation of the Index and of the holy office dissatisfied him with Rome, and at his own request he was transferred in 1646 to the college at Macerata, where he intended to devote his leisure hours to the compilation of a history of martyrs. For this purpose he undertook a journey to the Ambrosian library at Milan, but died on the way. In addition to the works already noted, he wrote *Annales ecclesiastici regni Hungariæ* (Rome, 1644), and *Historia sacræ Latinitatis* (Messina, 1635), in which he elevated Latin to the rank of a heavenly court language and regarded it as the speech of the blessed. He was also the author of some astronomical works, and in three polemical treatises (1638–41) he defended the order of the Jesuits and its mode of education. He attained his chief fame, however, by the anonymous *Lucii Cornelii Europæi monarchia Solipsorum, ad virum clarissimum Leonem Allatium* (Venice, 1645), which was incorrectly attributed to him.

(G. E. Steitz†.)

Bibliography: Nicéron, *Mémoires*, xxxv. 322–346, xxxix. 165–230; A. and A. de Backer, *Bibliothèque de la compagnie de Jésus*, ed. C. Sommervogel, iv. 561 sqq., Paris, 1893; *KL*, vi. 629–631.

INCLUSI, INCLUSÆ: The name given to a monk or a nun who was permanently enclosed in a cell near or within a cloister, from which withdrawal might take place only by permission of the bishop. The life of the secluded nun is portrayed in the *Regula sive institutio inclusarum* ascribed to Ailred (q. v.), *MPL*, cxcv., cf. xxxii. 1451 sqq.

INCORPORATION: As applied to an ecclesiastical benefice, its union with a spiritual corporation, such as a monastery, with reference to things spiritual and temporal. Such incorporations occurred frequently as early as the ninth century. The effect was that the office connected with the benefice ceased to exist as an independent office, and passed over, with the temporalities, to the corporation, which was charged with the performance of all duties attached thereto. In the case of a parochial benefice, the corporation was required to appoint a vicar, who exercised the actual cure of souls. Different from these complete incorporations were others which related only to the temporalities of a benefice. These came into the possession of the monastic or collegiate body, which was required to set apart a sufficient sum (*portio congrua*) for the maintenance of the priest in charge. His spiritual functions remained untouched, and he was appointed by the bishop on the nomination of the corporation. Though he was called *vicarius*, and not *parochus*, he differed only in name from a regular rector, and was subject only to the bishop in regard to the exercise of his spiritual functions. The Council of Trent struck at the root of the many abuses which this system had brought about, and forbade the union of parish churches with monasteries, collegiate chapters, hospitals, etc. Since that time such incorporations have occurred but rarely, by special permission of the pope and where a good reason could be shown.

(F. W. H. Wasserschleben†.)

Bibliography: G. C. Neller, *De genuina idea et signis parochialitatis primitivæ ejusque principio incorporatione*, and *De juribus parochi primitivi*, both in A. Schmidt, *Thesaurus juris ecclesiastici*, vol. vi., Bamberg, 1772; Richter, *Kirchenrecht*, pp. 464, 617; E. Friedberg, *Lehrbuch des . . . Kirchenrechts*, p. 302, ib., 1895; P. Hinschius, *Kirchenrecht . . . in Deutschland*, ii. 395, 436, 464, Berlin, 1871–78.

INCORRUPTICOLÆ: A name given to the Aphthartodocetæ. See Monophysites.

INDEPENDENT METHODISTS. See Methodists, IV., 9.

INDEPENDENT (POLISH) CATHOLICS. See Old Catholics, III., § 1.

INDEPENDENTS: A name given to the Congregationalists in England. See Congregationalists.

INDEX LIBRORUM PROHIBITORUM, sometimes called **INDEX EXPURGATORIUS.** See Censorship and Prohibition of Books.

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I. History.—1. To 550 B.C.: The history of India before 563 B.C., the probable date of Buddha's birth, is obscure, but its general outlines have been inferred from the Vedic writings. The mountains and forests were inhabited by wild tribes of dark color and rude habits, now represented by the Bhils, Kols, and other tribes, and classed under the name Kolarian. These appear to have been the true aborigines. A more civilized race, classed under the name Dravidian, and now represented by the Tamils, Telugus, Kanarese, and other peoples of Southern India inhabited the great plains, living in settled communities and under fixed laws. They probably represent a later wave of emigration. The inference from many sources is that these Dravidians were tree and serpent worshipers, with a phallic cult. At the same early period, before the dawn of authentic Indian history, a hardy race with fair features lived on the steppes of Southern Russia. They appear to have been nomads, and wandered according to the exigencies of their pastoral life. As they increased in numbers, their tribes migrated in different directions. Some going westward occupied Europe. One tribe settled in Persia, becoming known as the Iranians. Another, now named Indo-Aryans, overcame the great mountain barriers, and, making its way through the high passes of the Himalayas, occupied what is now Eastern Afghanistan and the Punjab. This invasion met with resistance from the Dravidian aborigines, but the Aryans were a stronger race and overcame them. This invasion occurred perhaps about 1500 B.C. Judging from the earliest Vedic hymns, the Aryans were nature worshipers. The natural phenomena witnessed in the nomadic life made an impression of power, and the nomads inferred deities as the cause; hence they worshiped the sun, the moon, the sky, wind, fire, and other phenomena as gods and goddesses. A second Aryan invasion is believed to have occurred, perhaps about 1000 B.C., resisted by the earlier invaders, but ending in the amalgamation of Aryans and Dravidians in a national life extending as far as the Vindhya Mountains and Narmada River. In this amalgamation the Aryan influence predominated. Their religious ideas, though more or less modified by contact with the religious ideas of the aboriginal peoples, became the prevailing religious ideas of all Northern India. The religious as well as political center in this period of amalgamation of the two Indo-Aryan waves and the aborigines, from say 1000 B.C. to 550 B.C., was the *Madhya desha*, now the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

1. Early Peoples and Their Religions.

The classes into which the Indo-Aryans naturally fell, as religion and war were emphasized and material civilization advanced, gradually stiffened into fixed divisions or castes which allowed no passing from one to the other. These were: the Brahman or priestly caste; the Kshatriya or warrior; the Vaishya, a general name for artizan castes; and the Sudra or aborigines, who were added as a fourth caste, with its subdivisions. That there were ever only four castes is not probable. The names of the four castes were artificial designations, given to groupings of similar occupations, gradually becoming fixed in religious and social nomenclature, both as to number and supposed divine origin. In this period, 1000 B.C. to 550 B.C., the influence of the priests, or Brahmans, gradually increased until they became supreme. Learning was confined to them, and every institution of State and every private enterprise became dependent upon them. It was in this period that the Vedic literature arose. The Vedic hymns (see Brahmanism, I., §§ 2–4), in the language of early Sanskrit, had come down through tradition in connection with the religious ritual. They were unwritten, but had been gathered into a *Samhita* or collection, known as the *Rigveda*. Other collections were made, having in view the special purpose of the hymns. Those containing sacrificial formulæ formed the *Yajurveda;* those with sacrificial chants, the *Samaveda;* and in a somewhat later period the *Atharvaveda*, a collection of incantations. These collections, or *Samhitas*, were already unintelligible except to the most learned, and hence an explanatory literature arose, called the *Brahmanas*. Among the Brahmans there were those who were philosophically inclined, and answered speculative questions regarding God and the universe in the *Aranyakas* and *Upanishads* (see Brahmanism, II., § 1). This speculation led to a monistic explanation of the universe and its origin, though the existence of gods and goddesses, as subordinate beings, was still believed. Thus the Vedantic philosophy took its rise, which, in one form or another, has dominated Indian thought from that time to the present day. In substance this philosophy taught that there is but one real substance, *Brahma*. The universe and all intelligences are but modes of *Brahma's* existence. The mode is temporary, and hence lacks reality. The only real thing is *Brahma*. The only way of deliver-

2. Developments of Caste, Literature, and Philosophy.

ance from the evils of existence is to have the self-consciousness of the individual pass into the unconsciousness of the universal *Brahma*.

3. The Art of Writing.

It was during the latter part of this period, about 600 B.C., that the art of writing was introduced into India. There had long existed trade relations with Babylonia through the Persian Gulf, and India had become acquainted with the Aramaic alphabet. This alphabet, somewhat modified, came into use in northwestern India. It now goes under the name of *Kharoshti*, but did not long survive. Another script, probably the invention of Indian minds, and now known as the *Brahmi* script, supplanted the former and spread over India, becoming the parent of all Indian scripts. The introduction of the art of writing had a marked influence on Indian religious history, traceable from the time when Buddhism and Jainism (qq.v.) used the vernacular to spread their faiths. The Brahmans, however, partly because of the perishable nature of the material used for writing, partly because of a natural conservatism, and partly because the Sanskrit was held too sacred to be committed to writing, did not use the new invention for the preservation of what came down to them from the sacred past. Thus Vedic hymns still passed from generation to generation through the avenue of memory.

4. Amalgamation of Civilizations.

This long period, from unknown times to the rise of Buddhism and its contemporary Jainism, about 550 B.C., which included in its latter portion the amalgamation of two different civilizations, Aryan and Dravidian, and the commingling of their religious ideas, but with supremacy to the Aryan, may be considered the preparatory period in the development of the religious history of India. Not until the amalgamation of the two races was complete could there be a history proper of Indian religious life. The Aryan race supplied India with her philosophy suited to the intelligent; the Dravidian race supplied the elements for worship and the practical religious life. Each was made to explain the other, and so far as can be gathered, a common elastic faith, suited to different intelligences, and undisturbed by heresies, pervaded the civilized part of India.

2. 550 B.C.–1001 A.D.: During the second period, the amalgamation of the Aryan and Dravidian civilizations and faiths having been previously completed, Indian religious thought and life developed undisturbed. The invasion of India by Alexander the Great in 327 B.C. was a temporary exception to freedom from foreign invasion, as was the Mohammedan occupation of the valley of the Indus 711 A.D. to 829 A.D. These invasions left no permanent mark on the religious history of India. Syrian Christians had settled on the west coast in the second century, and had increased in numbers, but whatever influence these adherents of Nestorian Christianity exerted, it was, so far as it can be traced, purely local. The rise and spread of Buddhism and Jainism were natural developments of Indian thought in its struggle to answer the great problems of existence, and of practical life. Indian religious thought and life thus separated into three main streams, the old form of Brahmanism and the heresies of Buddhism and Jainism (qq.v.). The heresies spread with greatest effect among the masses of non-Aryan origin, and soon became serious rivals of the old faith. The philosophy of both being essentially Vedantic, it was not against the philosophy as such that the revolt came, but against the particular explanation and application of this philosophy to the experiences of human life. The propaganda of both these heresies was conducted with vigor. Their spread was among non-Brahmanical castes, and especially among those who were the descendants of the aborigines. Thus Brahmanism, Jainism, and Buddhism contended amid the lower forms of religious belief and worship of the great mass of the non-Aryan aborigines. Under the inspiration of Asoka, 150 B.C., who, by his wide conquest, founded the first Indian empire, Buddhism spread over the larger part of India. The inscribed pillars and rocks, the Buddhist stupas and cave temples, still found over India, are witnesses both to the spread of Buddhism, and to its command of the intelligence and wealth of the country. Buddhism subsequently divided into two schools, the *Hinayana* or "Little Vehicle," or adherents of the primitive faith, and the *Mahayana* or "Great Vehicle," the faith of the great mass of the Buddhists. In this latter form Buddhas, Bodhisatvas, and numerous deities and demons came to be worshiped, and their images in temples form a marked contrast to the simplicity and absence of images of primitive Buddhism. The cave temples of Nasik, Kuda, and the transformations in the Karla caves, by which the older and simpler sculptures are cut away, and others more sensuous are produced in their stead, are illustrations of the later form of Buddhism as recorded in stone.

1. Rise of Buddhism and Jainism.

2. Renascence of Brahmanism: the Philosophers.

The Second Indian Empire under the Gupta Dynasty, 320 A.D., saw a decided revival of Brahmanism, manifested in several ways. There was first the gradual assimilation of Buddhism and the lower strata of religious ideas of the masses into a conglomerate of ideas and practises which goes under the name Hinduism (q.v.). Among the outer manifestations were the development of religious architecture, that assumed wonderful proportions and beauty, and attracted to itself the religious life of the people. A further manifestation was a revival of Sanskrit literature, resulting in the eighteen *Puranas*, the *Dharma Shastras*, and *Tantras*. Classical Sanskrit literature also took its rise at this time. In the centuries from 320 A.D., the beginning of the Gupta era, to 1001, the date of the first great Mohammedan invasion, India was divided into many minor states, continually warring with one another, and yet those troublous times were not unfavorable to the development of the philosophic spirit or to the application of philosophy to the daily religious and social life. The great Sankaracharya, who gave Vedantism the fixed form that has continued to the present day, flourished about

800 A.D. He was a Brahman of southern India who attempted to bring into one logical system the philosophic teachings of the *Upanishads*. He was a man of vast learning, and clear philosophical insight into the deepest problems of existence, who advanced Indian thought to its supreme expression. His philosophy is called the *Advaita*, or pure monism. Two other philosophers of note, although connected in date with the period of Mohammedan influence, belong really to the latter part of this period of undisturbed development. Ramanuja, a Brahman of southern India (b. 1017), taught a modified Vedantism, called the *Vishishtadvaita*, or modified monism, which admits that *Brahma* may be said to possess qualities. Madhavacharya, also of southern India (b. 1119 A.D.), taught the *Dvaita* philosophy, or dualism, the reality of *Brahma* and of finite souls and matter as distinct essences. As the Mohammedan period approached, however, both literature and philosophy declined, and the ethically lower forms of worship and ritual assumed a dominating place.

3. Decadence of Religion.

During this long period of about 1,500 years of quiet from foreign influences, which yet showed much of internal political commotion, religious thought was by no means stagnant. New thoughts of life, new explanations of phenomena, new practises in worship, and new moral ideas were developed. In the process of amalgamation of the higher religious ideas of the Aryans with the lower ideas of the aborigines, the higher did not maintain their moral excellence, but descended to the plane of the lower, so that the Hinduism of the period immediately preceding the Mohammedan invasion became corrupt and superstitious. Buddhism had disappeared as a moral force by assimilation with Brahmanism, and Jainism had no moral power to withstand the prevailing darkness. This period was consequently the darkest and most superstitious in the religious life of India.

3. The Period of Mohammedan Influence, 1001–1761 A.D.: A temporary contact of Mohammedanism with Hinduism occurred soon after the death of Mohammed (632). The new faith made rapid progress, and those who were inspired by it were soon moved to the conquest of other nations. Hardly fifteen years after the death of Mohammed, an expedition from Arabia, under Othman, sought a foothold in Sindh. In 711 Kasim conquered and settled in the Indus valley. But by 829 the invaders were driven away, and the Hindus regained their hold in the Indus valley. This temporary contact with Mohammedanism left no visible marks on Indian religious history. The permanent contact of this religion with Hinduism may be said to have begun with the successful raid of Mahmud of Ghazni in 1001, resulting in the defeat of Jaipal, the Hindu raja of Lahore. Wave after wave of Mohammedans from beyond the natural frontier of India now flowed through the high passes of the Himalayas, and overwhelmed the northern plains. They met with fierce resistance, but one by one the divided kingdoms fell before the superior foreign force, till at length the larger part of India fell into their hands. The last effort to extend Mohammedan power resulted in the conquest of the great Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar in southern India in 1565. This period may be said to have ended with the battle of Panipat in 1761, in the victory of the Afghans over the rising Maratha power. The Marathas, however, instead of being crushed, turned upon their foe, and before their triumphal march the Mohammedan power melted away.

1. The Mohammedan Conquest.

2. First Effects upon Hindu Institutions.

This period was one of humiliation for Hinduism. While many of the Mohammedan kings were tolerant of Hinduism, others were fanatical iconoclasts. Aside from the pages of written history, the signs of this fanaticism may be read in the ruined temples, in the transformation of temples into mosques, and in the large Mohammedan population of Indian origin, descendants of those who were forcibly converted, or became converts through mercenary motives. The Emperor Akbar, 1542–1605, was the most tolerant of the Mohammedan rulers, and took a lively interest in Hindu literature and religion, his tolerance going even so far as the promulgation of an eclectic creed which included what seemed to him the best in Mohammedanism, Hinduism, Christianity, and other creeds with which he sought to make himself familiar. Mohammedan influence on Hinduism during this period appears to be twofold. On the one hand it led Hindus to cling more tenaciously to their traditional faith. Their hatred of their fanatical rulers burst into fierce flame whenever possible; rebellion was ever ready to break out against those who treated them and their faith so cruelly. On the other hand, the higher moral character of the Mohammedan creed could not but affect Indian thought, and thus a strong monotheistic current began to set in, which in one form or another is still exerting influence.

3. General Results: Rise of the Sects.

The resultant of these two influences, combined with the natural development of Hinduism within itself, was the springing into existence of innumerable sects. Among the founders of those sects representing monotheistic teaching, may be mentioned Kabir (d. c. 1449). He was a disciple of Ramanand, and taught the worship of one God, truth as the great moral code, retirement from the world as the remedy against the passions and desires, and as the best path to meditation on God, the chief way of salvation. Nanak Shah (b. near Lahore 1469; see Sikhs, Sikhism) taught a doctrine which differed little from that of his predecessor, Kabir. His philosophy was practically Vedantism, while with the Mohammedan he taught the oneness of God, whether as Allah or Hari. He opposed caste and taught the brotherhood of man, and his followers developed into a sect of no small dimensions. Through the stress of Mohammedan persecution this sect, under Guru Govind, one of Nanak's successors, took on a military constitution, and developed later into the Sikh nation. The followers of these religious leaders in course of time subdivided into many sects. Chaitanya, a Vishnuite Brahman (b. in Bengal

1485), at the age of twenty-four became an ascetic, and began a wandering life preaching the doctrine of *Bhakti*. He admitted as his disciples members of all castes, even Mohammedans. The doctrine of *Bhakti*, or salvation through impassioned devotion to some god or goddess, was his fundamental tenet, and it took the place of the more sober ways of "knowledge" and "works" (*Dyanamarga* and *Karmamarga*). Through Chaitanya and his disciples *Bhakti* became an accepted form of religious worship, and largely supplemented the practise of seeking salvation through contemplation, or through moral deeds. *Bhakti* practically disassociated morals from worship, and made possible forms of worship that were almost the embodiment of immorality. The later grosser forms belong, however, not to the teachings of Chaitanya, but to the departure of his successors from his ideals. Aside from the regular orthodox sects with their philosophy and worship, many special sects arose in this period. Vishnu, Shiva and Shakti (the female principle) began to be worshiped in special forms, many of them extravagant and even immoral. The followers of Shakti divided into the *Dakshanis*, or right-hand followers, and *Vamis*, or left-hand followers, the latter developing a secret worship of extravagant immorality. On the other hand, near the close of this period a number of philosophers and religious poets arose, who tried to lift the people from the moral degradation into which they had fallen to a higher life and thought supplied by the best of Hindu philosophy and practical religion. In western India may be mentioned such men as Tukaram and Ramdas, who founded no sect, but whose loftier thoughts were a reforming power, while their influence continues to the present. With the rise of the Marathas under Shivaji (b. 1627; d. 1680) and the gradual extension of their power over the larger part of India, and with the resulting decline of the Mohammedan power, the environment of Indian religious life changed, and Hinduism had an opportunity to develop along lines natural to it.

4. Period of Contact with Christianity: From early times India has been in contact with the West, though no effects upon the religious life can be detected. There are traditions of Indians visiting the "White Land," *Shwetadvipa*, but Indian accounts of this land are mythical. The first important contact came with the invasion of northern India by Alexander the Great in 327 B.C. From that time to the arrival of the Portuguese very little accurate knowledge of India reached Europe. Rome, however, traded with both coasts of India. There is a tradition, not fully authenticated, that in 883 Alfred the Great of England sent an ambassador named Sighelmus to India to the court of some prince, and to visit the tomb of St. Thomas. But it is not until the end of the fifteenth century that India began to feel the influence of European nations. This modern and permanent contact of India with the West began in 1498, when Vasco da Gama landed at Calicut, and when later, in 1510, Goa was captured by Admiral Alfonso d'Albuquerque. Along the west coast Dio, Bassein, Bombay, Goa, Mangalore, Cannanore, Cranganore, Calicut, and Cochin were soon after occupied by the Portuguese, as also St. Thomas, Masulipatam, and Negapatam, on the east coast. In 1560 the archbishop of Goa tried to force the people to become Christians, when Portuguese cruelty in these mistaken efforts excited the hatred of both Hindus and Mohammedans (see below, II., § 1).

1. Alexander the Great to Vasco da Gama.

The first authenticated visit of an Englishman to India occurred in 1579, when Thomas Stephens (b. in Wiltshire c. 1549, educated at New College, Oxford, to escape persecution went to Rome, and there joined the Society of Jesus) was selected to be a missionary to India, and arrived at Goa in Oct., 1579. He acquired a thorough knowledge of Sanskrit and Marathi, and in his forty years of active labor produced many works, of which those extant are a catechism on Christian doctrine, a grammar of the Konkani language, a Christian *Puran* in Marathi in the Konkani dialect, and an account of his voyage to Goa, reprinted in J. H. Moore, *New and Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels* (2 vols., London, 1785). The *Puran* has no little literary merit, and covers the ground from the Biblical account of the Creation to the closing scenes in the life of Christ. The next Englishmen to arrive in India were James Newberry, Ralph Fitch, William Bots, and James Story, who came overland from the Persian Gulf in 1583. The Portuguese suspected them of being traders and threw them into prison, but they were soon released through the mediation of Thomas Stephens. As a result of the interest awakened by these and other English travelers the East India Company was formed in 1600 and England's permanent contact with India began. Gradually India passed into the hands of the East India Company. In 1858 by act of parliament the East India Company was abolished, and the government of India was transferred to the British crown in the person of Queen Victoria. The religious policy of both the East India Company and of the British government was contrary to that of the Portuguese. There was no interference with the religious life of the people; and Indian thought in contact with Christianity, directly presented by missionaries and indirectly through literature and personal contact with European Christians, has been in process of natural development, and is approaching the Christian point of view regarding the relations of God and man. This change is mostly confined to the classes affected by the higher modern education. Missionary effort in the past two centuries has also borne fruit in organized Christian churches, the result of which appears in the census returns.

2. Englishmen in India.

II. Christianity in India: Contact with Roman Catholic Christianity began in the arrival of Vasco da Gama in 1498. The Portuguese exhibited a proselytizing zeal, both among the Syrian Christians and the Hindus. The first regularly equipped Roman mission, consisting of friars, arrived from Portugal in 1500. St. Francis Xavier (see Francis Xavier, Saint) arrived in 1542, and under

1. Roman Catholic Missions.

his personal zeal and direction of missionary effort large numbers were converted to Christianity. In 1560 the Inquisition was established at Goa and its cruel labors stained the Christian name. With varying fortunes Roman Catholic missionary enterprise has continued to the present day, and is participated in by priests from many of the European nations. They derive their chief support from the Association for the Propagation of the Faith, and from the Society of the Holy Childhood. They take an honored part in the education of Indian youths, maintaining many schools and colleges. Their colleges are at Calcutta, Bombay, Negapatam, and Mangalore. See Missions to the Heathen, Roman Catholic.

2. Protestant Missions.

The first Protestant missionaries to arrive in India were Lutherans, Bartholomew Ziegenbalg (q.v.) and Heinrich Plutschau, in 1705. They came under the patronage of the king of Denmark to the Danish settlement at Tranquebar. Ziegenbalg began the translation of the Bible into Tamil. In 1719 Benjamin Schultze arrived and carried on his successful labor in Tanjore. He completed the translation of the Bible in 1725, which was the first translation of the Bible into an Indian language. The East India Company were not favorable to missionary enterprise in their sphere of influence, and deported back to England those who attempted to work within it. William Carey (q.v.), of the Baptist Mission, arrived at Calcutta in 1793, settled at Serampur, fifteen miles from Calcutta, at that time a Danish settlement, and he and his colleagues began at once the task of translating the Bible into many languages. Within ten years this book was translated and printed in part or whole, into thirty-one languages. The London Missionary Society began its work in 1798, when Nathaniel Forsyth was sent to Calcutta, who was joined in 1812 by Mr. and Mrs. May. They devoted themselves to educational work so successfully that by the end of 1815 Forsyth had under his charge twenty schools with 1,651 pupils, 258 of these being Brahmans. The same society began work in Ceylon in 1805, in Travancore in 1806, in Surat, Western India, in 1815, but transferred its work in Gujarat to the Irish Presbyterian Mission in 1847. The East India Company refused to allow missionaries to India to be carried in any of its vessels, and in order to reach India the first missionaries had to go to Copenhagen, whence, in a Danish vessel, they sailed to Tranquebar, and thence to Ceylon. The first missionaries to western India, Gordon Hall (q.v.) and Samuel Nott, arrived at Bombay Feb. 11, 1813, sent by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Owing to the policy of opposition to all missionary enterprise which characterized the East India Company, and on account of suspicion because they were Americans, they were forbidden to work in Bombay, and were about to be deported, when a change in the charter of the Company left them at liberty to prosecute their work. They assumed the name of the American Marathi Mission. Educational work was actively pressed; the first school for boys in western India on modern methods was started by this mission in the city of Bombay in 1815, and the first school for girls in India in 1824. The Church Missionary Society of England sent out its first representative in 1814. In 1807 five Anglican chaplains in Calcutta had obtained a grant of money from the Church Missionary Society in London for the translation of the Scriptures and the employment of Indian Christian readers. The first reader employed was Abdul Masih, a converted Mohammedan. The first missionaries of this society were Charles Theophilus Ewald Rhenius and J. C. Schnarré, sent in 1814 to Madras; later Schnarré was transferred to Tranquebar. Norton, Greenwood, and Gattbald Schörter followed in 1815. The first missionary of the Church of Scotland, D. Mitchell, arrived in Bombay Jan., 1823, and started work at Bankot, on the coast south of Bombay. Under the same agency Alexander Duff arrived at Calcutta in 1830, and began a work ranking among the most effective yet accomplished. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel began its work in India in 1826. Since then many societies and many missionaries from many lands have been engaged in spreading a knowledge of Christianity throughout the length and breadth of India. Protestant activity has been shown (1) in the direct preaching of the Christian faith, (2) in translating and circulating the Bible, (3) in preparing and circulating a vernacular Christian literature, (4) in education from primary village schools to colleges, (5) in medical work, (6) in industrial education, and (7) in a great variety of philanthropic institutions. Protestant missionaries were the pioneers in modern education for both boys and girls.

3. Effects on Native Life and Thought.

The influence of Christianity on Indian thought and life is, however, more distinctly marked in the change of sentiment that has been taking place almost unconsciously in the native mind. This may be seen in the rise of theism, essentially Christian on its spiritual and ethical side. It first found its clear expression in Rammohan Roy (q.v.), who founded the *Atmiya Sabha*, which later developed into the *Brahmo Somaj* (see below, III., 1), and was followed by Devendranath Tagore (see Tagore, Devendranath), and he by Keshav Chandra Sen (see Sen, Keshav Chandra). Under the leadership of the last-named the theistic movement, as expressed in the *Sadharan Brahmo Somaj* in Bengal and the *Prarthana Somaj* (see below, III., 2) in Bombay, has become practically Christian in philosophy, sentiment and practise. Similar effects may be discovered also in the *Arya Somaj* (see below, III., 3), which has its chief strength in northern India. Christian influence is also clearly discernible in the general sentiment of the people who have been reached by modern education. This influence is reflected in Indian literature of both ephemeral and permanent type. It is distinctly recognized on the platform in public speech. It is noticeable in the nobler moral lives of those who come into prominence as leaders of popular movements. It shows itself in increasing forms of benevolence and philanthropy. It is conspicuously felt in the growing ease with which the Christian and Hindu find a common ground of spiritual and ethical belief and

corresponding practise. The social reform movement has a growing influence, advocating female education, widow remarriage, restrictions on the caste system, the elevation of the masses, and the abolition of the seclusion of women. Christmas week of each year focuses many of those interests that point to the awakening of India. The National Congress, a political gathering, made up of representatives of various associations in the different provinces, meets at some large center every Christmas week. It professes to voice the feelings of India regarding desired political reforms. This large gathering makes it convenient for other conferences to meet and discuss important subjects. The National Social Conference discusses and urges the necessity of internal reform; the Industrial Conference brings together those who are desirous of encouraging the industries of the country. An industrial exhibition is also held, in which the chief place is given to such things as are manufactured in India. The theistic conference is composed of delegates from the Brahmo and Prarthana Somajes. There are many other religious gatherings held at the same time. Christmas week has thus grown to be a period which registers the progress of India in her political, social, industrial, and to some extent in her religious life.

III. Native Theistic Societies.—1. The Brahmo Somaj: The history of the Brahmo Somaj in its early period is the history of its leaders, Rammohan Roy (q.v.), Devendranath Tagore (see TAGORE, DEVENDRANATH), and Keshav Chandra Sen (see SEN, KESHAV CHANDRA). The movement appears as the result of the thought not of the many, but of the few. These great leaders did not voice the multitude; the multitude voiced them.

Raja Rammohan Roy (b. May 22, 1772 or 1774; d. Sept. 27, 1833) was of orthodox Brahman family, and through contact with Mohammedanism became an earnest opponent of polytheism and idolatry before his sixteenth year. A study of religions led him to a belief that all religions were based on monotheism which had became debased into polytheism, while an acquaintance with the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures gave his monotheism a Christian tinge. In 1814, on moving to Calcutta, he began to propagate his beliefs, became the leader of a band of young men, and founded the *Atmiya Sabha*, which ultimately developed into the *Brahmo Sabha*, the name of which was subsequently changed to *Brahmo Somaj*. The *Sabha* was a platform for discussion and in no sense a church with a creed. This active propaganda bore abundant fruit, and the year 1830 saw a building completed, dedicated to monotheistic worship and serving as a center for the spread of theism. Rammohan Roy's life marks the period from the conception of the theistic movement through what may be called its philosophic stage. The movement ran along lines of philosophy and ethics, but not of spirituality, philanthropy, or social reform. This first period may be styled the intellectual period.

Eight years after the death of Raja Rammohan Roy the leadership of the theistic movement fell to Maharishi Devendranath Tagore, who, at the age of eighteen, passed through a great change. Wealth and all its accompanying ease became distasteful to him, and a passion to realize God's presence possessed his soul. An accident led him to the deep study of the Upanishads and to become a religious teacher. He founded the *Tatvabodhini Sabha* and gathered around him sympathetic friends. In 1842 he first came into contact with the Brahmo Somaj, then in a languishing condition, and was attracted to it by common sympathy. Becoming its leader he brought at once new life to the society. Intensely devotional and spiritual, he led his followers out of the intellectual coldness of their condition into a spiritual life and the fellowship of a common faith. A manifestation of this new life was the signing of a covenant which separated them into a distinct religious body on a theistic basis.

The next leader was Keshav Chandra Sen. He had come early into contact with Christian literature and missionaries, and his whole mode of thought was molded by western ideas. His advent into the Brahmo Somaj in 1859 was the signal for social reforms in the Somaj itself, such as the removal of the sacred thread, liberty for women, intercaste dining and marriages, and the like. In 1862 the conservative religious element representing the *Tatvabodhini Sabha* was reorganized as the *Adi Somaj*. The application of theistic principles to the social life led to a secession, in 1866, from the conservative party of the Brahmo Somaj, and the founding of the Brahmo Somaj of India, making the third period of development, that of applied theism. Unfortunately Keshav Chandra Sen lost his mental balance. Coming under the influence of the Vishnuites of Bengal of the Bhakti school, he introduced their fervent religious exercises into the worship of the Somaj, a backward step which led to disastrous results. He began to imagine himself endowed with higher power than other men, and his followers, led by this delusion, gave him divine worship, which, instead of rejecting, he accepted. A strong party, however, refused to follow the eccentric course of their leader, and when the climax was reached in the Cuch Behar marriage case, they withdrew in 1878, forming the *Sadharan Brahmo Somaj* (q.v.), while the old Somaj continued under the name of the "New Dispensation." The Adi Somaj, the New Dispensation, and the Sadharan Somaj have all continued, but the Sadharan Somaj has been the progressive branch, active in religious and social reform.

The stages of development in this theistic movement are as follows: The first stage was intellectual breaking away from polytheism and idolatry, with its inspiration largely sought for in Vedic literature; the second stage, the spiritual and devotional added to the first, with inspiration still largely Vedic; with the third stage, under a more decided Christian inspiration came the application of theism to the social life. In the fourth stage there is development along all lines under a stronger Christian influence than ever before in its history.

2. The Prarthana Somaj of Bombay: English education in the Western Presidency early led to an interest in religious and social reform. As one of the results a secret society was formed in Bombay, called the *Paramhans Mandali*, under the

leadership of Dadoba Pandurang. The object of the society was the encouragement of social reform, such as the abolition of caste, the introduction of the custom of widow remarriage, and the renunciation of idolatry. The intention was to have the society become public when its membership numbered 1,000, but in the meantime a spy divulged the secrets of the society, and such was the excitement resulting that the society was practically broken up. Under the influence of education and the work of Christian missionaries the religious and social ferment, however, still went on, and the soil became ripe for a theistic movement among the thoughtful. Keshav Chandra Sen paid a missionary visit to the Bombay Presidency in 1865, and soon after a branch of the Brahmo Somaj was started in Bombay. The 31st of March, 1867, is considered the anniversary day of the Bombay Somaj, which took the name of the *Prarthana* ("Prayer") *Somaj*. On Dec. 9, 1872, the foundation-stone of the Prarthana Somaj *Mandir* was laid by Pratab Chandra Muzamdar. Among the prominent men who have had a leading part in the growth of this Somaj are Atmaram Pandurang, Chintaman Narayan Bhat, Narayan Mahadev Paramanand, Waman Abaji Modak, Mahadev Govind Ranade, and at the present time Justice N. G. Chandavarkar.

Branches of the Prarthana Somaj have been formed at Ahmedabad, Puna, Ahmednagar, Satara, and Ratnagiri. The Bombay Prarthana Somaj has a membership of 130, and carries on various philanthropic agencies, chief among which is the Orphanage at Pandharpur, and night schools for the poorer classes in Bombay. Its Sunday services are conducted by the learned scholar, Dr. Gopal Krishna Bhandarkar, the Hon. N. G. Chandavarkar, and others. It supports a missionary, V. R. Shinde, who gives himself to the interests of the Somaj in Bombay and in other cities of the Presidency. The creed of the Prarthana Somaj is as follows: (1) God is the creator of the universe. He is the only true God; there is no other God beside him. He is eternal, spiritual, infinite, the store of all good, all joy, without parts, without form, one without a second, the ruler of all, all pervading, omniscient, almighty, merciful, all holy, and the savior of sinners. (2) His worship alone leads to happiness in this world and the next. (3) Love and reverence for him, an exclusive faith in him, praying and singing to him spiritually with these feelings, and doing the things pleasing to him constitute his true worship. (4) To worship and pray to images and other created objects is not the true mode of divine adoration. (5) God does not incarnate himself, and there is no one book which has been directly revealed by God or is wholly infallible. (6) All men are his children; therefore they should behave toward each other as brethren. This is pleasing to God, and constitutes man's duty.

3. The Arya Somaj: The founder of the Arya Somaj was Dayanand Saraswati (q.v.). Unwilling to live the ordinary worldly life, he left his home and after few years of instruction began to traverse India proclaiming the Vedas as the only inspired revelation from God. He denounced idolatry, and preached reform in such social customs as seemed at variance with the direct or indirect teachings of the Vedas. In 1875 the first Arya Somaj was organized, and later many others were organized in northern India. The society has not thrived south of the Vindhya Mountains, but has found its best soil in the Punjab, the united province of Agra and Oudh, Rajputana, and Sindh, where there are reported about 700 branches. Its principles are directed against the caste system, and while its members are principally from the higher castes, many are from the lower castes. On its practical side the Somaj takes an interest in education, and maintains a college at Lahore and many schools for the teaching of the vernacular, English, and Sanskrit, and encourages female education by supporting numerous institutions. The Somaj approves early marriages, and encourages marriage of child-widows. The "Ten Principles" of the Arya Somaj are as follows: (1) God is the primary cause of all knowledge, and of everything known by its means. (2) God is all-truth, all-knowledge, all-beatitude, incorporeal, almighty, just, merciful, unbegotten, infinite, unchangeable, without beginning, incomparable, the support and the Lord of all, all-pervading, omniscient, imperishable, immortal, exempt from fear, eternal, holy, and the cause of the universe. To him alone worship is due. (3) The Vedas are the books of true knowledge, and it is the paramount duty of every Arya to read them or hear them read, to teach and preach them to others. (4) One should always be ready to accept truth and renounce untruth. (5) All actions ought to be done conformably to virtue, i.e., after a thorough consideration of right and wrong. (6) The primary object of the Somaj is to do good to the world by improving the physical, spiritual and social condition of mankind. (7) All ought to be treated with love, justice, and a due regard to their merits. (8) Ignorance ought to be dispelled and knowledge diffused. (9) No one ought to be contented with his own good alone; but every one ought to regard his prosperity as included in that of others. (10) In matters which affect the general social well-being of the whole of society, one ought to discard all differences and not allow his individuality to interfere, but in strictly personal matters every one may act with freedom.

JUSTIN E. ABBOTT.

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION ACCORDING TO RELIGION, CENSUS OF 1901.

Religion.	*Numbers.*
Brahmanic Hindu	207,050,557
Arya Somaj	92,419
Brahma Somaj	4,050
Sikh	2,195,339
Jain	1,334,148
Buddhist	9,476,759
Parsi	94,190
Mohammedan	62,458,077
Christian	2,923,241
Jew	18,228
Animist	8,584,148
Minor Religions or Unclassified	129,900
Total Population	294,361,056

CHRISTIANS.

Europeans	169,677
Eurasians	89,251
Natives	2,664,313

Christian Denominations	Numbers.
Abyssinian	9
Anglican	453,462
Armenian	1,053
Baptist	221,040
Calvinist	98
Congregationalist	37,874
Greek	656
Lutheran	155,455
Methodist	76,907
Presbyterian	53,931
Quaker	1,309
Roman Catholic	1,202,169
Salvation Army	18,960
Jacobite Syrian	248,741
Roman Syrian	322,586
Minor Denominations	22,699
Unclassified	106,292

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INDIANS OF NORTH AMERICA, MISSIONS TO THE.

Roman Catholic Missions (§ 1).
In New England (§ 2).
The Quakers (§ 3).
The Church of England and Protestant Episcopal Church (§ 4).
Moravians (§ 5).
Presbyterians (§ 6).
Congregationalists (§ 7).
Baptists (§ 8).
Methodists (§ 9).
Lutherans and (§ 10).
The National Indian Association (§ 11).

1. Roman Catholic Missions.

Christian missions among North American Indians began in Spanish territory before the early settlement farther north. Probably the earliest in what is now the United States were missions in the Southwest conducted by Spanish Franciscans, Fathers Juan de Padilla, Juan de la Cruz, and Descalona, who began work among the Quivira (Wichita), the Pecos, and the Tigua in 1542 or 1543. Two years later another Spanish Franciscan, Francisco Andres de Olmos, began to mission the tribes in the Texas wilderness. In 1565 St. Augustine was founded in Florida, where the work of Christianizing the natives was begun by the Jesuits and continued by the Franciscans. Within twenty years several mission stations were established along the coast from St. Augustine to St. Helena, in South Carolina. In 1633 English Jesuits began work among the Conoy and Patuxent tribes of Maryland and some of the Virginia tribes. By 1642 the Jesuits had established work in the North, founding what was known as the New York Mission among the Mohawks. This was soon followed by successful work among the Oneidas, the Cayugas, and the Senecas. About 1660 Jesuit missionaries began work among the tribes in Michigan, founding a mission on Keweenaw Bay, and work among the tribes of the upper lake region soon followed. By 1685 some of the New England tribes were reached and Jesuit missions established among the Penobscots and the Passamaquoddies, and about ten years later the Abenaki mission on the Kennebec was

started. The most noted, perhaps, were the Franciscan missions of California, the story of which is part of the history of the Pacific coast. The year 1769 saw the first of such missions established at San Diego, and by 1828 a chain of prosperous missions extended northward to San Francisco Bay. In 1833 these missions were disbanded by the revolutionary government of Mexico. Since that date the Roman Catholic Church has vigorously prosecuted its work among the various Indian tribes in the country, and in 1908, according to the *Official Catholic Directory*, claimed to have 95 Indian churches, 67 priests, and 48,194 adherents.

2. In New England.

The work of Roger Williams (q.v.), begun in 1636, may be considered the first Protestant mission work for American Indians, with the exception that a clergyman of the Church of England is said to have baptized an Indian convert in 1587. The story of Williams' work among the Pequots and Narragansetts is closely interwoven with the early colonial history of Massachusetts and Rhode Island. Williams speedily acquired the language of the tribes among whom he labored, published a "key" to it, and soon carried the Gospel to large numbers of Indians about Providence. His work, however, seems to have been of purely personal initiative, and on his death in 1683 was not continued by any organization. It was greatly reinforced and extended by the labors of the Congregational missionaries, Experience Mayhew and John Eliot (qq.v.), who entered the same field in 1646. Eliot applied to the General Court of Massachusetts and obtained a grant of land on which the Indians might build a town where they could live together, cultivate the arts of civilized life, and enjoy the benefits of religious instruction. In less than twenty-five years there were fourteen such settlements, to all of which Eliot extended his labors, and in 1660 the Indians at Natick were formed into a church. During these years he got together twenty-four regular congregations in Massachusetts and had gathered about him and trained more than twenty native preachers from various tribes, besides translating both the Old and New Testament into one of the Indian tongues—the first Bible to be given to the Red Man. This period of wonderful advance was succeeded by King Philip's War; Eliot's "praying Indians" were scattered, and the twenty-four congregations were reduced to four. A time of great hardship for the Indians followed when the General Court collected the remnant and removed them to the islands in the bay. Following the labors of Eliot, Congregational work was carried on among the Nauset Indians of Cape Cod and other tribes in eastern Massachusetts. About 1651 a mission was begun among the Quinnipiacs in Connecticut, and during the next century the Congregational Church carried on a most successful work among many of the tribal remnants of New England.

In 1643–48 a Lutheran minister, John Campanius Holm, chaplain of a Swedish colony in Delaware, did some mission work among the neighboring Indians.

In 1682 William Penn made his celebrated treaty with the Indians under the elm at Shackamaxon, on the banks of the Delaware River, presaging mutual "good faith and good will, openness, brotherhood, and love." As early as 1791

3. The Quakers.

the noted Seneca chief, Cornplanter, sent greetings to the Philadelphia yearly meeting, saying "we wish our children to be taught the same principles by which your fathers were guided, and such other things as you teach your children, especially the love of peace." Two years later the Delawares told certain Friends who visited them that they wished to be of their religion, and asked for teachers. In 1796 the yearly meeting began regular work among the Iroquois in New York, and established three workers among the Oneidas and the Tuscaroras. In 1798 they began a mission to the Senecas, and, later, at Cattaraugus and Tunesassah, with good results. In 1807 the New York meeting started schools among the Stockbridge and Brotherton tribes. During the past century, through the work undertaken by various yearly meetings, and later through the Associated Executive Committee, a delegate body representing ultimately all the yearly meetings, mission stations have been established among many tribes, and the record is one of loyal faithfulness, on the part of Friend and Indian alike, to the compact of brotherly love entered into on the banks of the Delaware River two hundred and twenty-five years ago. The Indian work of the Friends for the past few years has been largely confined to ten mission stations among the Modoc, Seneca, Wyandotte, Ottawa, Otoe, Iowa, Kickapoo, and Shawnee tribes in Oklahoma and Indian Territory.

4. The Church of England and Protestant Episcopal Church.

With the possible exception of the baptism of an Indian convert mentioned above, the efforts of the Anglican Church to evangelize the Indians began in 1702, when the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel sent to America a missionary to the Six Nations in the Mohawk valley. Six years later four Iroquois sachems crossed the Atlantic and presented an address to Queen Anne with belts of wampum as a token of the sincerity of the Six Nations. In that address occurs the following: "Since we were in covenant with our great Queen's children we have had some knowledge of the Savior of the world. If our great Queen would send us instructors they should find a hearty welcome." This address was referred to the Society, and it was at once resolved to send missionaries, to provide translations in Mohawk, and to endeavor to stop the introduction of intoxicating liquors among the Indians—this being the earnest request of the sachems themselves. The work met with varying success. At one time there appears "a regular sober congregation of five hundred Christians among the Mohawks, of whom fifty were devout communicants of the Episcopal Church." During the Revolution the Mohawks and some others of the tribes belonging to the "Long House" (a federation of tribes) abandoned their possessions under a sense of loyalty to the crown, and finally took shelter in Canada. Those who remained were without religious influences for several years until, in 1811, Bishop Hobart of New York gave atten-

tion to the religious instruction of the Indians within his jurisdiction. In 1821 the Oneidas left New York under the leadership of the Rev. Eleazer Williams and went to Green Bay, Wisconsin. Religious work among them prospered, and within a few years a stone church edifice was erected by the Indians themselves. In 1852 the Episcopal Church began work among the Indians in Minnesota, and in 1860 among the Santee Sioux. Henry Benjamin Whipple (q.v.), bishop of Minnesota, especially devoted himself to this work. In 1868 a mission was established among the Yanktons, and shortly afterward the full charge of Indian missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church was assumed by its domestic committee. In 1877 Bishop Hare held his first confirmation among the Upper Brulé Sioux, the Yanktonnais, and the Cheyenne River Indians in South Dakota. One year later missions were started among the Shoshones and Bannocks in Idaho, and, in 1881, among the Cheyennes in Indian Territory. In 1886 a mission in Alaska was organized, and in the same year work was undertaken among some of the tribes in Wyoming. This was followed six years later by a mission to the Seminoles in southern Florida. In 1906 the Protestant Episcopal Church was carrying on work among Indians in a field covering a vast area, including the Indians living along the banks of the Yukon River in Alaska; the Shoshones, Bannocks, and Arapahoes in Idaho and Wyoming; the Pillager Cass Lake, and Red Lake Pillager Chippewas in Minnesota; the Hupas of California; and the Oneidas in Wisconsin. In North Dakota the Church has centers of work at Fort Totten, Cannon Ball, and at Turtle Mountain reservation, while in South Dakota, under Bishop Hare, the work is divided into ten departments with a clergyman in charge of each. In Oklahoma and Indian Territory the work is largely among the Cheyennes and Arapahoes at the reservation at Whirlwind, and in southern Florida among the Seminoles living in the Everglades. A notable feature of this Church's work is the lace-making industry for which ten schools are maintained at various points.

5. Moravians.

In 1735 a band of Moravians from Germany under Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg (q.v.) began religious work among the Yamacraw Creeks, a few miles above Savannah, Ga. In 1739 they were forced to withdraw on their refusal to take up arms against the Spaniards. Settling on the Lehigh River about fifty miles from Philadelphia, they founded the town of Bethlehem, which soon became a center of missions to various Indian tribes. Their missionaries worked first among the Six Nations, but their efforts met with small success. In Pennsylvania, however, their work among the Delawares and portions of various other tribes scattered throughout that State was very encouraging. In some of the New England States, notably Connecticut and Massachusetts, their labors were eminently successful. From 1746 to 1798 twenty-five settlements were established. In 1801 the Cherokee mission at Spring Place, Ga., was begun, and in 1821 a mission was started at Oothcaloga in the same section. Both of these continued until the missions were broken up by the State of Georgia in 1843. Among missionaries to the Indians in those early days none are more worthy of honor for their lofty heroism than some of the Moravians, notably Rauch, Heckewelder, Count Zinzendorf, and David Zeisberger, the "Apostle to the Delawares." Since those days the Moravian Church has missioned various tribes, but within the past few years has confined its work to the so-called "Mission Indians" of California. In 1906 the Church had three mission stations in southern California—on the Morongo, the Torres, and the Rincon reservations.

6. Presbyterians.

In 1741 the Presbyterian Church began its Indian work, when the Rev. Azariah Horton was sent to the Indians on Long Island, New York. Two years later David Brainerd (q.v.) began his missionary work, which was continued after his death, in 1747, by his brother John (q.v.). In 1751 the Synod of New York "enjoined" all churches to take collections for the purpose of sending missionaries to the Indians, and missions were begun among the Delawares and neighboring tribes. On the breaking out of the Revolutionary War in 1775, the Indians became restless and suspicious, and most missionary efforts among them were suspended. Early in the nineteenth century the Presbyterian Church began missions in South Carolina and Georgia, and schools for the education of the youth of the Catawba and Cherokee tribes were opened. Up to 1812 these missions were conducted by individual churches and by one or two synods. Between 1812 and 1831 the Presbyterian Church carried on its Indian work through the American Board, organized in 1810. Within a few years the Board began missions among the Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws, supplementing the work of the Presbyterian synods of South Carolina and Georgia. By 1830 there were eight churches in Georgia, a Cherokee alphabet and written language had been prepared, and a large number of Cherokees were able to read. These tribes rapidly adopted the ways of civilized life; schools, courts, and a legislature were established, and stringent laws against intemperance enforced. But the injustice of Georgia, confirmed by the national government, took from these Indians the lands made theirs in perpetuity by treaty. The lands were sold by lottery to white men, and after sixteen years of suffering and struggle to obtain their rights, 16,000 of these Indians were driven forth from their homes, their churches and schools, to the wilderness of the far West, several missionaries accompanying them to their new home in Indian Territory. One after another of the tribes followed until the settlement in the Indian Territory was completed in 1832 by the removal of the Seminoles from Florida. In addition, other tribes were afterward sent to the Indian Territory by the government, and among them the Presbyterian Church opened missions. Most of the mission stations had to be abandoned during the Civil War, and many of the churches, school-houses, and missionaries' homes were destroyed. At the close of the war the work was resumed, though under conditions less favorable, owing to the influx of bad white elements into the Territory, which

soon abounded in lawlessness. But the missionaries of the various denominations went forward with the work until marvelous success crowned their labors among the "Five Civilized Tribes," as also among the neighboring tribes of Kiowas, Comanches, Arapahoes, Osages, and Cheyennes. Much of the distinctively Presbyterian work done by the American Board was transferred to the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions on its organization in 1837, the latter Board continuing all work of the Presbyterian Church among Indians until 1865. Since that year the work has been carried on by the Presbyterian Home Board and the Women's Board of the Presbyterian Church. Among early missions of the Presbyterian Church was one to the Senecas in New York State, begun in 1812, and to the Chippewas and Ottawas in northern Michigan, begun in 1838. About the same time missions were established among the Sioux in North and South Dakota, Montana, and Nebraska. The story of the mission to the Nez Percé Indians by Dr. Marcus Whitman and the Rev. H. H. Spaulding in 1836 is one of the most thrilling in the history of Indian missions. Abandoned in 1847, owing to the martyrdom of Dr. and Mrs. Whitman, it was reopened in 1871 when Mr. and Mrs. Spaulding returned to the field. The Sac and Fox tribes were reached by the Presbyterian Church in 1837, the Omahas and Otoes in 1846, and the Kickapoos ten years later. In 1868 a missionary was sent to the Winnebagoes, then dwelling to the north of the Omahas. In the same year an independent mission was started among the Pimas and Papagos in Arizona, which some years later came under the care of the Presbyterian Board. In 1877 the first Protestant mission among the Zuñis of New Mexico was opened through the efforts of Presbyterian women, and other tribes of Pueblo have been reached. In 1895 a mission was opened by the Presbyterian Board among a band of Spokanes in Washington, and the following year one among the Makahs at Neah Bay. In 1901 the missions to the Hoopas and the Shasta Indians, in California, were taken over by the Presbyterian Board from the National Indian Association.

7. Congregationalists.

The Indian work of the American Board (Congregational) rapidly extended. In 1820 it established a mission station for the Arkansas Cherokees on Illinois Creek, Arkansas. This grew to be one of the most important mission stations in the Southwest until the removal of the tribe to Indian Territory. The following year a mission was opened among the Choctaws at Eliot, Miss. In 1834 the great work of the Congregational Church among the Sioux was begun by the starting of a mission to the Santee Sioux on Lake Calhoun, near what is now St. Paul, Minn., by two brothers named Pond. They began as volunteer workers, but afterward became regularly ordained missionaries of the American Board. Other mission stations were established from time to time among the Santee Sioux at other points. The work was eminently successful until the Sioux outbreak in 1862, when the missions had to be abandoned. As a result of the outbreak the Santee Sioux were removed to Niobrara, Nebraska. A mission was started among them in 1866, and the work was gradually extended to all the neighboring bands of Sioux. Among missionaries to the Great Sioux nation none perhaps are more widely known than the Williamsons and the Riggses, fathers and sons. To Congregational work, and the various missionaries engaged in it, most of present knowledge of the Sioux language is due. In 1843 the Board began work among the Creeks, and, a few years later, among the removed Seminoles. By 1852 it had twenty-one missionaries among the Indians in the Northwest. In 1882 the Indian work as a whole was committed to the American Missionary Association. Including their well-known missions at Standing Rock and Cheyenne River agencies, North Dakota, Fort Berthold in South Dakota, and Skomish, Washington, and their work for Alaskan Indians, the Association had in 1906 twenty-two Indian churches, fifty-seven missionary out-stations, and eighty-five missionaries and teachers on the field.

8. Baptists.

Organized work by Baptists for Indian tribes began in 1801, when the Shaftesbury Association of Vermont appointed missionaries to labor among the Tuscaroras and other tribes of western New York. Six years later the New York Missionary Society cooperated with the former association, and missions were established among the Oneidas and Stockbridges of New York. In 1817 the Board of the Baptist General Convention opened missions to the Kickapoos and the Miamis, and, a few years later, work was begun among the Potawatomies, the Ottawas, and the Ojibwas in Michigan. In the same year successful work was begun among the Cherokees in North Carolina and Georgia, and shortly afterward among the Creeks. Baptist work among Indians extended rapidly, and soon included missions among the Otoes and Omahas west of the Mississippi (1833), and among the Delawares and Stockbridges in their new home in eastern Kansas. From 1842 to 1855, much of the work was sustained by the American Mission Association, but in the latter year its missions were transferred to the Southern Baptist Convention. After the division of the denomination on the slavery question in 1845, the American Baptist Missionary Union continued much of the work of the General Convention, and in 1851 had missions among the Ojibwas and Ottawas of Michigan, the Shawanees, Delawares, and Ottawas of Indian Territory, besides its chief work there among the Cherokees. In 1865 these missions were transferred to the American Baptist Home Mission Society, which had for some years previously maintained a mission to the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico. The work of the Baptist Home Mission Society has been carried on chiefly among the tribes in Indian Territory and among the Wichitas and Caddoes, the Kiowas, Arapahoes, Apaches, and Comanches of Oklahoma. Successful missions have been sustained among the Hopis, among the Indians of the Round Valley Reservation, California, and among the Nevada Indians at Pyramid Lake. In 1903 a mission was begun among the Copper River Indians in Alaska, and, later,

among the Crows of Montana. In much of the Indian mission work the Women's Boards of the Baptist Church have effectively cooperated with the general society.

The Indian work of the Methodist Episcopal Church began in 1814, when John Stewart, a colored Methodist convert, started a mission among the Wyandottes in Ohio. The success of that mission led to the organization of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and various missions were carried on among the Indians of the southern States from 1821 to 1830. In 1844 the Indian Mission Conference was organized, and in the division of the Church in that year the Indian Conference remained with the Methodist Episcopal Church South. By 1846 the Indian work of the latter branch of the Church included missions among the Pottawattomis, Chippewa, Peoria, Wea, Kansas Wyandotte, Shawnee, Kickapoo, Quapaw, Seneca, and other fragments of tribes located on reservations in the Indian Territory. Later, missions to the Comanches, Apaches, and Kiowas were added. The Methodist Episcopal Church, in 1906, had about thirty-five missions to Indians, of which five were in New York, six on the Pacific coast, one in Montana, and twenty-three in the States of the Mississippi Valley.

9. Methodists.

In 1847 the Lutherans began work among the Chippewa Indians in lower Michigan. The first mission school was opened at Frankenmuth, on Cass River, under the auspices of the Evangelical Lutheran Missionary Society of Dresden, Germany, and in the same year a second station was opened at Bethany, on Pine River. Later, missions were opened among the Apaches on the San Carlos reservation in Arizona, and among the Stockbridges and Munsee Indians in Wisconsin. In 1880 the Mennonites began work among the Arapahoes at Darlington, Indian Territory, and about three years later among the Cheyennes at Cantonment, Oklahoma. The work at Darlington was abandoned and another station opened at Cantonment among the Arapahoes. Subsequently, stations were opened at Clinton and at Harmon, Oklahoma, among the Cheyennes. In 1893 a mission to the Hopis at Oraibi, Arizona, and in 1905 another among the same tribe at Moen Copi, Arizona, were taken over from the National Indian Association. In the latter year a mission was started upon the Lame Deer Agency in Montana among the so-called Northern Cheyennes.

10. Lutherans.

In 1884 the National Indian Association, which for some years previously had devoted its efforts to secure legal recognition and protection for Indians, began missionary work among them. The policy of this association is to do pioneer work, going only to tribes, or separated parts of tribes, where Christian instruction is not given by other agencies. After opening the stations and meeting the heavier expense of building missionary cottages and chapels, such stations, with all the property accumulated, are given to denominational boards asking for them and promising the continuance of the work. The first stations of this association were among the Poncas, Otoes, and Pawnees of Indian Territory. In 1886 a mission was opened among the Sioux of South Dakota, and two stations among six tribal remnants in northwestern California. In 1887 work for the Bannocks and Shoshones of Idaho was begun; two stations were established among the Omahas of Nebraska; and five centers of work were opened at Sitka, Alaska, the latter resulting in the famous Indian "model settlement" there. In 1889 work was undertaken among some of the Mission Indians of southern California, where eight preaching-stations and three missions were established, and in the same year work was begun among the Kiowas of Indian Territory. In 1890 a mission and day school among the Plumas County Indians of northern California were established, and hospital work among the Crow Indians of South Dakota. In 1891 a school was opened for the Apache prisoners at Mount Vernon Barracks, Alabama, and work among the absentee Shawnees and Kickapoos of Oklahoma and the Florida Seminoles was undertaken the same year. In 1892 a mission to the Moki of Arizona, and the following year one to the Piegans of Montana were opened. The same year missions were begun among the Walapai of Arizona, and a school established among the Spokanes of Washington. During the years from 1892 to 1905 work was undertaken among the Uncompahgre Utes; at four stations among the Hopis; among the Hoopas and Desert Indians of California; at five stations among the Navajos; among the Yumas of California and the Apache-Mojaves of Arizona. Since 1884 this association has done pioneer mission work among fifty tribes, or separated parts of tribes, and erected more than fifty buildings. These missions and buildings have been given, one at a time, to the permanent care of Presbyterians, Baptists, Moravians, the Episcopal Church, to Methodists, Mennonites, and to the Society of Friends.

11. The National Indian Association.

Among missions begun in recent years are those of the Reformed Church in America, which began work among the Arapahoes and Cheyennes at Colony, Oklahoma, in 1895, under the care of the Women's Executive Committee of the Church. Four years later work was begun among the Apache prisoners at Fort Sill, and in 1903 the Church opened a mission to the Comanches.

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INDUCTION: In the Church of England, the formal installation of a clergyman, already nominated by the patron and approved by the bishop, in the possession of a benefice. The act is usually performed by the archdeacon, who accompanies the new incumbent to the church, places his hand upon the key or handle of the door, and says to him "By virtue of this mandate I do induct you into the real, actual, and corporal possessions of this church of Christ, with all the rights, profits, and appurtenances thereto belonging." The incumbent then opens the door, enters the church, and rings the bell to make the fact of his induction known to his parishioners. In the American Episcopal Church, the analogous function is known as institution, for which a special service is provided in the prayer-book.

INDULGENCES.

Definition (§ 1).
As Remission of Ecclesiastical Penance (§ 2).
Crusading Indulgences (§ 3).
As Remission of Temporal Penalties (§ 4).
As the Remission of Guilt and Penalty (§ 5).
Applicable to the Departed (§ 6).

[An indulgence is defined by modern Roman Catholic authorities as "the remission of the temporal punishment due to God for sins already forgiven as to guilt; a remission granted by ecclesiastical authority to the faithful, from the treasury of the superabundant satisfactory merits of our Lord Jesus Christ, of Mary most holy, and of the saints." Indulgences are divided into partial, such as are granted for a certain number of days, or periods of forty days (called quarantines), or for a year, or for several years; and plenary, by which the whole of the temporal punishment due to God for sins which have been forgiven is supposed to be remitted. In connection with plenary indulgences granted "in the form of Jubilee," confessors have power conferred upon them to absolve from reserved cases (see Casus Reservati), to dispense from or commute certain simple vows, etc. In order to gain indulgences in general, it is necessary to be in a state of grace, i.e., free from mortal sin; to have at least a general intention of gaining the indulgence; and to perform whatever good works (generally the recitation of some prayer) are prescribed as a condition. To gain a plenary indulgence, confession, communion, a visit to some church or public oratory, and pious prayers are usually prescribed. It is also taught by theologians that it is an important condition for gaining a plenary indulgence to have a true hatred for all sins, even though venial, and to be wholly free from any attachment to them.] The history of the growth of the doctrine of indulgence has never been fully investigated.

1. Definition.

Indulgences in the modern sense can not be shown to extend further back than the eleventh century. Here they are met with as a partial relaxation of penitential requirements, or even, before the end of that century, as a total remission of them, granted by a bishop in a general way on condition of the performance of a definite pious act (the visiting of a church with an offering, contribution to the building of a monastery, and the like). In this form they are the last remnant of the penitential discipline of the early Church (see Penance). In primitive times the bishops possessed the right to shorten the prescribed period of penance in the individual case, and with due regard to the circumstances and especially the penitent's zeal and fervor. It became customary to grant such a relaxation in return for a considerable benefit done to the Church, such as the giving of lands. As soon as these relaxations became applicable to penitents in general, they constituted indulgences in the modern sense. The new general relaxations presupposed, as the older partial ones had done, the practise of ecclesiastical penance, the severity and extent of which made some mitigation desirable. The so-called redemptions and commutations, which originated in the Irish and Anglo-Saxon churches, and by the beginning of the tenth century began to spread on the Continent, are rather analogies than early stages of the indulgence proper. It is to these, which continued for a time after as well as before the latter, that the charges of Abelard apply against the priests who "for an offering in money condone or relax the penalties of the prescribed satisfaction" (*MPL*, clxxviii. 672–673). The first demonstrable indulgence of a general nature occurs in southern France, granted in 1016, or shortly after, by Archbishop Pontius of

2. As Remission of Ecclesiastical Penance.

Arles to the monastery of Montmajour. It applies to two classes of penitents: those who, on account of grievous offenses, are excluded from public worship and obliged to wear external marks of their condition; and those who have confessed minor sins and received a penance. To the former class one-third, to the latter half, of their penance may thus be remitted. At the end of the century those who are under public and private penance are treated alike.

Indulgences, however, were still rarely granted. The number of demonstrable ones granted by bishops in the eleventh century, all belonging to southern France, is small; and those granted by the popes do not apparently go back further than the last decade of the century. The first wholly genuine document of this kind extant is one of Urban II., dated Oct. 12, 1091 (Jaffé, *Regesta*, 5452), in which he remits to the benefactors of the *monasterium Paviliacense* in the diocese of Rouen "one quarter of the penance imposed upon them by their bishop or priest." The fact of its being granted by a French pope renders more probable the theory that indulgences were of French origin; and the next similar case, more than twenty years later, is also by a Frenchman, Calixtus II. During the remainder of the century the popes continue to grant them, though sparingly. Of this class there are less than ten in the extant papal archives before the middle of the century, and in its latter half hardly more than twenty. The remission of fractional parts of the time of penance fell into desuetude, except in those granted to the Knights of St. John and the Templars, and with it the last traces of individual treatment of the penitents. Instead, the remission covered a certain number of days, usually twenty or forty; Alexander III. extended it a few times to a year, or, for pilgrims to Rome from the far north, two or three years. Thus it is evident that at this period the popes had not learned to look on indulgences as a source of income. It was otherwise with the bishops, whom Abelard accuses about 1140 of being so inflamed with greed "that when they have a crowd of people assembled for the dedication of a church, the consecration of an altar, the benediction of a cemetery, or any other solemnity, they are prodigal with relaxations of penances, remitting to all alike either a third or a fourth of their penances" (*Ethica*, xxv.). With justice Innocent III., when, in the famous Lateran decree of 1215, he attempted to set bounds to the practise, asserts that "the Roman pontiff, who has the fulness of power, has in such matters been accustomed to observe such moderation" as he there imposes upon the bishops (Mansi, *Concilia*, xxii. 1050).

On the other hand, the popes had long before this made use of the institution with a freedom that no bishop could equal, in behalf of the liberation of the Holy Land from infidel domination. As early as 1095 the remission of all penance was promised to the crusaders. Even before this Alexander II. had offered a total remission of penance to those who bore arms against the Saracens in Spain (c. 1063); but Urban II. established the regular crusading indulgence, which nearly all his successors for two centuries continued. Paschal II. placed resistance to the Saracens in Spain on the same footing, followed by Gelasius II., Calixtus II., Celestine III., and Innocent III. In 1147 Eugenius III. offered the same reward for a campaign against the Slavs, and Alexander III. in 1171–72 for the subjection of the Esthonians. It was but a short step to considering a campaign against heretics equally meritorious; in 1135 Innocent II., at the Council of Pisa, offered the *remissio* of Urban II. to those who served against Roger of Sicily and the antipope Anacletus II., and Innocent III., in 1199, designated the war against the imperial governor Markwald a crusade, while the same pope originated the crusade against the Cathari in 1207 and the following years. While the crusading indulgence of Urban II. was granted only to those who undertook in person the perils and fatigues of the journey to Palestine, it was later extended to all who supported the undertaking, until Innocent III., in 1198, declared that those who sent a number of soldiers proportioned to their wealth might share in the indulgence, while those who contributed of their goods might participate in it "in proportion to the amount of their aid, and especially to their devotion." The explanation of application of the phrase which became the usual one, *peccatorum venia, remissio, indulgentia*, to these indulgences is to be found in a reminiscence of that stage of the penitential discipline in which the remission of sins was pronounced only after the performance of the prescribed penance or satisfaction.

3. Crusading Indulgences.

In the thirteenth century the institution takes on a new content, under the influence, not of the originators, but of the interpreters. The theory is an outgrowth of the great change in the penitential system which was completed about the beginning of that century. Penance has developed into a sacrament, whose parts are designated as contrition, confession (made a positive law in 1215), and satisfaction. Meanwhile, through the gradual shortening of the period between confession and absolution, until the latter followed the former immediately, satisfaction had lost the meaning which it had in the primitive Church, and needed to be put on a new basis if it was not to drop out altogether. The theory was discovered by such men as Abelard and his followers, Robert Pullus and Richard of Saint Victor, that there was a difference between the forgiveness effected by baptism and that which followed upon absolution. The former, they said, frees man from all guilt and penalty; in the latter, the sinner is indeed released from his sin and its eternal punishment, but not (or not usually) from the temporal penalties, of which the fires of purgatory were the most considerable. The divine justice was held to require that the sinner must discharge this debt still remaining by a *pœna satisfactoria*. Thus the traditional satisfactions, especially prayer, fasting, and almsgiving, acquired a new importance, as delivering the soul from the necessity of remaining in purgatory so much longer. It is easy to see what

4. As Remission of Temporal Penalties.

effect this belief had upon the doctrine of indulgences, the meaning of which had from the beginning been the remission of satisfaction. By the theory consequently developed, an indulgence is henceforth the remission, not of ecclesiastical penance, but of the temporal penalties imposed by God upon sin, to be paid either here or hereafter. Nothing was changed in the relation of indulgences to repentance. As previously the remission of penance had implied its acceptance by the penitent, after genuine repentance and confession, so now contrition, confession, and sacramental absolution are held to be prerequisites. Attention must be called to an innovation which had come into the doctrine of penance in the Merovingian period, allowing substitution instead of payment by the sinner himself. Following out the line thus suggested, Alexander of Hales, Bonaventura, and Thomas Aquinas discussed the question "whether one may make satisfaction for another," and answered it in the affirmative. The thing comes down to a simple reckoning of debit and credit, and it suffices that the indebtedness be discharged, it matters not by whom. Here a useful connection was made with the early doctrine of merit, and the indulgence became a relaxation of penalties on the ground of payment by another. That other is the Church—*merita ecclesiæ satisfaciunt;* and the Church takes these merits from its storehouse, filled by the superabundant acquisitions of Christ and of the saints. The first formal adoption of this theory of an inexhaustible treasury of merits, with the pope for its guardian, is found in the bull *Unigenitus* issued by Clement VI. in 1343; but the popes had long before this found what a useful source of revenue it might be. The ordinary indulgence had been overshadowed by the crusading indulgence; but now, where Innocent III. had only granted five or six in a pontificate of sixteen years, Nicholas IV. issued nearly 400 in his first two years (1288–90) to churches, monasteries, and hospitals.

5. As the Remission of Guilt and Penalty.

After the decay of the crusading enthusiasm, the indulgence granted for that purpose had thrust out a new shoot in the jubilee indulgence (see JUBILEE, YEAR OF), which, invented by Boniface VIII. in 1300, became increasingly remunerative to the popes, especially after it could be gained (beginning with Boniface IX. in the last decade of the fourteenth century) outside of Rome itself, and not only in a jubilee year, but as often as the pope pleased. It has only recently been realized that the indulgences of the last medieval centuries show rather an essentially new form than a mere abuse of the theory. By the middle of the thirteenth century the indulgence granted to the crusaders must have been widely understood as a "liberation or absolution from penalty and fault." It is not, then, surprising that, a few decades later, the famous Portiuncula indulgence was designated as "liberation from all fault and penalty." This unique character won high esteem among the "Spiritual" Franciscans not long after the middle of the thirteenth century; and this accounts for the fact that the first pope to use the above-cited designation in a plenary indulgence was Celestine V., whose relations to the "Spirituals" are well known. The next pope, Boniface VIII., disapproved and revoked it, probably, however, not on the ground of general opposition to indulgences *a culpa et pœna*, but as objecting to the concession of such an indulgence to a particular church in perpetuity. In any case, his objection to it was not long maintained at Rome. Innocent VI. extended the Aquila indulgence to a Benedictine monastery at Naples, and Urban VI. renewed it in 1384; while Boniface IX. made free use of it, of the Portiuncula indulgence, and of the "great" indulgence of St. Mark's at Venice. Similar indulgences *a pœna et a culpa* were granted *viva voce* by Alexander V. in 1409 at the Council of Pisa, and by Nicholas V. in 1452 on the occasion of the coronation of Frederick III. The free use of this kind of indulgence by recent popes, especially John XXIII., led to attempts in the Council of Constance to abate the practise; but nothing further was attained than the revocation, by Martin V. in his reforming decree of 1418, of such indulgences granted to special localities.

Both the terminology of the Curia and the popular mind now accepted *a pœna et culpa* as implied in a plenary indulgence, at least of the jubilee class. The dogmatic difficulty involved in the conception of an indulgence both from the penalty and from the guilt of sin struck many theologians, who found various ways of dealing with it. Some have positively denied that such indulgences were ever granted, though Bellarmine and Suarez definitely admit the historical fact. Others limit the remission of guilt to venial sins, while still others understand the formula as equivalent to *a pœna culpæ debita*. A greater number attempt to make a distinction between the real meaning of the indulgence and the things which may in a loose sense be attributed to it (thus Antoninus of Florence, John Gerson, and Juan de Torquemada). Not a few of this latter class make use of the fact that in connection with the plenary indulgence large powers were granted to confessors to absolve from sins falling in the class of reserved cases, which actually amounted to a somewhat close union in the pope's hands of the grace of the sacrament of penance with the power of indulgence as originally understood, whether the individual penitent needed only the ordinary absolution or that from reserved sins, and whether he received it from special papal representatives or from confessors endowed for the occasion with special faculties. It is, in fact, this fusion, so to speak, of the older indulgence extending only to the remission of temporal penalties with the sin-destroying sacrament of penance which is the distinguishing note of this third stage in the development of indulgences. The doctrine then current finds nowhere a clearer expression than in the instructions issued to govern the distribution of indulgences in Germany shortly before Luther took up the question, by the papal legate Arcimboldi and Archbishop Albert of Magdeburg and Mainz. The latter explicitly names "the four principal graces conceded by the apostolic bull." They include not only the opening of "a confessional

endowed with the greatest and most important and hitherto unheard-of faculties," "the sharing of all the treasures of the Church universal" in the way of merit, the plenary indulgence for the departed ("the liberation of the dead from the pains of purgatory"), but, even before these, "the first grace is the plenary remission of all sins, than which no greater grace could be bestowed, seeing that by it man, a sinner and deprived of divine grace, obtains perfect remission and the grace of God once more, and by this remission of sins the pains which would have to be suffered in purgatory on account of offenses against the divine majesty are most fully remitted and absolutely done away." Observing the practical effect of such proclamations, "that unhappy souls believe, if they have purchased letters of indulgence, that they are sure of their salvation, and also . . . that by these indulgences a man is freed from all penalty and guilt" (letter to Archbishop Albert, Oct. 31, 1517), Luther set himself to restore indulgences to their primitive form, that of the remission of canonical penance; and in so doing he struck at another outgrowth of the medieval indulgence, which the popes had legalized shortly before his time.

6. Applicable to the Departed.

The possibility of extending the application of indulgences from the Church militant to the souls in purgatory seemed to follow logically from the conception of their effect as the removal of the divine penalties of sin. The effort to help these suffering souls in any conceivable way brought both the scholarly and the popular mind to the idea that this might be done by indulgences as early as the first half of the thirteenth century. But the theologians found difficulties in the way which greatly delayed an affirmative answer to the problem. Discussion of this point appears as early as Alexander of Hales. He decides, indeed, that the pope may, in virtue of the power of the keys, grant indulgences to those who have died in a state of grace; but since an element of the exercise of that power, judicial absolution, is here lacking, it can only be accomplished through prayer. He was followed by Bonaventura; and with the two Franciscans agreed the Dominicans Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas, though the former limited himself to the statement that indulgences "are of much avail to those in purgatory," without attempting to define the manner of their operation. Thomas based his agreement on the assumption that the souls in purgatory are still "within the jurisdiction of the Church," but this was expressly denied by a prominent contemporary of his, Cardinal Henry of Ostia, in *Summa super titulis decretalium*, and at the beginning of the fourteenth century he was supported by Franciscus Maronis. Their position influenced principally the canonists, but theologians were not lacking who took the same view, so that half, or even three-quarters, of the fifteenth century had passed before the difference of opinion gave way to the increasing feeling in favor of these indulgences. The popes were singularly slow to act upon it. It is true that both Albertus Magnus and Aquinas assume the existence of papal bulls granting such indulgences, but no trace remains in authentic documents of anything more than an unscrupulous promise of such effects by certain *eleemosynarum quæstores* until well into the second half of the fifteenth century. Calixtus III. is said to have granted them; but the first extant bull of the kind is that of Sixtus IV. in favor of St. Peter's Church at Saintes in 1476, which still asserts its application to the departed to be by prayer. The novel proceeding excited much attention and not a little protest, especially on the part of the friends of other churches. The papal commissary, Raymond Peraudi, had a defense drawn up by two French theologians, the wide circulation of which in France and Germany shows the general interest in the subject; but Sixtus himself was impelled to act in the matter. In his bull of Nov. 27, 1477, he authoritatively defines the phrase by prayer in quite a different sense from its original use, as meaning practically that the faithful on earth represent the departed and do for them what they are unable to do for themselves. The principal point is that the operation of the indulgence for the departed was held to be no less certain than of that for the living. This is shown by Raymond Peraudi's official exposition of the Saintes bull, as well as by the manner in which Gabriel Biel, having in his *Canonis missæ expositio* declined to decide the question, when before the printing was ended in 1488 he became acquainted with the declaration of Sixtus, added an appendix in which he stated this interpretation as now authoritative, and opposed the view that anything was taken away from the efficacy of indulgences by the *modus suffragii*.

Tetzel has been said by some modern Ultramontanists to have followed "an uncertain school-doctrine" in asserting the infallible operation of indulgences for the departed; but this view was strongly set forth in the instructions by which he was bound, and the papal bulls from Sixtus IV. to Leo X. betray no doubt of the efficacy of such indulgences. Moreover, nothing except the payment of the prescribed sum was required from the person who acquired such an indulgence. This is expressly stated in the instructions, e.g., of Albert of Mainz: "Nor is it necessary that those who pay into the treasury on behalf of the souls [in purgatory] shall be contrite in heart and make oral confession" (J. E. Kapp, *Sammlung einiger zum päbstlichen Ablass . . . gehörigen Schriften*, p. 154, Leipsic, 1721).

(T. Brieger.)

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INFALLIBILITY OF THE POPE: The doctrine that the bishop of Rome in his official character, i.e., whenever he speaks *ex cathedra* on a question of doctrine or morals, is free from error, and that his decisions must be accepted as final, not needing confirmation by an ecumenical council and not subject to modification or revision by such a council.

History of the Doctrine.

The Fathers and the ancient creeds and councils know nothing of this doctrine; and the Eastern Church rejects it as a blasphemous assumption. It arose in the Middle Ages in connection with the pseudo-Isidorian decretals (q.v.), and was defended even by Thomas Aquinas, who was the first theologian to discuss the theory of papal infallibility as an integral part of systematic theology (cf. J. J. I. Döllinger, *Das Papstthum*, p. 133, Munich, 1891; Leitner, pp. 10–14, denies this). The reformatory councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basel asserted the superiority of an ecumenical council over the pope. It is disputed among Roman Catholic scholars whether Martin V., in approving the acts of the Council of Constance, included its distinct assertion of the supremacy of a council (cf. F. X. Funk, *Abhandlungen und Untersuchungen*, i. 489–498, Paderborn, 1897). After the Council of Trent the doctrine became a bone of contention between the Gallicans and the Jesuits. The latter triumphed in the Vatican Council, which formulated the new article of faith, July 18, 1870, in these words:

> "We teach and define that it is a dogma divinely revealed, that the Roman pontiff when he speaks *ex cathedra*—that is, when, in discharge of the office of pastor and doctor of all Christians, by virtue of his supreme apostolic authority, he defines a doctrine regarding faith or morals to be held by the universal Church, by the divine assistance promised to him in blessed Peter (Luke xxii. 32)—is possessed of that infallibility with which the divine Redeemer willed that his Church should be endowed for defining doctrine regarding faith or morals; and that therefore such definitions of the Roman pontiff are irreformable of themselves, and not from the consent of the Church."

Its Promulgation by the Vatican Council.

Papal infallibility was the chief topic of the Vatican Council. When the vote was first taken in secret session, July 13, 601 members being present, 451 bishops voted in the affirmative, 88 in the negative, 62 with a qualification (*placet juxta modum*), and over 80, though present in Rome, abstained from voting. On the evening of the same day the minority, which included such able and influential prelates as Darboy of Paris, Schwarzenberg of Prague, Rauscher of Vienna, Dupanloup of Orléans, Förster of Breslau, Ketteler of Mainz, Strossmayer of Bosnia, Hefele of Rottenburg, and Kenrick of St. Louis, sent a deputation to the pope, and begged him to modify the proposed decree, and make some concession for the peace and unity of the Church. But Pius IX. surprised the deputation with the assurance that the Church had always believed in the unconditional infallibility of the pope. On July 17 fifty-six bishops opposed to the dogma sent a written protest to the pope, and, with sixty additional members of the opposition, left Rome to avoid voting. The next day, of the 535 members present all voted for the dogma except Bishops Riccio of Sicily and Fitzgerald of Little Rock, Ark., who changed their votes before the close of the session. After the vote the pope read the decree of his own infallibility in St. Peter's.

Criticism.

The Vatican dogma can not stand the test of history, and is a mere pretension. The sixth ecumenical council (Constantinople, 680) condemned and excommunicated Pope Honorius I. (625–638) "as a heretic [Monothelite], who, with the help of the old serpent, had scattered deadly error." This anathema was solemnly repeated by the seventh and by the eighth ecumenical councils (787 and 869), and even by the popes themselves, who, down to the eleventh century, in a solemn oath at their accession, indorsed the sixth ecumenical council, and pronounced "an eternal anathema" on the authors of the Monothelite heresy, together with Pope Honorius, "because he had given aid and comfort to the perverse doctrines of the heretics." History knows of other heretical popes. Zephyrinus (201–219) and Calixtus I. (217–222) were Patripassians [this charge rests upon the manifestly prejudiced testimony of Hippolytus, who insisted that Patripassianism was logically involved in their protest against ditheism. A. H. N.]; Liberius signed an Arian creed in 358; Felix II. (355–358) was a decided Arian; Zosimus (417) at first indorsed the heresy of Pelagius and Celestius, whom his predecessor, Innocent I., had condemned; Vigilius (538–555) vacillated between two opposite decisions during the Three Chapter Controversy (q. v.), and thereby produced a long schism in the West; John XXII. (d. 1334) denounced a certain opinion of Nicholas III. and Clement V. as heretical. Sixtus V. issued an edition of the Latin Bible with innumerable blunders; Bellarmine, the great Roman controversialist and infallibilist, could not deny the facts, and advised the printing of a new edition with the bold statement in the preface, charging the errors of the infallible pope upon the fallible printer, though the pope had himself corrected the proofs.

P. and D. S. Schaff.

The Roman Catholic Statement.

The arguments adduced by Roman Catholic theologians in support of this newly defined doctrine are in part a priori, based on the assumed necessity of a central supreme authority in matters of faith and morals whose decisions shall be final, and to which, moreover, recourse may be had easily and conveniently when doctrinal differences and disputes arise. The infallible authority of the Church in her teaching-capacity is, of course, assumed as a postulate, for, among other reasons, it seems to be clearly implied in the promise of Christ to remain with the organization founded

by him ("the pillar and ground of truth," I Tim. iii. 15) "always even unto the end of the world." Furthermore, the recognition of the principle of infallibility seems absolutely necessary for the maintenance of the unity of faith in the Church, a contention which is amply borne out by the history and doctrinal disintegration of Protestantism. The infallibility of the Church being thus assumed, the further question arises as to the subject of this prerogative. If it be considered to reside indiscriminately in the Church as a whole, it can clearly be of little practical benefit. Nor is it sufficient for the required end that it reside simply in the *Ecclesia docens*, viz., in the hierarchical body of the bishops with the pope at their head, who are considered as the legitimate successors of the Apostles to whom the promises of Christ were made. For it is obviously difficult to ascertain just what the teaching of all the bishops scattered over the world may be on a given point and at a given moment; and ecumenical councils from their very nature can be convened only for more solemn and momentous occasions. Hence the affirmed need of a central authority to which appeal can be readily made, whose *ex cathedra* decisions will enjoy the same immunity from error as those vouched for by the *Ecclesia docens*. This authority Roman Catholics recognize in the bishop of Rome, the traditional successor of St. Peter, and inheritor of his prerogatives; and in the various texts which are adduced to prove the primacy of Peter it is claimed that the gift of infallibility is implied. In this connection stress is laid on the passage of Matthew (xvi. 18): "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." Here the lasting security of the edifice (including doubtless doctrinal inerrancy) is derived from Peter the foundation-stone, and similar deductions are made from other passages, e.g., Luke xxii. 31 sqq. and John xxi. 15 sqq. Texts are also brought forward from a number of the Church Fathers, e.g., Irenæus, showing that at an early date the see of Rome was widely recognized to be the center of doctrinal as well as disciplinary unity for the whole Church, and that her decisions in that regard should be taken as final.

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INFANCY, ARABIC GOSPEL OF THE. See Apocrypha, B, I., 6.

INFANT BAPTISM. See Baptism.

INFANT COMMUNION. See Lord's Supper, V., § 1.

INFANT SALVATION: The doctrines of infant damnation and of non-elect infants were unknown to the early Church. That the baptism of infants was often postponed to Easter week (see Baptism, III., 5) proves that it was not considered a loss to the child to die unbaptized. But as sacerdotal and ecclesiastical ideas spread in the Church, baptism was more and more emphasized, until in the fourth century Gregory Nazianzen and Ambrose could say that unbaptized children could not be saved. It was Augustine who first taught the damnation of infants (see Baptism, II., 1, § 3); but their sufferings, though eternal, are of the mildest character (*De peccatorum meritis*, i. 16); indeed, it seemed to him doubtful whether they were punished at all. The Roman Church, accepting Augustine's conceptions of the necessity of baptism to salvation and of the mildness of the punishment of those infants who died unbaptized, agreed with him that they were sent to hell and assigned to them a distinct place in it, the *limbus infantium* or *puerorum* (see Limbus; cf. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa*, III., quæst. lxviii. 2; Sup. quæst. lxxi. 7). The Council of Trent refused to commit itself to a decision, though affirming the necessity of baptism (*Session* v. 4); and, since then, some theologians have followed Peter Lombard in the supposition that infants suffer some sort of misery in punishment of original sin (Bellarmine, *De amissione gratiæ*, vi. 6); others, like Cardinal Celestino Sfondrati (*Nodus prædestinationis dissolutus*, Rome, 1697, I., i. 23), have maintained that they enjoy as much happiness as they are capable of. Perrone represents, probably, the prevalent view when he says (v. 275) that they suffer only the lack of the beatific vision; they are in "a condition of pure nature." And, further, Roman Catholic theologians teach that the desire for baptism, even on the part of unborn children, is accepted for the baptism itself; therefore, there need be no fears for children of Christians who die in infancy.

Primitive and Roman Catholic Doctrine.

The first to enter the lists against the theory of the necessity of baptism to infant salvation was Zwingli. He taught that all elect children who die in infancy are saved, whether they are baptized or not, whether pagan or Christian; and, further, that all who die in infancy are elect, since their early death is a token of God's peculiar mercy, and therefore of their salvation.

Protestant Confessional Statements.

Luther, on the other hand, taught the necessity of baptism to salvation; and this doctrine is part of the Lutheran creed, involving baptismal regeneration. Calvin held to election in regard to infants, and speaks thus:

"As to infants, they seem to perish, not by their own fault, but by the fault of another. But there is a double solution. Though sin does not yet appear in them, yet it is latent; for they bear corruption shut up in the soul, so that before God they are damnable." "That infants who are to be saved (as, certainly, out of that age some are saved) must be previously regenerated by the Lord is clear."—*Institutes*, iv., xvi. 17.

This doctrine of infant salvation through election is expressed in the Calvinistic symbols. The *Canons of the Synod of Dort* (1619) declare:

"Since we are to judge of the will of God from his word (which testifies that the children of believers are holy, not by nature, but in virtue of the covenant of grace, in which they, together with the parents, are comprehended), godly parents have no reason to doubt of the election and salvation of their children whom it pleaseth God to call out of this life in their infancy."—*First Head of Doctrine*, art. xvii.

And the *Westminster Confession* (1648):

"The grace promised [in baptism] is not only offered, but really exhibited and conferred, by the Holy Ghost, to such (whether of age or infants) as that grace belongeth unto, according to the counsel of God's own will, in his appointed time."—xxxviii. 6. "Elect infants dying in infancy are regenerated and saved by Christ, through the Spirit, who worketh when and where and how he pleaseth."—x. 3.

But the *Second Scotch Confession* (1580) says:

"We abhor and detest . . . his [the pope's] cruel judgment against infants dying without baptism."—Cf. Schaff, *Creeds*, vol. iii., p. 482.

Since Calvinists distinguish between elect and non-elect infants, it is not strange that some of their theologians have spoken of elect and reprobate infants. Thus Musculus says:

"Since, therefore, this discrimination of elect and reprobate in new-born infants is hidden from our judgment, it is not fitting that we should inquire into it, lest by ignorance we reject vessels of grace."—*Loci communes*, 336.

And the Swiss theologians at the Synod of Dort said:

"That there is an election and reprobation of infants, no less than of adults, we can not deny in the face of God, who loves and hates unborn children."—*Acta synod. Dort. judic.* 40.

In the seventeenth century, the Arminians resumed Zwingli's position, and, consistently with their theory that original sin was not punishable apart from actual transgression, taught the general salvation of infants; so do the Methodists and Baptists to-day. On the other hand, the Lutherans, and all others who teach baptismal regeneration, are logically shut up to the view that all who die unbaptized are lost. Also the Rev. John Henry Blunt, speaking, doubtless, for High-churchmen generally, says:

"It can hardly, I think, be doubted that they do sustain a loss, of whatever kind. In the *Institution of a Christian Man*, the Church of England declares, 'Insomuch as infants and children dying in their infancy shall undoubtedly be saved thereby (i.e., by baptism), else not.' In the last revision of the Prayer-Book is read, 'It is certain by God's word that children which are baptized, dying before they commit actual sin, are undoubtedly saved': in other words, we are *certain* of the future happiness of the baptized, but have no assurance of the salvation of the unbaptized infant. The question must thus be left in obscurity, as we have no sufficient warrant to go beyond the cautious statement of our Church."—(*Dictionary of Doctrinal and Historical Theology*, p. 346, note 1, London, 1870.)

Modern Tendencies.

But the tendency is toward milder views. It may well be questioned if there be a single living Lutheran theologian of high standing who confines the grace of salvation to baptized infants. So too with the Calvinists the heart is stronger than logic. Dr. Charles Hodge teaches emphatically the salvation of all infants who die in infancy, and asserts that this is the "common doctrine of Evangelical Protestants" (*Systematic Theology*, i. 26). The Westminster Confession x. 3 (ut sup.) was supplemented in 1903 for their own use by American Presbyterians by the following "declaratory statement":

"It is not to be regarded as teaching that any who die in infancy are lost. We believe that all dying in infancy are included in the election of grace, and are regenerated and saved by Christ through the Spirit, who works when and where and how he pleases."

Bibliography: Besides the pertinent sections in the works on theology and on history of dogma, e.g., Harnack, *Dogma*, ii. 142–143, v. 175 sqq., consult: C. P. Krauth, *Infant Salvation in the Calvinistic System*, Philadelphia, 1874; G. W. Bethune, *Early Lost, Early Saved*, London, 1866; W. E. Schenck, *Children in Heaven*, Philadelphia, 1866; L. M. Ayer, *Infant Salvation according to the Bible*, New York, 1879; E. N. White, *Why Infants are Baptized*, ib., 1900.

INFRALAPSARIANISM: The doctrine that God for his own glory determined: (1) to create the world; (2) to permit the fall of man; (3) to elect from the mass of fallen men an innumerable multitude as "vessels of mercy"; (4) to send his Son for their redemption; (5) to leave the residue of mankind to suffer the just punishment of their sins. This is the common doctrine of Augustinians, and is taught in the Calvinistic symbolical books. It is to be distinguished from Supralapsarianism (q.v.), the theory of some Calvinists, and is the same as sublapsarianism; see Calvinism; Predestination.

INFULA. See Vestments and Insignia, Ecclesiastical.

INGE, WILLIAM RALPH: Church of England; b. at Crayke, a village of Yorkshire, June 6, 1860. He was educated at Eton and at King's College, Cambridge (B.A., 1883), where he was fellow (1886–88). He was ordered deacon in 1888 and ordained priest in 1892, and was incorporated M.A. at Oxford in 1889, being fellow and tutor of Hertford College, Oxford, from that year until 1904. He was also assistant master at Eton College in 1884–88, and since 1905 has been vicar of All Saints', Knightsbridge, London. He was examining chaplain to the bishop of Lichfield in 1902, select preacher at Oxford in 1893–95 and 1903–05, and at Cambridge in 1901, moderator at Oxford in 1895–96 and 1903–04, Bampton lecturer in 1899, and Paddock lecturer at the General Theological Seminary, New York, 1906. He has written *Society in Rome under the Cæsars* (London, 1886); *Christian Mysticism* (1899); *Faith and Knowledge* (Edinburgh, 1904); *Light, Life, and Love; Selections from the German Mystics* (London, 1904); *Studies of English Mystics* (1906); *Truth and Falsehood in Religion* (1906); *Personal Idealism and Mysticism* (1907);

and *All Saints' Sermons* (1907), besides contributing two essays to *Contentio Veritatis* (London, 1902).

INGERSOLL LECTURES ON IMMORTALITY. See IMMORTALITY, VIII.

INGHAM, BENJAMIN: The "Yorkshire Evangelist"; b. at Ossett (8 m. s.s.w. of Leeds), Yorkshire, June 11, 1712; d. at Aberford (9 m. e.n.e. of Leeds), Yorkshire, 1772. He studied at the grammar school, Batley, and at Queen's College, Oxford (B.A., 1734), where he became one of the most active members of the little band of Methodists led by John and Charles Wesley. He received episcopal ordination in 1735, but the following October he sailed with the Wesleys for America, where he spent thirteen months in missionary work. While in America he had been attracted by the Moravians. After a visit to their headquarters at Herrnhut, and to Count Zinzendorf at Marienborn, he joined the brotherhood in England and practically became the head of the Moravians in Yorkshire. He preached extensively in Yorkshire and Lancashire, and formed there numerous societies, which he formally transferred to the Moravians in July, 1742. After his marriage in 1741 to Lady Margaret Hastings, sister-in-law of the Countess of Huntingdon, he removed to Aberford, but continued his work as evangelist at large. In 1753 he withdrew from the Moravians, taking with him eighty of the societies founded by him. Thus came into existence the Inghamites. This sect had its conferences, and at one of them Ingham was elected general overseer, or bishop. In 1755 Ingham attended Wesley's conference at Leeds and suggested an amalgamation of his societies with the Methodists. Charles Wesley favored the idea, but John declined Ingham's overtures, and the plan fell through. In 1760 Ingham adopted the views of John Glas and Robert Sandeman, the founder of the Sandemanians. The bitter controversy which ensued upon this change of doctrine completely disrupted his Church. Out of the eighty-odd societies ruled over by him, only thirteen remained loyal. Most of them joined the Methodists. Ingham published an exposition of his Sandemanian views in *A Discourse on the Faith and Hope of the Gospel* (Leeds, 1763).

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INGMAN, ANDERS VILHELM: Finnish Bible translator; b. 1819; d. at Helsingfors Sept. 5, 1877. He was ordained in 1845, and in 1864 was appointed professor of exegetical theology in the University of Helsingfors. As a youth he joined the movement of Finnish pietism which for three decades had animated the Church of Finland, and stood in intimate connection with a national revival which awakened a keen interest in the Finnish language. Ingman was seized by the inspiration of the new movement, and his first literary work was an attempt to translate the first chapters of Thucydides into Finnish (1841). With F. O. Durchman he published a translation of Luther's *Hauspostille* (2 vols., Helsingfors, 1848–50). As the last Finnish translation of the Bible, dating from 1776, had become antiquated, he published, in 1859, a new translation which has not yet been surpassed. In 1868 he began to publish a series of scientific expositions of the Bible, *Raamatun selityksiä A. W. Ingmanilta* (6 vols., 1868–73), which was to serve students of theology and clergymen as a guide for a deeper penetration of the Scripture. He also published in Swedish *Uppsattser i bibliskt teologiska ämnen* (4 vols., 1865–67); *J. T. Becks Theologiska karakter* (1866), and *Bibliska betraktelser* (2 vols., 1868–72).

(J. A. CEDERBERG.)

INGRAM, ARTHUR FOLEY WINNINGTON: Church of England bishop of London; b. at Stanford (11 m. n.w. of Worcester), Worcestershire, Jan. 26, 1858. He was educated at Keble College, Oxford (B.A., 1881), and was ordered deacon and ordained priest in 1884. After being a private tutor in 1881–84, he was curate of St. Mary's, Shrewsbury (1884–85), and private chaplain to the bishop of Lichfield (1885–88). He was head of Oxford House, Bethnal Green, London (1888–97), chaplain to the bishop of St. Albans (1890–97), and to the archbishop of York (1891–97), rector of Bethnal Green (1895–97), and rural dean of Spitalfields (1896–97); canon of St. Paul's Cathedral (1897–1901), and treasurer of the same (1898–1901). In 1897 he was consecrated bishop of Stepney (suffragan to the bishop of London), and four years later (1901) was translated to his present diocese of London. He has written *Old Testament Difficulties* (London, 1890); *New Testament Difficulties* (1892); *Church Difficulties* (1893); *Work in Great Cities* (1895); *The Men who Crucify Christ* (1896); *Christ and His Friends* (1897); *Banners of the Christian Faith* (1899); *Popular Objections to Christianity* (1899); *Reasons for Faith* (1900); *The Afterglow of a Great Reign* (1901); *Under the Dome* (1902); *Addresses in Holy Week* (1902); *The Faith of Church and Nation* (1904); and *The Call of the Father* (sermons, 1907).

INGULF (INGULPHUS): Abbot of Crowland (Croyland); b. in London c. 1030; d. at Crowland (14 m. e.n.e. of Stamford), Lincolnshire, Nov. 16, 1109. He became secretary to William, duke of Normandy, in 1051, and, after having made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, entered the monastery of St. Wandrille in Normandy, where he became prior. In 1086 he was appointed by his former patron, now king of England, to the abbatial stall of Crowland, being one of the few Englishmen appointed to high office during the Conqueror's reign. He is known for the *Historia seu descriptio abbatiæ Croylandensis*, which was long attributed to him. This work, which is preserved in the Arundel manuscript, no. 178, in the British Museum, is now known to be a forgery dating from the thirteenth or fourteenth century, though H. S. English and Birch claim that it is a mutilation, or a reconstruction, of a genuine original by Ingulf. It was printed by Sir Henry Savile in his *Rerum anglicarum scriptores post Bedam* (pp. 484–520, London, 1596; reprinted, Frankfort, 1600, pp. 850–916); also by W. Fulman, with a continuation falsely attributed to Peter of Blois and other continuations, in the *Rerum anglicarum veteres* (pp. 1–107, Oxford, 1684); and more recently by Walter de Gray Birch in the *Chronicle of Croyland Abbey* (Wisbech, 1883). There is a translation

of it by H. T. Riley in Bohn's *Antiquarian Library* (vol. xxix., London, 1854); also one by J. Stevenson in *Church Historians of England* (vol. iii., London, 1854).

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INHERITANCE, HEBREW. See Family and Marriage Relations, Hebrew.

INNER AUSTRIA, THE REFORMATION IN.

I. The Reformation: Since the fifteenth century the name "Inner Austria" has been given to the lands of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola. As early as 1411 they formed an independent administrative group, with Graz as the seat of government. Ecclesiastically they belonged to the archbishopric of Salzburg and the patriarchate of Aquileja. Medieval opposition to the papacy manifested itself here at an early time, and humanistic studies were pursued with especial zeal. The great religious movement of the sixteenth century had a still greater effect, a result due to the gross abuses of the clergy. The monasteries became empty, there was a general lack of priests, and the Protestant nobility acquired a considerable part of the ecclesiastical possessions. The Salzburg synod of 1549 furnished proof that Styria, Carinthia, and possibly also Carniola had been thoroughly penetrated by Protestantism. While Ferdinand I. used his utmost powers to preserve the old doctrine, he found himself compelled to make concessions after the heavy defeat of Charles V. by Maurice of Saxony. Ferdinand refused to recognize the terms of the religious peace on the ground that his estates were not imperial, but he permitted administration of the Lord's Supper in both kinds. The leader of the Protestants was Hans Ungnad, governor-general of Styria. On account of his interest in the Protestant cause he fell into disgrace and went into exile, first to Saxony, then to Württemburg, where he carried on an active propaganda among the southern Slavs.

The best hopes were awakened on the accession of Maximilian II. (1564), the only representative of the Hapsburg dynasty who had inclinations toward the Augsburg Confession, but he subordinated his religious convictions to his political ambitions, especially when, after the tragic end of Don Carlos, the prospect of the possession of Spain opened itself to the Hapsburg dynasty. His brother, Charles II., the proper ruler of Inner Austria, fulfilled still less the expectations of the Protestants, but he was powerless against the growth of the new religious spirit. The clergy had given up celibacy, the cup was administered to the laity, and mass was read in German. The administration of the country and almost all municipal offices were in the hands of Protestants, and even the personnel of the court belonged to the Augsburg Confession. In the political assemblies the Protestants had a large majority. In the beginning of the seventies Charles II. adopted a course more in accord with the policy of the Jesuits, but his financial difficulties compelled him, in the treaties of Graz (1572) and Bruck-on-the-Mur (1578), to make concessions to the adherents of the Augsburg Confession. He promised not to use violence, and allowed the Protestants in Graz and Judenburg, Laibach and Klagenfurt to build their own churches and schools. In the capitals, Graz, Klagenfurt, and Laibach, there was now instituted a special administrative department of churches and schools. A church order binding for all Protestants of Inner Austria was drawn up and, with the concessions of the archduke, was regarded by the Protestants as a charter which would protect them against all future persecutions. The cathedral school in Graz became a sort of Protestant university, and the number of Protestant clergymen was increased.

II. The Counterreformation: With the great concessions of Bruck, Protestantism in Inner Austria had reached its culminating-point. There was consternation at the papal court when it received the news of the concessions of the archduke, and it was feared that the movement would spread into Venetian territory. A nuncio appeared in Graz, the archduke was put under the ban, and every means was tried to withdraw the concessions made to the Protestants. The archduke was not disinclined to retract, and the courts of Munich, Innsbruck, Salzburg and Prague supported the cause of Romanism. In Munich there took place in Oct., 1579, a discussion in which the principles for carrying on the Counterreformation in Inner Austria were laid down. The reactionary movement proceeded slowly, but surely. Protestant church-service was at first abolished in cities and market-towns, and Evangelical preachers and teachers were expelled. Bavarians were sent to the court of Graz, and the best positions in the ecclesiastical hierarchy were occupied by Bavarians. After a few years, Styria presented an entirely changed view. Citizens emigrated to live according to their faith in Evangelical localities, and a strictly Catholic university was erected in Graz and delivered to the Jesuits to suppress the Protestant school. To restrain the increase of Protestant citizens, the "Catholic citizens' oath" was required of every candidate for citizenship. The Protestant citizens in Graz were prohibited from visiting the Protestant cathedral church, and whoever allowed his children to be baptized or married in it was punished. It was in vain that the entire nobility of all three countries and the Protestant princes of the empire asked for the intervention of Emperor Rudolf II. in behalf of the oppressed citizens.

In 1595 Ferdinand II. (q.v.) succeeded Archduke Charles in the rule of Inner Austria, and dealt the final and decisive blow to the Protestants. First the Protestant administrative departments in Graz, Judenburg, and Laibach were abolished, and the Protestant clergymen were expelled from the country. Then there was started a campaign against Protestant citizens and peasants, against Protestant churches, cemeteries, and schools, and

after the cause had succeeded in Styria and Carniola, it was carried through in Carinthia. If any Protestant citizen or peasant was not willing to become Catholic, he was expelled, but not before he had paid the tenth part of his fortune as a fine. Protestant Bibles, prayer-books, hymn-books, and other books of devotion were burned in great heaps. The Roman Catholics were successful because no one in all three countries thought of resistance after the legal means of petitions and complaints had been exhausted. The nobility remained faithful to the old dynasty, and their entreaties for the persecuted were of no avail. The old concessions were at first left intact for the nobility, but in 1598 their clergymen were expelled from the castles, and they themselves were punished if by any chance they permitted their children to be baptized abroad. Thus the emigration of peasants and citizens was augmented by that of lords and knights. It is impossible to calculate the number of the exiled, but it would have been still larger if there had not been left, especially among the peasants, the hope of better times; "conversion" in most cases was merely external. The harmful effect upon the spiritual development of the country was soon noticeable; there ensued a general spiritual stagnation. The Protestant nobility was tolerated for a time, but when Ferdinand II. stood upon the height of his triumphs in the Thirty Years' War, he ordered their expulsion in 1628.

In this way Inner Austria was purified of heretics. After a few decades everything was apparently quiet, but in Upper Carinthia and Upper Styria it often became evident that Protestantism secretly continued to live; the commissions which were sent out from time to time learned to their consternation that the peasants were not yet converted. In many a home there was found an old Bible, a Protestant hymn-book or book of devotion to which people in unobserved moments looked for guidance and consolation. When Emperor Joseph, in 1781, issued the edict of toleration, hundreds and thousands of Protestants arose to form new congregations.

(J. Loserth.)

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Consult especially the careful and authoritative studies of J. Loserth: *Geschichte der Reformation und Gegenreformation in den inneröesterreichischen Ländern*, Stuttgart, 1898; idem, *Der Huldigungsstreit nach dem Tode . . . Karls II.*, Graz, 1898; idem, in *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte*, vols. lxxxiv., lxxxv., lxxxviii. Also consult: F. von Hurter, *Geschichte des Kaisers Ferdinand II.*, 11 vols., Schaffhausen, 1850–64; M. Robitsch, *Geschichte des Protestantismus in Steiermark*, Graz, 1859; B. Czerwenka, *Die Khevenhüller*, ib. 1867; M. Philippson, *La Contre-Révolution religieuse au xvi. siècle*, Brussels, 1884; L. Schuster, *Fürstbischof Martin Brenner*, Graz, 1898; A. R. Pennington, *The Counter-Reformation in Europe*, London, 1899; F. Ilwof, *Der Protestantismus in Steiermark*, Graz, 1900; G. Loesche, *Geschichte des Protestantismus in Oesterreich*, Leipsic, 1902.

INNERE MISSION.

Biblical and Historical Basis (§ 1).
Earlier History of the Society (§ 2).
Its Objects and Agencies (§ 3).
History to 1870 (§ 4).
History since 1870 (§ 5).

The phrase *innere Mission* is applied in Germany to organized effort to promote the spiritual and bodily welfare of the destitute and indifferent who are, at least nominally, within the Church; it is also the name of a society which has devoted itself to this work with much success. The need for such "inner" mission work and the actual existence of it is illustrated in Old-Testament history, which shows a service of witnesses ordered by God outside of the law within Israel in the continuous struggle against paganism. The mission of Christ himself was primarily to the people of Israel (Matt. xv. 24, x. 5–6); i.e., it was an inner mission. The apostles were compelled to guard against Judaistic and pagan corruption in the Christian congregations (I Cor. v. 1 sqq., vi. 18; etc.). The acceptance of Christianity as the State religion by Constantine, the development of the Occidental Church into a legal institution and with it the corruption of divine truth by human doctrine and superstition, and the ignorance and demoralization of clergy and laity led, in the medieval Church, to a reaction which culminated in the Reformation—described by Wichern as a great act of the inner mission. After the barren controversies of the dogmaticians in the post-Reformation period, Spener and Francke gave the first impulse to the renovation of the inner life of Christianity in the return to its sources and to a practical realization of Christian love; but it was not until the French Revolution that, with the revelation of corrupt conditions in Church, State, and society, the need of the specific activity of the inner mission was really felt. Johann Hinrich Wichern (q.v.), the founder of the Rauhes Haus in Hamburg (1833), determined, systematized, and secured the success of its work. His stirring appeal to the Protestant Church at the Church Diet held in Wittenberg in 1848 inaugurated a new era. Since then the conviction of the inseparable connection between the inner mission and the Church has spread and influenced both the Church and the social life in various directions.

1. Biblical and Historical Basis.

The first result of Wichern's effort was the organization of the "Central Committee of the Inner Mission of the German Evangelical Church," which advanced the work of the inner mission in all church territories of Evangelical Germany as well as among the Germans in foreign countries. Its design was not to control the work, but to give suggestions and impulses for organized effort in different parts of the land. It instituted and superintended congresses for the inner mission (the thirty-first held in 1901) in various parts of Germany, which became the centers

2. Earlier History of the Society.

and starting-points for all efforts relating to this sphere. Independently not a little was contributed to the development of the inner mission by new interest in the circulation of Christian literature early in the nineteenth century; by the zeal for the erection of asylums for children awakened by Johann Daniel Falk and Christian Heinrich Zeller (qq.v.); by the efforts of Pastor Theodor Fliedner (q.v.); by the organization of the Gustav-Adolf-Verein (q.v.) in 1832; and by the impulse given to Christian womanhood by Amalie Wilhelmine Sieveking (q.v.). The growth of the inner mission was favored also by the peculiar development of history: the rising forces of anarchism and social democracy called forth the energies of a countermovement to re-christianize the masses; and phenomena like the portentous increase of crime, the growing demoralization of youth, and the spread of suicide confirmed the conviction of its need, even in circles which, in their zeal for orthodoxy, in the beginning had opposed the new movement. The name was due to Wichern. He refused to turn the *Rauhes Haus* at Hamburg into an institution for training missionaries for the heathen, realizing that there was a large field at home, and that the home and foreign agencies were of sufficient importance to be kept separate. The " inner mission " naturally occurred to him as the designation for this peculiar domestic work. The phrase had also been used by Dr. Friedrich Lücke in a publication entitled *Die zwiefache, innere und äussere, Mission der evangelischen Kirche* (Hamburg, 1843), but with him it referred principally to the service which the Evangelical Church owes to its members in the Diaspora (q.v.).

3. Its Objects and Agencies.

The inner mission is essentially the continuation or resumption of the original missionary activity of the Church within the Christian world in order to conquer the remaining non-Christian or anti-Christian elements. Its basis is faith in Jesus Christ, and the love of one's neighbor as the outgrowth of that faith. Its aim is to reclaim those who have gone astray and fallen from Christ, to strengthen the weak, to nurse the sick, to conquer the powers which in the midst of Christianity obstruct the building up of Christ's kingdom in individual souls as well as in the family, congregation, Church, State, and society. The means through which the inner mission works is attestation of the seeking, admonishing, punishing, and pitying love of God through the testimony of Christ in law and Gospel, by preaching, circulating literature, and charitable work. In so far as spiritual distress is connected with disease or similar evils, the cure of bodily defects belongs to the work of the inner mission. But it is a wide-spread error to identify the inner mission with the great complex of associations and institutions which occupy themselves with works of Christian charity. Such associations and institutions are indispensable for the economy of the inner mission, but they in no way exhaust its content. All purely philanthropic and humane efforts are different from the activity of the inner mission in so far as they are not determined by the motives of Christian salvation and the aims of the kingdom of God. The institution of Deacons and Deaconesses (q.v.) is also to be distinguished from the inner mission in so far as their charitable work is necessary and justified under all circumstances and at all times, as long as there are individual members in need of bodily and spiritual nurture, and in so far as it belongs to the church organization, while the inner mission aims at the life of the people and its temporary defects which can not be reached by the church organization.

4. History to 1870.

As soon as professional workers especially trained for the duties of the inner mission came forth under Wichern's influence, the demand increased for house-fathers of asylums and educational institutions, and new spheres of activity opened, such as city missions (1848); the Herbergen zur Heimat (1854); the service of overseers in Prussian prisons (1856); the care of the sick, mentally defective, and epileptics (1860); and the service of field deacons in the Danish and later wars (see City Missions; Herbergen zur Heimat; Prison Reform; War). Beside the institution for missionaries in Hamburg, others arose in Duisburg (1845), Zülleher and Neinstedt (1850), Berlin (1858), and elsewhere. Other agencies which received attention were young men's societies (1838), the church care of the poor, and Sunday-schools (at Hamburg as early as 1825, further expansion especially since 1862). Of special efforts of the central committee before the death of Wichern (1872) may be mentioned: the provision of pastoral care for the laborers who built the great railroads in the fifties; care of emigrants and Evangelical Germans in foreign countries; efforts to promote Sunday observance; the organization of prison associations and asylums for dismissed prisoners; the attack on gambling-houses (1854–67); the sifting of Christian literature and the attack on secular literature hostile to Christianity in the beginning of the sixties; and the organization of numerous provincial and state societies for the inner mission (Rhenish-Westphalian Society 1849; others like the Southwest German Conference between 1864 and 1868).

5. History since 1870.

Since 1870 it has been especially the moral and social conditions caused by the development of industry and the extraordinary growth of cities that have called forth the efforts of the inner mission. A memorial address of the central committee in 1869 opened the battle against public immorality. The cooperation of the Evangelical Church and its inner mission in the solution of the labor question was discussed at the Stuttgart conference in 1869, and at other conferences. The social question was debated at Dresden in 1875, at Danzig in 1876, and in other cities. The efforts of the inner mission have been directed against the allurements of social democracy and its theoretical and practical materialism, which began to flourish toward the end of the seventies. Among the Christian friends of the people Adolf Stöcker, the court preacher of Berlin, especially, by the effective reorganization of the Berlin city mission and his energetic measures beginning in 1878, rendered great services to the

penetration of public life with the spirit of the Gospel, and his example was followed by others. In 1884 the central committee published a memorial address, *Die Aufgabe der Kirche und ihrer inneren Mission gegenüber den wirtschaftlichen und gesellschaftlichen Kämpfen der Gegenwart*, which had an influence second only to that of Wichern in 1849. At the same time the struggle against prostitution (memorial address of 1885) and the work of saving fallen girls (congress at Bremen 1881) were resumed with new vigor. The general celebration of the Luther anniversary in 1883 stimulated church life and originated a movement for Evangelical labor unions. Friedrich von Bodelschwingh (q.v.) began his great work at Bielefeld, and his example stimulated others. In 1886 there were fifteen "working men's colonies," aiming to provide work for the unemployed and mitigate the tramp nuisance. Under Bodelschwingh's impulse, at the congress at Carlsruhe in 1884, the work for the homeless and unemployed had received a new impetus; between 1885 and 1888 the Herbergen zur Heimat increased from 207 to 327. At the same time colonies for working women were instituted. With the help of German friends in England and Scotland reading-rooms for seamen, with arrangements for lodging, were opened in different seaports of the world. In 1884 the "German Association against the Abuse of Alcoholic Beverages" was organized. A great literary activity in behalf of the inner mission was developed by Pastor T. Schäfer in Altona and by the conference of theological professional workers under the guidance of General Superintendent Dr. J. Hesekiel which has met every second year since 1881. Annual courses of instruction have been instituted since 1886 in order to spread the knowledge of the work. Since 1878 the Church and the inner mission have been brought into closer connection by the election of synodal representatives for the inner mission. New suggestions have come from foreign countries, especially from England and America, in the form of Young Men's Christian Associations (Berlin, 1883) and of the "German Union for Evangelization and Practise of Fellowship" (1886), to stimulate activity of laymen for laymen. Between 1880 and 1890 many new organizations came into existence. With the nullification of the socialist law in 1890 an opportunity was opened for a more effective activity of the friends of Christianity in the sphere of social politics, the result of which was the formation of the Evangelical-social Congress (see Congress, Evangelical-social).

The zeal for the work of the inner mission shows no abatement. The old love for asylums has been newly awakened since 1895. The heads of asylums, of educational institutions, and the inner-mission officers have been consolidated into a regular conference to secure a more efficient direction of the different institutions. In 1893 the Evangelical associations for young women were consolidated. Since 1891 women have been trained as overseers for female prisoners, while the trained men have given way to military officers. The material welfare of deserving workers in the field of the inner mission is cared for by pension funds and aid societies (1885 and 1902). (H. Rahlenbeck.)

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INNOCENT: The name of thirteen popes and one antipope.

Innocent I.: Pope 402 (or 401)–417. According to the apparent meaning of Jerome (*Epist.* cxxx.), he was the son of his predecessor Anastasius I., and not, as the *Liber pontificalis* states, from Albano. He was unanimously elected Dec. 21, 401, according to most of the lists, or early in 402, according to Prosper (*Chron., MGH, Auct. ant.* ix., 1892, p. 465). The spirit in which he took up his office is indicated in his letter announcing his election to Anysius of Thessalonica, in which he calls the Roman bishop "the ruler of the Church of God." This was not, indeed, a new claim; but Innocent enforced it for fifteen years with new boldness and skill, and to a certain extent in a new form. The theory is now first met with that the rank of a bishop is to be determined by the part played by Peter in the foundation of his see, thus giving Rome the suzerainty over the entire West, and a precedence over the patriarchates of the East. Still more important are the consequences which Innocent deduces from his theory. Siricius had already claimed the supreme right of legislation and supervision over the whole Church; Innocent enforced this claim upon Italian, Gallic, Spanish, and Macedonian bishops. He was the first who formally claimed the functions of a supreme judge, the right to create new ecclesiastical offices, and the power of ultimate decision as to doctrine. The first-named he assumes in the well-known letter to Victricius of Rouen (Feb. 15, 404, *Epist.* ii.), insisting that the judicial decisions of synods are to be referred to the apostolic see, and asserting the right to receive appeals against the decisions of episcopal synods. The second of these claims he put forth when he erected the vicariate of Thessalonica, between which place and Rome there had been a close connection in the pontificates of Damasus and Siricius, but Innocent first gave it the form of strict dependence in his decretal of June 17, 412, naming the metropolitan of eastern Illyria vicar of the pope, practically a new office, though the title *vicarius* was introduced into official phraseology by Boniface I. The third claim, that of the supreme teaching-office, he formally put forth in the Pelagian controversy, on the pretext of the letters addressed to him by the synods of Carthage and Mileve, as well as by five African bishops, in 416. In his replies (*Epist.*

xxix.–xxxii.) he makes use of the opportunity to assert the "supreme official authority." Of relatively less importance was the position assumed by him in the contest between Theophilus of Alexandria and John Chrysostom, on the side of the latter, which led to a breach of the old friendly relations between Rome and Alexandria. Innocent attempted to act as mediator in the political troubles of the West, going to Ravenna with a deputation from the senate to induce the court there to modify its policy of hostility to the Goths. During his absence, however, Alaric captured Rome (Aug. 24, 410), but he exhorted his troops to spare life and to respect the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul and their treasures—a fact which exalted the authority of the pope. In consonance with his general attitude, Innocent proceeded with great energy against heretics and schismatics, taking several churches from the Novatianists in Rome, banishing from the city the Photinian Marcus, and pressing for the persecution of his followers. It is further supposed that he was at the bottom of the severe edict issued by Honorius (Feb. 22, 407) against Manicheans, Montanists, and Priscillianists. He took a strong stand in favor of clerical celibacy, which seems to have been only second in interest for him to the elevation of the papal power. He died Mar. 12, 417, having accomplished more than any other fifth century pope in the way of preparation for Leo the Great.

(H. Böhmer.)

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Innocent II. (Gregorio de' Papareschi): Pope 1130–43. He was made cardinal deacon of St. Angelus by Paschal II., went to France with Gelasius II. when the latter was obliged to seek protection in that country, was employed in difficult missions under Calixtus II., and was one of the papal delegates who formulated the Concordat of Worms. In 1123 he was legate in France. Owing to his knowledge of affairs, his friendly relation to the imperial court, and his morally clean life, he was elected by a minority of the cardinals to succeed Honorius II. on Feb. 14. 1130, and took the name of Innocent II.; on the same day Cardinal Pietro Pierleoni was elected by the majority of the qualified voters (see Anacletus II.).

Being unable to maintain his position at Rome, in June, 1130, Innocent went to France, where Bernard of Clairvaux had already done everything to dispose court and clergy in his favor. Moreover, both popes, immediately after their elevation, turned to the German king, Lothair. The influence of Archbishops Norbert of Magdeburg and Conrad of Salzburg with Lothair and the higher clergy induced a synod at Würzburg in Oct., 1130, to decide for Innocent, and send an embassy to him. On Mar. 22, of the same year, Lothair prepared for him a brilliant reception at Liége, and Innocent suggested to the German king that he should march on Rome, expel Anacletus, and win the imperial crown. Lothair consented, but requested that the pope reciprocate by renouncing all the privileges won by the Church in the Concordat of Worms.

In Aug., 1132, Lothair began his expedition to Italy. As Anacletus was strong enough to restrain the king from seizing St. Peter's Church, Lothair was obliged to receive the imperial crown at the hands of his pope in the Lateran, June 4, 1133. In vain did Lothair again demand the concession of episcopal investiture, but he gained the surrender of the possessions of Matilda of Tuscany (see Papal States) in return for an annuity. On this Innocent and the curial party later based the contention that the emperor was a vassal of the Roman see. When Lothair returned to Germany, Innocent was obliged to seek protection from the Frangipani, and, in Sept., 1133, to betake himself to Pisa, where, from May 30 to June 6, 1135, he held a council which renewed the sentence of excommunication against Anacletus and his following. At the request of Innocent and the Abbot of Clairvaux, Lothair started from Würzburg, in Aug., 1136, on a second expedition over the Alps. He led his army to southern Italy, which, the island of Sicily excepted, he wrested from King Roger, but failed to terminate the rule of Anacletus. The latter died Jan. 25, 1138.

By this event peace was restored, and a Lateran council, in 1139, excommunicated Roger of Sicily, who had been the pope's most persistent enemy. But when Innocent undertook to lead an army in person against Roger, he fell into an ambush, and had to reckon himself fortunate in purchasing his freedom from captivity by recognizing the latter as king of Sicily. He alienated the Romans by a tedious war with Tivoli, the utter annihilation of which they demanded; when this was not attained they disclaimed obedience to the pope, and elected their own chief magistrate after the example of the Lombard cities. Even the good understanding with Louis VII. of France was changed into open enmity at the close of Innocent's reign, when the king would not accept the candidate proposed by the pope for the vacated archbishopric of Bourges. While the Romans were yet in arms, and peace with Louis as yet unachieved, Innocent died, Sept. 23, 1143.

Among the dogmatic decisions of this pope, the most noteworthy are the sentences of condemnation against Abelard and Arnold of Brescia.

Carl Mirbt.

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Innocent III. (Lando of Sezza, *Landus Sitinus*): Antipope to Alexander III. 1179–80. He belonged to an ancient Lombard family in Latium, and was one of the higher clergy when he was proclaimed pope by the Roman nobles, Sept. 29, 1179. The relatives of Octavian (Victor IV.), the first antipope to Alexander III., supported him, and Octavian's brother received him into a stronghold between Palombara and Rome. By means of bribery, however, he fell into the hands of Alexander, who shut him up in the cloister of La Cava. See ALEXANDER III. CARL MIRBT.

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Innocent III. (Lotario de' Conti): Pope 1198–1216. He was born at Anagni c. 1160, son of Count Trasimund of Segni. He received his early education in Rome, and then studied in Paris and in Bologna. On his return to Rome, and after receiving minor orders, he became canon of St. Peter's. As three distinguished cardinals were among his relatives, his advance was rapid. Under Gregory VIII. he obtained the post of subdeacon, and as early as 1190, by favor of Pope Clement III., his uncle, the dignity of a cardinal diaconate of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus. Under Celestine III. he was little engaged in the curia's affairs, and employed this involuntary leisure in literary composition; three books, *De contemtu mundi sive de miseria humanæ conditionis;* six books, *Mysteriorum evangelicæ legis ac sacramenti Eucharistiæ;* and the treatise *De quadripartita specie nuptiarum*, which reveal his culture and his profound earnestness. On Jan. 8, 1198, the very day of the death of Celestine III., Lotario, then in his thirty-seventh year, was unanimously elected Celestine's successor. At first he declined to assume the leadership of the Church; but on Feb. 21 he was ordained priest, and on the day following received episcopal consecration, and as Innocent III. occupied the see of Peter.

Life Before Elevation to Papacy.

Innocent's first task was to restore the prestige of the papacy in Rome and in Italy. He induced Peter, who had been installed by Henry VI. prefect of Rome, to recognize the pope's supreme authority; and he prevailed upon the senator, Scottus Paparoni, who, being elected by the people, had till that time been independent of St. Peter's see, to resign. Then he came forward as liberator of Italy from the foreign German rule. He conquered Spoleto, subdued Perugia, assumed a commanding position in Tuscany, settled his rectors in the *patrimonium*, and soon passed in all Italy as protector of the national independence. Moreover, good fortune delivered the kingdom of Sicily into his hands. Here, after the death of Emperor Henry VI., his widow, Constance, was reigning in behalf of her minor son, Frederick. Hard pressed by the two rival and conflicting parties of Italians and Germans, she now recognized the right of the Roman see to attack Sicily as its appanage, declaring herself ready to render the oath of fealty; and even to renounce all ancient prerogatives of the Norman rulers in Church affairs. When, soon after this, she died, Nov. 27, 1198, she left a will naming Innocent regent of the empire and guardian of the minor Frederick.

Success as Pope in Rome and Italy.

At the outset of Innocent's pontificate conditions for the extension of the papal sovereign power were most favorable in Germany. In this country, two pretenders were striving after the German royal and Roman imperial crown, Philip of Swabia, brother to Henry VI., and Otto IV. of the House of Guelph. The latter at once endeavored to draw the pope to his side by renouncing the most essential rights of the empire in Italy and conveying to the Roman see the exarchate of Ravenna, the Pentapolis, and the duchy of Spoleto. But, while the adherents of Otto were submissively entreating the pope to acknowledge Otto's election, the princes belonging to Philip's party exhibited a determined independence. Innocent naturally sympathized rather with the Guelph's candidacy than with that of a Hohenstaufen, although he appeared to be considering the rights of both aspirants. The pope's temporizing course was grounded in the hope that both pretenders would acquiesce in a court of arbitration composed of German princes, and that Otto would emerge from the same as victor. The court of arbitration, however, did not come about. Innocent's memorial, *Deliberatio papæ Innocentii super facto imperii*, justified his espousal of Otto's cause. In the same spirit his legate, Cardinal Bishop Guido of Praeneste, proceeded on a mission to Germany, and in Mar., 1201, the Guelph was acknowledged by Innocent as German king and future Roman emperor. On July 3, at a convention of the party of Otto IV., all his adversaries were excommunicated by the papal legate, but not until Guido held in his hands a document issued at Neuss on June 8, 1201, which embodied an express renewal of the promise that all recoveries accruing to the Roman see should be left thenceforth intact for the same. This document became the basis of the subsequent papal claims to the Papal States (q.v.). The fortune of arms turning more and more toward Otto, Philip, in 1203, sought to enter into negotiations with Innocent; but they came to nothing because he pledged himself to concede to the Curia merely what had been taken from it by the emperors unlawfully, and refused to relinquish Central Italy, upon which the pope laid special emphasis.

Affairs in Germany.

Howbeit, in 1204 and 1205 a powerful reaction came about in favor of the Hohenstaufen. A number of the eminent partizans of Otto IV. went over to Philip of Swabia, who was victorious on the battlefield; Philip's confederate, the king of

France, defeated Otto's confederate, the king of England. Accordingly, Philip, now risen to the height of his power, again (June, 1206) addressed a conciliatory message to Innocent, wherein he set forth with noteworthy frankness the conditions that led to the double election, and boldly defended his right to the crown.

Innocent as Arbiter in Germany.

To secure the acknowledgment of this right from the pope, he was willing to refer the points at issue between the empire and the see of Rome for final decision to a court of arbitration composed of cardinals and princes of the realm. Eventually, in 1207, Innocent was obliged to make allowance for the altered situation and to drop Otto, but the legates were unable to induce him to abdicate. After prolonged negotiations, Philip now consented to papal arbitration proposed by Innocent, having been assured that the certain result of the examination into the double election would be his own recognition. In view of the existing situation Otto could not decline to submit to the Curia's verdict. This turn of affairs implied a great triumph for the policy of Innocent III., since he had succeeded in transferring to Rome the decision of the strife for the throne. The difficult question of the disposition of the empire's estates in central Italy now found a happy solution by Innocent's formally renouncing these domains, with the proviso that the Hohenstaufen's daughter should be granted in marriage to the pope's nephew; while the latter, as the king's son-in-law, was to be invested with the duchy of Tuscany. At this critical moment, when the way to the royal and imperial crown lay open to Philip of Swabia, he was murdered, on June 21, 1208, by Palsgrave Otto of Wittelsbach.

Otto IV. now submitted to a new election, and on Nov. 11, 1208, this made him the universally recognized king of Germany. In a state paper dated at Speyer Mar. 20, 1209, he conceded more than he had promised; that is, he recognized the boundaries of the States of the Church as drawn by Innocent III., promised to render service in the extirpation of heresy, and disavowed all manner of influence in Church elections. Thereby he obtained, on the pope's behalf, assurance of his coronation as emperor. He started on his expedition across the Alps in the summer of 1209, and the pope placed the imperial crown on his head Oct. 4, 1209. But Otto forgot all his promises almost before he had reached his goal. He declared war against a protégé of Innocent, King Frederick of Sicily, and the forcible seizure of a portion of Peter's *patrimonium* caused the pope to threaten the emperor with the anathema. On Nov. 18, 1210, this threat was carried out, when the Curia received intelligence of Otto's incursion within the king of Sicily's dominion. The pope now summoned against Otto the magnates of Italy and the German imperial princes, and concluded an alliance with Philip Augustus of France with a view to dethroning the emperor. The latter had won so many advantages in his conflict with Frederick of Sicily that the latter was actually meditating flight, when Innocent succeeded in detaching Cremona, Mantua, Verona, Ferrara, and other cities of northern Italy from the emperor; while in Germany, with the cooperation of France, he brought it about that the imperial princes assembled at Nuremberg in Sept., 1211, resolved to offer the German royal crown to Frederick of Sicily, as the son of Henry VI. Innocent did not forbid the king of Sicily to acquiesce in this proposal of the German princes after the king had devised a state paper to the import that in the future he intended to constitute his Sicilian kingdom a papal appanage. By a convention of princes at Frankfort, Dec. 5, 1212, Frederick was elected king of the Romans in all due form, and soon afterward he was crowned at Mainz. When Frederick kept gaining larger and larger support in central and south Germany, and when even members of the house of Guelph were turning to the Hohenstaufen, the pope deemed the time at hand for asking and receiving of Frederick some toll of gratitude. On June 12, 1213, the elected emperor, in a state paper drawn up at Eger (Mirbt, *Quellen*, pp. 131–133), guaranteed anew to "his protector and benefactor, Innocent" all the domains rights, and concessions which Otto IV., on Mar. 22, 1209, had granted the see of Peter. The battle of Bouvines, June 27, 1214, in which Otto IV. and his ally, the king of England, were utterly defeated by Philip Augustus of France, decided the strife for the German throne in favor of Frederick II. The illustrious council which convened at Rome in 1215 again passed sentence of excommunication upon Otto, whereupon Innocent proclaimed, before the council, Frederick II. as the elected emperor. The pope was spared by death from the bitter experience which was to be the lot of his successors, that, from the Church standpoint, the elevation of Frederick II. was a still greater blunder than the favor shown previously to Otto IV.

He Crowns Otto. Frederick of Sicily.

Innocent could boast of still greater success in relation to Philip Augustus of France. The latter, by the act of an assembly of French bishops at Compiègne, had separated from his lawful wife, Ingeborg, a Danish princess, ostensibly because of too close a degree of relationship between them; subsequently he had married Agnes, the daughter of Duke Berthaud III. of Meran. Pope Celestine III. had already protested, in the name of the Church, against this dissolution of marriage, as also against the later wedlock. Innocent took up the cause of the repudiated wife at the very beginning of his papacy. Philip Augustus turning a deaf ear to all remonstrances, the pope's cardinal legate, in a council at Dijon, declared the interdict upon all France, and when the clergy generally suspended public worship, the people revolted and the nobility took to arms. Philip Augustus was at last constrained, on Sept. 7, 1200, to promise the papal legate, Cardinal Bishop Octaviano of Ostia, and Cardinal Giovanni Colonna, to take Ingeborg back as queen and consort. He then sought in vain, at a synod at Soissons, to induce the papal legates to dissolve his marriage, and next attempted to compel his wife to a "voluntary" renunciation. In 1213 Innocent had the satisfaction of seeing the queen

Innocent's Relations with France and Spain.

again accepted with honor by her penitent husband. The pope celebrated a similar triumph in 1206 when he succeeded in dissolving a marriage within forbidden degrees of kinship of King Alfonso IX. of Leon with Donna Berengaria, daughter of the king of Castile. Likewise he opposed the betrothal of King Peter of Aragon to Blanch of Navarre on account of too close relationship. Peter, being an obedient son of the Church, acceded to the papal command, and married Maria, the daughter of Guillaume de Montpellier. His inconstancy, however, which caused him to feel the marriage bond as an oppressive chain, soon awoke in him the desire to separate from his wife; and, to palliate his base design, he appealed to the consanguinity between them. But Innocent pronounced the alleged grounds for separation to be insufficient.

When King Sancho of Portugal declined to pay the tribute promised by his father to the see of Peter, Innocent demanded the same with energy. Moreover, he exacted obedience to the papal regulations from Duke Ladislaus of Poland, who was robbing the Church and the bishops of their estates and rights. How strenuously Innocent insisted that the pope alone had the right to excommunicate kings or to release them from the ban appeared when Archbishop Eric of Trondhjem absolved Hakon, king of Sweden, after he had restored to the Church what his father had taken from it by violence, without consulting the pope. Innocent wrote to the archbishop that he had imitated himself as an ape might a man, and only absolution by the representative of Peter had validity. The renown of this powerful pope impelled Prince John of the Bulgarians to hope that by submitting to the see of Rome he might secure his sovereignty against foes at home, as well as against the claims of the Byzantine emperors. On Nov. 8, 1204, he received from the pope's legate the royal crown, the scepter, and a banner which Innocent had sent him, adorned with the cross of Christ and Peter's keys.

Innocent in the North.

The fearlessness of Innocent, his firm perseverance in a path once taken, and his proud disdain of all temporal supremacy, born of the conviction that he was not simply the representative of St. Peter, but also the vicar of Christ and of God, was most brilliantly verified in his behavior toward the English king John. The monks of Canterbury cathedral, upon the death of their archbishop, Hubert, elected their superior, Reginald, as successor to the deceased prelate; when he proved unworthy of such confidence, they elected, at the king's wish, Bishop John of Norwich. Innocent did not confirm the latter's election, but induced certain members of the Canterbury convention, who were sojourning in Rome, to elevate the cardinal priest, Stephen Langton (q.v.), to the archiepiscopal throne, and a vehement conflict between State and Church was then inevitable, for the king was not disposed to yield in favor of a man imposed forcibly upon him by the pope. The papal threat of the interdict taking practical effect on Mar. 24, 1208, the king retaliated by giving orders to banish all clerics from England, and to confiscate their estates. Hereupon the pope excommunicated him. All devices to keep news of the pope's action from England were fruitless; the sentence became known, and the king felt its operation in a revolt of the nobility. When Innocent furthermore released all subjects from the fealty and obedience they had sworn to the king, and threatened the penalty of excommunication against every one who had any dealings with him, the uprising grew stronger and stronger. At this pass the pope had recourse to the extreme step of pronouncing the crown forfeit, also summoning Philip Augustus to drive the unworthy fellow from the throne, and himself to take permanent possession thereof; whoever should take part in the war against John was to count as a crusader, and become participant in all the indulgences of a crusader. John now yielded and resolved to acacquiesce in the proposals once more set before him by the Curia through the legates Pandolfo and Durando. At Dover, on May 13, 1213, the king concluded an agreement with the Roman plenipotentiaries, to the effect that he would recognize Stephen as archbishop of Canterbury; restore all Church properties that he had appropriated to himself; authorize the return of the emigrated and expelled clergy and monks; accord liberty to the captive; and more to the same effect. But this Dover scene had even a still graver sequel. Really to secure himself against the impending invasion by the French pretender to the crown, though nominally in expiation of his sins, on May 18, 1213, John surrendered his kingdoms of England and Ireland to God and the pope, but then recovered them as papal feudatory, on condition of discharging an annual feudal rentage to the see of Peter—700 marks for England, and 300 marks for Ireland. He was not absolved from the ban, however, until he had humbled himself before Archbishop Stephen. Beside all this, the land still remained under the interdict until July 2, 1214; that is to say, till the king had made restitution to the clergy, by a heavy sum of money, for the damages he had inflicted upon them during his grievous persecutions. Peace was now restored; but the king's oppressed and overtaxed barons could not endure the humiliation put upon them by John when he conveyed the realm to the pope. Their grievances not being removed, they had recourse to arms, in 1215, when they took possession of London and forced from the king the Magna Charta. No sooner had its contents become known to Innocent than he roundly denounced the compact, inasmuch as it encroached too seriously upon the royal prerogatives, and indirectly upon the see of Peter, now that the pope was John's liege lord. He declared the charter void and worthless, outrageous, without binding force. But neither this pronouncement nor repeated excommunications of all the king's adversaries had the least result. By nothing else did the papacy so sorely injure itself in England as by this opposition to the Magna Charta.

Innocent and John of England.

As vicar of Christ, Innocent appealed to kings and peoples for a crusade to the Holy Land. The preaching of Fulco of Neuilly (q.v.) won a portion of the French nobility, under the leadership

of Margrave Boniface of Montferrat, and the Cistercian Martin, abbot at Colmar, sued for the cause in southern Germany. However, the crusading army, camping at Venice, was employed by the Doge Dandalo to recover the city of Zara, which had been wrested from the Venetians by the king of Hungary. Then, and likewise contrary to the will of the pope, the crusading knights offered their help to the Byzantine pretender, Alexios Angelos, the son of the deposed and blinded emperor Isaac Angelos, to recover his ancestral inheritance, withheld from him by the usurper Alexios III., and conquer Constantinople. After Constantinople had been duly won by the crusaders and Isaac Angelos and his son had resumed possession of the throne, the situation between Greeks and Latins became so intolerable that during an insurrection of the former, Alexios Angelos, who was supposed to be all too partial to the Latins, was thrown into prison, and ultimately strangled. There now remained no other course open to the Latin knights than to possess themselves of the city by force of arms, and organize a Latin empire there; whereupon, May 16, 1204, Count Baldwin of Flanders was crowned as emperor. Through the founding of the Latin empire, a much desired prospect toward eventual union of the Greek and the Latin Churches was disclosed to the see of Peter, and Innocent, who at first had bitterly censured the delay which the crusade had suffered by the expedition to Constantinople, now gave written expression to his joy over the great success of arms, and voiced the hope that there might soon be one shepherd and one fold, and the appointment of a Roman patriarch of Constantinople soon followed. Innocent supplied a new goal for the ardor of crusading by the terms of a bull dated Oct. 12, 1204, wherein he guaranteed the same gracious dispensations for an expedition to Livonia as for participation in a march to Jerusalem; he even authorized all those who had declared themselves ready for the latter to exchange this obligation in favor of the march to Livonia. By the continual importation of new troops Bishop Albert of Riga (q.v.) succeeded in baptizing the Livonians in 1206, and the Letts in 1208.

The Fourth Crusade.

Moreover, Innocent III. was the first to impart to the crusades the direction of heretical wars. As early as 1207 he summoned the French king to extirpate the heretics in the district about Toulouse, and allowed every one who should unite in the crusade against these the same indulgence as to the crusaders proper. The cruelties against the Albigenses do not fall so much to the charge of Innocent in person as to that of the "system" which, under him and through him, attained its full development and execution. The regulations devised by the pope against heretics were approved at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, and were codified as canon law. All who hold stations of power shall promise to endure no heretics in their jurisdiction. Should a prince fail to heed the injunction to cleanse his land of heretics, he is subject to the ban; in the event of protracted resistance, he is to be deposed from his sovereignty. Whoever takes part in such a crusade is to be guaranteed the benefits accorded to the proper crusaders. Exceedingly severe, again, was the policy inaugurated and ordained by this council against the Jews. Not merely were the authorities forbidden to intrust the Jew with a public office, but the Jews were commanded to dress differently from the Christians to the end that they might at once be recognizable as Jews; they were forbidden to go abroad in the streets during Holy Week, lest in this time of mourning the Christians take offense at their gay apparel. Among the other decisions passed by this council may be noted as important the rejection of the erroneous doctrine of Amalric of Bena (q.v.); the condemnation of the tract aimed against Peter Lombard by Joachim of Fiore, *De unitate seu essentia trinitatis;* and the prohibition to found new orders. The final deliverance by the council was its assent to the papal bull inviting peoples and princes to a new crusade into the Holy Land for 1207. This ecumenical council, held at the close of Innocent's pontificate, shows that powerful pope as the unlimited ruler over the world and the Church. Emperors, kings, and princes had sent him their plenipotentiaries; 1,500 archbishops, bishops, abbots, etc., took part in the council's proceedings; or, more properly expressed, they attended the official reading of the decrees of Innocent III., since nothing was attempted in the way of actual deliberations.

Innocent and the Fourth Lateran Council.

The absolutism of Innocent III. in the internal administration of the Church exceeds that of all his predecessors. No one else encroached to a like degree upon the prerogatives of the bishops and metropolitans, or so highly arrogated to himself the right of appointment vested in the local church dignitaries. He was the first to claim for the popes a right to bestow benefices; and he issued innumerable provisional orders to the end of securing, at the expense of the locally resident clergy and with the abated prestige of the native bishops, a productive living to the papal servants, the Roman ecclesiastics, even to his blood relatives and confidants. The centralization of ecclesiastical power in the hands of the pope was also furthered by Innocent by his reserving to himself the right of episcopal appointment in case the qualified electors overstepped their canonical prerogatives. He likewise reserved to the Roman see the right of removing bishops, declaring that it devolved on the pope alone, as vicar of Christ, to dissolve the marriage between a bishop and his congregation.

The Administration of the Church.

The unbounded prestige enjoyed by Innocent III. in questions of canon law rested alike upon his variously demonstrated legal acumen and upon his thorough and minute knowledge of the material. The decretals of the first three years of his pontificate were collected by Rainer of Pomposi, and subsequently Bernardus Compostellanus undertook to compile in a single collection (*Compilatio Romana*) the ordinances deriving from the first nine years of his papacy. Again, the

Decretals and Sermons.

pope himself, by the hand of his notary, Petrus Callivacinus, ordered a collection of all the decretals promulgated down to the twelfth year of his rule, and addressed this so-called *Compilatio tertia* (1210) to the University of Bologna. Shortly after Innocent's death the briefs and bulls of the last six years of his pontificate were also published as the *Compilatio quarta*. Occupied as he was with ecclesiastical disputations and law matters, Innocent found leisure to pursue his literary activity. He expounded the seven penitential Psalms. To neutralize the distracting influence of legal affairs, he preached frequently, not only in Rome, but also on his journeys. His sermons were collected in part by himself, and a goodly array of them has been preserved. They are pompous and florid, but witness the depth of his religious feeling and a true humility before God. He died at Perugia July 16, 1216. His convictions and acts are not to be ascribed to a proud and selfish heart or to the unscrupulousness of a politic, self-seeking priest. When he threatened, banned, and absolved, he sought not his own honor, but the honor of him whose representative on earth he believed himself to be. If there is to be a pope at all, he was the model and ideal.

CARL MIRBT.

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Innocent IV. (Sinibaldo de' Fieschi): Pope 1243–1254. Descended from the counts of Lavagna, and born at Genoa, he was brought up at Parma under the care of his uncle Obizzo, bishop of that see, was ordained there, and became a canon of the cathedral. He studied law at Bologna, laying the foundation of the reputation which he afterward won as pope in that branch of learning. His first entrance into political life was apparently in 1218–19, when, together with Cardinal Ugolino, the later Pope Gregory IX., he made peace between Genoa and Pisa. In 1223 he received a benefice at Parma from Honorius III. and in 1226 an official position at Rome, in 1227 was made a cardinal, and from 1235 to 1240 he was papal governor of the March of Ancona. On June 25, 1243, after an interregnum of a year and a half, he was elected pope at Anagni, and consecrated on June 28. Amidst all the political storms of his pontificate he found time for literary work. His small treatise, *De exceptionibus*, was probably written earlier; but he wrote at Lyons, immediately after the council (1245), the *Apparatus in quinque libros decretalium*, marked by remarkable precision, perfect command of his materials, and strong, practical insight. His *Apologeticus* has unfortunately been lost; it was a defense of the rights of the papacy against the empire. In other ways Innocent promoted learning; he induced Alexander of Hales to write his *Summa universæ theologiæ*, and encouraged the universities, especially the Sorbonne, besides erecting new schools of jurisprudence at Rome and Piacenza.

Earlier Life and Writings.

Innocent's relations with Frederick II. and Conrad IV. need more detailed description. Frederick wrote to the princes three days after his election, expressing the fullest confidence in the result of the election, and a month later sent the leading magnates of the empire to Anagni to open negotiations for peace. But in spite of Innocent's professed willingness to submit the whole controversy with the emperor to a general council and to remove the excommunication (see GREGORY IX.) in case it was found unjust, Frederick could not agree to unconditional restitution of all Church property and the restoration to favor of the Lombards, whom he regarded as rebels. Even while the negotiations were in progress, Innocent made Cardinal Capoccio, Frederick's bitterest opponent, bishop of Viterbo, and through him won over this town to the papal side, supporting it against Frederick's attacks with large sums of money. Through the mediation of Count Raymond of Toulouse and Baldwin, emperor of Constantinople, terms of peace were arranged on Mar. 31, 1244, by which Frederick, submitting to the pope's demands, was to be relieved of his excommunication. But before the end of April the strife had broken out again on the Lombard question. Frederick sought a personal interview, but Innocent withdrew secretly to Civita Vecchia, where a Genoese fleet was waiting for him, and arrived in Genoa July 7. He was looking for a safe place in which to assemble a council and pronounce judgment on the emperor. Such a place was Lyons, no longer under the empire, and not yet a part of the French kingdom, on the boundary line between the Latin and Teutonic races. Hither Innocent

Innocent and Frederick II. The First Council of Lyons.

went on Oct. 5, arriving on Dec. 2, and on Dec. 27 issued the summons for a council to meet on June 24 of the next year. Only 150 bishops attended, mostly French and Spanish, with scarcely any Germans. The pope went swiftly to work, with two comprehensive briefs of bitter accusation against Frederick. Thaddeus of Suessa, the imperial representative, made a skilful defense of his master, denied all legality to the assembly, and appealed to a future pope and a really ecumenical council; the representatives of the kings of France and England urged delay; but Innocent condemned Frederick on the counts of perjury, sacrilege, heresy, and felony—the last for his oppression of the kingdom of Sicily and refusal to pay the feudal dues from it. The German princes were exhorted to elect a new emperor, while Innocent himself would make provision for Sicily, after consultation with the cardinals.

Progress of the Contest between Pope and Emperor.

The emperor was not slow in making answer. He addressed an appeal to all Christian princes to remedy the condition of the secularized Church by bringing back the clergy, especially the higher prelates, to the state of apostolic poverty and imitation of the humility of their Lord. The pope also appealed to the sovereigns, and went beyond personal accusations to develop still further the theories of the subordination of the secular power to the spiritual, as they had been held from Gregory VII. to Innocent III. On both sides the excitement reached its height. The Dominicans and Franciscans went out as zealous preachers of a crusade against a heretical emperor, for which the same privileges would be granted as for the perilous journey to the Holy Land. Twice (Nov., 1245, and May, 1246) Innocent stubbornly rejected the mediation of Louis IX. of France, and in Sicily supported an aristocratic conspiracy which threatened Frederick's life, and in Germany the efforts of the three Rhenish archbishops to bring about a new election. On Apr. 21, 1246, he summoned the electors to proceed to the choice of Henry Raspe, landgrave of Thuringia, who, on May 22, was elected by the three archbishops, four bishops, and a number of counts and knights. The majority of these, with the imperial cities, adhered to the Hohenstaufen, and on Feb. 17, 1247, the "priests' king" came to an ignominious end. Innocent sought in various quarters for a successor, but without success until, in Oct., Count William of Holland, a youth of twenty, was elected by secular and ecclesiastical magnates of the Rhine provinces, though it was not until Nov. 1, 1248, that he was able to be crowned at Aachen, and his power was then scarcely felt beyond Mainz. Frederick seemed at first to have the upper hand in Italy. He occupied a large part of the States of the Church, the duchy of Spoleto, and the March of Ancona, while King Enzio and the mighty Ezzelino da Romano upheld his cause in Lombardy; and at the very moment of his deposition he was joined by Venice and the count of Savoy, whose adhesion gave him command of the Alpine passes, so that he planned to march on Lyons and force the pope to make terms. The situation was soon altered, however, by the success of Innocent's partizans in gaining possession of Parma, a place of great strategic importance (June 16, 1247). This town became the central point of the struggle; and Frederick's fortunes began to decline when his besieging force was defeated with great loss by the garrison (Feb. 18, 1248). Innocent now redoubled his efforts to gain the command of Sicily, but without notable success. Cardinal Octavian succeeded better in Romagna; and Frederick suffered a severe blow in the capture of his favorite son, Enzio, by the Bolognese on May 26, 1249. Undaunted to the last, he was making new plans for strengthening his party in central and northern Italy and setting fresh hordes of Saracens in motion toward the north, when death put an end to his projects (Dec. 13, 1250).

Conrad IV.

Innocent now set to work to crush his old enemy's heir, Conrad. After laying out a plan of campaign in consultation with William of Holland, who then returned to take command in Germany, the pope finally left Lyons (Apr. 19, 1251) and came down through Lombardy to Perugia. Naples and Capua came over to his side, but the eighteen-year-old Manfred succeeded in checking the movement in the south, and at the beginning of 1252 Conrad won back the cities which had deserted him. Innocent sought new allies; but Richard of Cornwall, to whom he offered the crown of Sicily, declined it, and the French cardinals opposed the project. Charles of Anjou was considered, but without definite result. Finally Henry III. of England accepted the crown for his minor son, Edmund. Even Rome was threatened by Conrad's victory at Naples; yet Innocent undauntedly refused for the second time to receive his envoys and began proceedings against him on charges of oppressing the clergy, favoring heretics, and murder. Death again came to the pope's aid; in the winter of 1253–54 Conrad lost his father-in-law Otto of Bavaria, his nephew Frederick, and his half-brother Henry of Sicily, and on May 20, 1254, Conrad himself died, commending his two-year-old son Conradin to the pope's guardianship. Innocent now felt sure of the possession of Sicily; and Manfred, weakened by treachery among his own supporters, saw nothing for it but nominal submission. On Oct. 20, 1254, Innocent took formal possession of Sicily and Calabria. But Manfred suddenly escaped to Luceria and put himself at the head of his faithful Saracens. The pope's life-work, apparently so near completion, was once more threatened. On Dec. 2 Manfred captured Foggia; the papal legate and his army fled without striking a blow. The news of this disaster found Innocent stretched on a sick-bed in Naples and embittered his last hours. He died Dec. 7.

Innocent's Relations with France and England.

Innocent's relations with France were governed by his desire to preserve a counterpoise against the emperor, and by the eager wish of Louis IX. to deliver the Holy Land. This latter explains Louis' efforts to make peace in 1244 and the neutral attitude he assumed in the subsequent conflict. But the Curia forced the French nobles into a hostile position by interference in national affairs and by cupidity, so that Frederick found some support among them

after his deposition by the council, and his ideas are plainly visible in the league formed by them in November, 1246. Innocent's blind hatred of Frederick brought about the failure of the crusade undertaken by Louis in 1248, and he was openly named as the cause of it by the king's brothers, the counts of Anjou and Poitou, who threatened to expel him from Lyons if he did not make terms with Frederick. The relations between France and the Curia became, however, more friendly when Charles of Anjou was spoken of for the Sicilian crown. England was also considered by Innocent as an abundant source of supplies for his war with the empire, and his legate, Martin, appeared there with unprecedentedly ample powers, to collect ten thousand marks. When Frederick counseled the king to free himself from the illegal tribute the legate was told to go, and the king established the fact that the Curia had been taking annually sixty thousand marks out of England—more than his own revenue. Supported by the Synod of Winchester (Dec., 1245), Henry refused payment; but under the threat of an interdict the prelates weakened.

England.

Innocent's conduct in regard to the affairs of Portugal resembles more the high moral tone taken by the third of his name. King Sancho II. refusing to abandon his dissolute life, the pope absolved his subjects from their allegiance, and transferred the crown to his brother, Alfonso.

(Hans Schulz.)

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Innocent V. (Pierre de Champagni, or de Tarentaise): Pope 1276. He was born about 1225 of a noble family in the ecclesiastical province of Tarentaise, on the upper Isère, entered the Dominican order at sixteen, and won the fame of a scholar. He taught theology in the University of Paris, and assisted Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas to draw up the rule of studies for their order. In 1262 he became provincial for France, but when Thomas Aquinas was called to Italy, resumed his lectures at the Sorbonne (1267–69). By Gregory X. he was made grand penitentiary, in 1272 archbishop of Lyons, and in 1273 cardinal-bishop of Ostia and Velletri, though he retained the see of Lyons until Apr., 1274. He was a prominent figure at the Council of Lyons in the latter year. In Apr., 1275, he left Lyons with the pope to take part in the negotiations with Rudolf of Hapsburg at Lausanne. On the death of Gregory X., he was elected pope at Arezzo, Jan. 21, 1276, and continued his predecessor's policy, directed toward the unattainable ideal of a general peace in Europe, as a prerequisite for a great crusade which was to draw upon the entire forces of Christendom. He attempted to mediate between the quarrelsome Italian states and between Charles of Anjou and Rudolf of Hapsburg. He approved Charles' appointment as a senator of Rome and imperial vicar for Tuscany, and advised Rudolf to postpone the journey to Rome, which Gregory had urged, until he should have completely regularized his relations with both the Curia and Charles, and especially recalled his officials from Romagna. In order to enlist the forces of the Eastern Empire in his crusade, he continued Gregory's attempts at bringing about a union with the Greek Church. Charles of Anjou and Venice had designs on Constantinople which were by no means in harmony with Innocent's pacific policy, and the Emperor Michael Palæologus sought a close alliance with him. He required that Michael should swear to the terms of union agreed upon at Lyons; but he died in Rome before his envoys had left Italy, June 22, 1276. His writings embraced theology, philosophy, and canon law. The most famous of them were his commentaries on the Pauline epistles, often published (*editio princeps* Cologne, 1478) under the name of Nicolaus Gorranus, and on the "Sentences" of Peter Lombard. A complete edition of his works was published at Toulouse from a manuscript in the Dominican house there in 1651.

(Hans Schulz.)

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Innocent VI. (Étienne Aubert): Pope 1352–62. He was born in the village of Mons, in the diocese of Limoges, and began his public career as professor of civil law at Toulouse, where he rose to hold the highest judicial functions. Later he took holy orders, and became bishop of Noyon, which see he exchanged in 1340 for that of Clermont. In 1342 Clement VI. made him a cardinal-priest, and ten years later cardinal-bishop of Ostia and grand penitentiary. After Clement's death the cardinals entered into an agreement, the observance of which was to be binding upon the new pope when chosen. Its most important provisions were that the pope

was not to alienate or grant feudal investiture of any Church lands without the consent of two-thirds of the cardinals; he was not to depose, imprison, suspend, or excommunicate any cardinal without the approval of the college; he was to divide the revenues of the Church equally between himself and the college, which had previously received only half of such revenues as came under the technical designation of *census*. This agreement all the cardinals subscribed, some of them with the reservation "in so far as it was lawful." Among these was the bishop of Ostia, who was selected pope on Dec. 18, 1352, and not long after his coronation he declared the instrument null and void, as limiting the divinely granted powers of the papacy.

Deeply versed in canon law, and severe in morals, Innocent at once set about correcting abuses, revoking many of his predecessor's grants of benefices, reservations, commendams, and expectations, declaring himself against pluralities, and enforcing the obligation of residence on the higher clergy. He diminished the pomp of the papal court, and assigned a fixed and sufficient income to the judges of the Rota in order to ensure a better administration of justice. Another of his principal aims was the recovery of the domains of the Church. In 1353 he sent Cardinal Albornoz to Italy, who soon brought Rome into subjection, and carried on the reduction of the Papal States with great skill, until his return to Avignon in 1357; two years later the incompetence of his successor, Abbot Adroin of Cluny, caused him to be sent back, and in the next few years he had a hard struggle with Bernabò Visconti of Milan for the possession of Bologna.

Innocent's relations with the empire were peaceable. He opposed no hindrances to the visit of Charles IV. to Rome, where he was crowned on Apr. 5, 1355, by the bishop of Ostia, after taking an oath never to interfere in Rome or any other papal domains, to leave the city on the day of his coronation, and not to return without the pope's leave. In his succeeding years, Charles adopted a more independent position, but open conflict was avoided. In 1359, in order especially to provide funds for the Italian campaigns of Albornoz, the Curia imposed a tax of a tenth for Germany. When the papal legate attempted to enforce this demand at the diet in Mainz, Charles insisted that the pope reform the German clergy before he exact money from the country; and measures to this end were soon after adopted by Innocent. He refused, indeed, to revoke the bulls which Clement V. had issued against Charles's grandfather, Henry VII., but he gratified Charles by appointing his trusted counselor, Dietrich of Minden, to the archbishopric of Magdeburg and thus assisting the ambitions of the house of Luxemburg in the direction of the acquisition of Brandenburg.

His relations with France were friendly, and he sought to mediate between that country and England, especially just before the battle of Maupertuis in 1356, when King John, confident of success, rejected his intervention, and was carried captive to London by the Black Prince. The peace of Bretigny in 1360 was, however, due to his efforts. He put forth all his powers with unsatisfactory results against Peter I., the Cruel, of Castile, to force him to put away his mistress and take back his lawful wife, Blanche of Bourbon. Equally unsuccessful were Innocent's efforts to bring about peace between this king and Peter IV. of Aragon. In his last years he was occupied with plans for a crusade and for a reunion with the Eastern Church, but died in the midst of his negotiations with the Emperor John Palæologus, Sept. 12, 1362.

(Max Naumann.)

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Innocent VII. (Cosimo de' Migliorati): Pope 1404–06. He was born at Sulmona in the Abruzzi, and came to the Curia under Urban VI., who made him archbishop of Ravenna and bishop of Bologna, and employed him on delicate missions. Boniface IX. appointed him cardinal in 1389. His upright and ascetic life, his deep knowledge of canon law, and his general ability for affairs led to his choice as Boniface's successor on Oct. 17, 1404. In his election compact he had subscribed the obligation to do all in his power to heal the great Western schism (see Schism), and in furtherance of this he called a general council to meet in Rome in 1405. That the gathering did not take place was not the pope's fault; the Romans rose in rebellion and forced Innocent and his cardinals to flee to Viterbo. Ladislaus, king of Naples, who encouraged the anti-papal party in Rome, was put under the ban. When the University of Paris and the French king proposed that both Innocent and his rival at Avignon, Benedict XIII., should abdicate, the former resisted and declined to send envoys for preliminary conferences with delegates of Benedict. Meantime he had succeeded in returning to Rome in 1406; but in the same year he died (Nov. 6), without having accomplished anything toward the restoration of unity.

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Innocent VIII. (Giovanni Battista Cibo): Pope 1484–92. He was born in Genoa in 1432, and was brought up at the court of Naples. He studied in Padua and Rome, where he won the favor of Cardinal Calandrini, and by his help was named bishop of Savona by Paul II. Sixtus IV. transferred him to Molfetta and made him cardinal in 1473. His elevation to the papacy (Aug. 24, 1484) as the successor of Sixtus was owing to Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, the subsequent Pope Julius II., who dominated the first years of his reign, Innocent himself being a weak, characterless personality, and of notoriously immoral life. Quarrels with Naples induced the pope to seek intimate relations with the Medici at Florence, already risen to high power; his son, Franceschetto, married the daughter of Lorenzo the Magnificent, and, to seal the union of the two houses, Innocent paved the way to the college of cardinals for the second son of Lorenzo. He summoned Christendom to a crusade against the infidels; but at the same time he entered into agreement with Sultan Bajazet II. to keep his brother, Jem, safely in Rome for the sum of 40,000 ducats yearly, and in 1490 received the pay for three years.

In three bulls of 1486 Innocent declared Henry VII. Tudor the lawful and rightful king of England, and threatened the severest ecclesiastical penalties against all who did not recognize his claims. He also confirmed the election of Maximilian of Austria as king of the Romans, disregarding the protest of Charles VIII. of France. By the bull *Summis desiderantes* of Dec. 5, 1484, he gave the sanction of the Church to the prevalent trials for witchcraft (see Witchcraft). He strengthened the Inquisition in Spain by appointing Thomas of Torquemada inquisitor-general (see Inquisition), and he issued a bull directing all rulers outside of Spain to deliver up heretics to this zealous persecutor. He preached a crusade against the Waldenses in Piedmont; and he supplied fresh food for superstition in Rome and elsewhere by solemnly importing, in 1492, the "holy lance" with which Christ's side was said to have been pierced, sent to him by the Sultan Bajazet. Innocent died July 25, 1492. He neglected the government of the Papal States and punished robbers and rebels only when they were unable to pay. Everything at the Curia was for sale, and hundreds of new positions were created expressly to fill the papal coffers. Such is the dark background upon which the shining figure of Savonarola (q.v.) is projected.

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Innocent IX. (Giovanni Antonio Fachinetto): Pope 1591. He was born at Bologna July 22, 1519, and won the degree of doctor in law at his native city in 1544. He then entered the service of Cardinal Farnese at Rome and was made bishop of Nicastro in Calabria by Pope Pius IV. In 1561 he was at the Council of Trent, in 1566 was sent as nuncio to Venice by Pius V. After the accession of Gregory XIII. (1572) he retired to his bishopric and governed it as a true shepherd of the fold. Gregory honored and trusted him, making him member of the Council and of the Inquisition, patriarch of Jerusalem, and (Dec. 12, 1583) cardinal priest. The Spanish party of the cardinals chose him, Oct. 29, 1591, to succeed Gregory XIV., and he at once arrayed himself on the side of Philip II. of Spain against Henry IV. of France. He was personally devout, took a zealous stand in favor of reform in the Church, and projected important and beneficial measures for improvement, but could do no more than outline his plans, since he died, Dec. 30, 1591, after a rule of only two months.

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Innocent X. (Giovanni Battista Pamfili): Pope 1644–65. He was born at Rome 1574, and received preferment from Clement VIII., Gregory XV., and Urban VIII., the latter making him cardinal in 1629. He was chosen pope to succeed Urban, and occupied the see of Peter on Sept. 15, 1644. Pamfili had never concealed his sympathies for Spain, but was accepted by the French party as the most acceptable choice they were likely to get. The Barberini—relatives of the preceding pope—were deceived if they expected favor from Innocent. He started suits against them to recover moneys which they had misapplied and, when they fled from Rome, seized their property and palaces. At the same time he sought to advance his own family, and was completely under the influence of his brother's widow, Donna Olimpia (née Maidalchina), who was allowed so free a hand with the public funds that nothing remained for public needs. The relations with the Barberini became more friendly when the French minister, Mazarin, espoused their cause and even sent French troops to Italy; their property and positions were then returned to them.

In the course of a dispute with the duke of Parma, Innocent captured the city of Castro, razed its fortifications, and took possession of the country. He also made a treaty with Venice by which he gained substantial concessions and himself merely promised—and later only half kept the promise—to contribute money for the war against the Turks. He showed himself ungrateful to Spain by encouraging a revolt in Naples; but his policy toward the newly founded kingdom of Portugal was dictated entirely by the Spanish ambassador in Rome. As a consequence the bishoprics in Portugal long remained vacant. The Peace of Westphalia was concluded in 1648 regardless of the protests of Innocent's nuncio, Chigi, and of the bull *Zelo domus dei*, which he issued against it Nov. 26, 1648 (cf. Mirbt, *Quellen*, pp. 294–295; see Westphalia, Peace of). The most important and momentous decision

which he made was the condemnation of the five propositions from Jansen's *Augustinus* (May 30, 1653; cf. Mirbt, *Quellen*, pp. 295–296; see JANSEN, CORNELIUS, JANSENISM).

Decision and firmness in carrying through what he undertook can not be denied to Innocent; he was also energetic, and strove earnestly for order and quiet in Rome. But the chronic deficit in the treasury after Donna Olimpia's needs were supplied frustrated his efforts. The same needs led, at least in part, to the preaching of jubilee indulgences in 1650, and to the suppression of a number of monasteries, though the latter step was justified, as the monks no longer observed their rules and failed to perform their spiritual duties. In his last years Innocent suffered deeper and deeper humiliation from the constantly growing arrogance and avarice of Donna Olimpia, still displayed after his death, on Jan. 7, 1655, when she refused to provide for his funeral on the ground that, as a poor widow, she had not the means. K. BENRATH.

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Innocent XI. (Benedetto Odescalchi): Pope 1676–89. He was born at Como May 16, 1611, was educated by the Jesuits in his native city, and then studied law in Rome and Naples. He entered the Curia under Urban VIII. and was made cardinal by Innocent X. He won general respect at Rome by his simplicity of life, his uprightness, and his benevolence. As bishop of Novara in 1650 he applied the entire income of the see to the care of the sick and needy. Compelled to return to Rome by ill health, he distinguished himself among his colleagues of the college of cardinals by his fidelity to duty and his incorruptibility. After a vacancy of two months he succeeded Clement X. on Sept. 21, 1676, being chosen in accordance with the clearly expressed wish of the people of Rome and in spite of the opposition of Louis XIV. of France. Seldom has a pope taken in hand the work of reform with greater decision or more fruitful results. His first task was to regulate the finances, and in a short time he changed a deficit in the treasury into a surplus by strict economy, by cutting off sinecures, and by refraining from nepotism. He exacted similar frugality from the higher clergy and required bishops to reside in their dioceses. A congregation of cardinals was charged with the duty of inquiring into the moral and scholastic qualifications of prospective bishops. He admonished the lower clergy to adapt their preaching to the needs of the people, and not to neglect the training of the young.

In 1679 Innocent condemned as "propositions of lax moralists" certain theses questionable on religious and moral grounds mostly taken from the writings of Escobar, Suarez, Busenbaum, and other Jesuits, and later he protected Tyrso Gonzalez in his attack upon Probabilism (q.v.), and even secured his election as general of the Jesuits. The powerful order never forgave him for his judgments, and in the quietistic controversy he was compelled to make some concessions. His sympathies at first were on the side of Molinos (q.v.), but in the end he condemned quietism because of danger to the ecclesiastical organization. He was less complaisant in controversies with Louis XIV. of France (see REGALE). After the promulgation of the four articles of Gallicanism, Innocent refused all episcopal consecrations for France; and he was only transiently appeased by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1686. A new source of controversy was soon added. The pope wished the ambassadors of the powers in Rome to relinquish the right of giving shelter to those condemned by Roman justice; the emperor, Spain, Poland, and Sweden complied, but Venice recalled its representative from Rome, and Louis XIV. provided a well-armed force of 800 men to maintain the right of franchise of his ambassador. Innocent put the ambassador under the ban and a rupture of diplomatic relations ensued. The king took Avignon from the pope, and when, in 1688, a French envoy came to Rome to treat concerning the appointment of an archbishop for Cologne, Innocent would not even grant an audience. Louis even contemplated putting a patriarch independent of the pope at the head of the French Church. Innocent acquiesced in an attempt at mediation by James II. of England, but there is ground for the suspicion that he did so only because he foresaw that it would be fruitless. He strongly disapproved of the efforts of James to restore Roman Catholicism in England by ill-advised and too precipitate measures, and when the Earl of Castlemaine appeared in Rome as envoy of James to treat in the matter, the pope received him politely, but brought the interview to an end by severe fits of coughing, and intimated to the envoy that the early morning was the best time to travel in the climate of Rome. The fall of James was not unwelcome in Rome. To no land did Innocent render greater services than to Austria. At his entreaties the German princes and John Sobieski of Poland hurried to the relief of Vienna when besieged by the Turks in 1683, and his zeal brought about later the alliance of the emperor, Venice, and Poland against the crescent. He lived to see Hungary freed from the Turkish yoke, and the capture of Belgrade.

Innocent asserted the rights of the Church with energy, moderation, and dignity. He is to be accorded the praise of an enlightened mind, of one who strove to execute large plans and attain lofty aims by honorable means. Ranke says of him: "The papacy appears in him in its most estimable character, mediating, and laying the foundations of peace." K. BENRATH.

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Innocent XII. (Antonio Pignatelli): Pope 1691–1700. He was born at Naples of an old and distinguished family Mar. 13, 1615. His education was received from the Jesuits in Rome, and Urban VIII. attached him to the Curia when a youth of twenty. Succeeding popes honored and advanced him, Innocent XI. most of all, who made him cardinal in 1681 and elevated him to the archbishopric of Naples. Pignatelli was elected as a compromise between the Spanish-imperial and French parties of the cardinals on July 12, 1691. In all things he took Innocent XI. (q.v.) as model, declared against nepotism, and by the bull *Romanum decet pontificem* sought to make it unlawful for any future pope to invest his relatives with the revenues, property, or offices of the Church. His largess to the poor was proverbial, he established a hospital in the Lateran and founded schools for the people. He suppressed simony and bribery, abolished sinecures, and meted out justice impartially to high and low and with merciless severity: the present spacious house of deputies in Rome was originally the Curia Innocentiana, provided by Innocent XII. for the administration of justice and public affairs. The religious orders received the pope's attention, and the monasteries were admonished to observe discipline.

Not the least of Innocent's achievements was the settlement, in 1693, of the long strife with France concerning the status of the Gallican Church (see Gallicanism; Innocent XI.) in a manner wholly favorable to the Curia. The vacant French bishoprics (see Innocent XI.) were now filled. The strife between Bossuet and Fénelon Innocent decided in 1699 by condemning, at the instigation of the former, twenty-three propositions from Fénelon's *Explication des maximes des saints sur la vie intérieure* (see Fénelon). In 1694 Innocent took the part of the clergy in the Netherlands who had been suspended because of suspicion of Jansenistic leanings; but in 1696 he declared explicitly that he had no intention of retracting or changing the judgment of Alexander VII. concerning the teachings of Jansen. By his counsel to Charles II. of Spain to make the duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV., his heir, Innocent helped to start the War of the Spanish Succession, which for so many years involved Europe in bloodshed. He reversed the policy of all popes since Urban VIII. of favoring the Hapsburgs and opposing France after the concessions of Louis XIV. The rupture between Austria and the Curia was not fully repaired when Innocent died, Sept. 27, 1700. K. Benrath.

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Innocent XIII. (Michele Angelo Conti): Pope 1721–24. He was born in Rome May 13, 1655, of a family from which had sprung the great Innocent III. Alexander VIII. received him in the Curia, and Innocent XII. sent him as nuncio to Switzerland in 1695, and in 1697 to Portugal, where he remained till 1710 and conceived a dislike for the Jesuits. Clement XI. made him cardinal, and he was chosen to succeed Clement at a stormy conclave May 8, 1721. His distrust of the Jesuits, increased by news of their conduct in China, led him to consider the suppression of the order; but he contented himself with forbidding them to carry on the mission in China and prohibiting temporarily the acceptance of new members. It was hoped that he might modify the constitution *Unigenitus* (see Jansen, Cornelius, Jansenism) of Clement XI.; but he condemned a proposal to that effect from seven French bishops in 1721, and required unconditional acceptance of the constitution. Like his predecessor Innocent espoused the cause of the pretender to the English throne under the title of James III. He died Mar. 7, 1724. His contemporaries represent him as peace-loving and energetic.

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